

Mohammad Ali
AMIR-MOEZZI

ALI, LE SECRET BIEN GARDÉ



CNRS EDITIONS

Ali, son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad, is at the center of three major historical events inseparable from the beginnings of Islam: the problem of Muhammad's succession, the conflicts and civil wars between Muslims, and finally the elaboration of the Koran and the Hadith. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi devotes a study to him, in the light of the most recent research, and open to his multiple mystical aspects.

From a historical and philological analysis of ancient and recent sources, this book shows that Shi'ism is the religion of the Master as Christianity is that of Christ, and Ali the first Master as well as the Imam par excellence of the Shi'ism. Shi'ism can thus be defined, in its most specific religious aspects, as the absolute faith in Ali. He is a divine man, the most perfect manifestation of God's attributes, and at the same time a spiritual refuge, model and horizon.

Beyond the secular positions and polemics, Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi restores the multiple facets of this character of early Islam, the only one of the Prophet's Companions who has remained to this day the object of a fervent devotion for hundreds of millions of followers in the land of Islam, especially in the East.

Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Professor of Universities and member of the Ambrosian Academy of Milan, is Director of Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études/PSL, member of the Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes (CNRS) and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London.



LA PORTE DU SAVOIR

MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI

Ali, the well kept secret

Figures of the first Master in Shi'ite spirituality

With contributions from : Orkhan Mir-Kasimov and Mathieu Terrier

CNRS ÉDITIONS

15, rue Malebranche – 75005 Paris

Book published under the editorial direction of Guy Stavridès.

Published with the support of the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the
Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes.



CNRS Éditions, Paris, 2020 ISBN:
978-2-271-13500-1



LA PORTE DU SAVOIR

*To Maryam and Said
Shaari, old companions, for
their love of 'Alī*

Contents

Notice to the reader

Transcription system in the order of the Arabic alphabet

Genealogy of main divisions	imams and of Shi'ism	major
------------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------

Introduction

Part 1 - Singularities of 'Alī

Chapter 1. 'Alī and the Qur'an

1. Introduction
2. 'Alī, master of hermeneutics

3. The Qur'anic allusions to 'Alī
4. Explicit mentions of 'Alī in the Qur'an
5. The dual nature of 'Alī and his sacredness
6. Roots, extensions and questions about the origins: 'Alī and Christ

Chapter 2. Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah

1. End of the World in the Quran and Hadith
2. Remarks on the religious background of Muḥammad
3. The coming of the Savior
4. Jesus and 'Alī
5. Rewriting of history andmaking of a new collective memory

Chapter 3: Considerations on the expression *dīn 'Alī*

The origins of the Shiite faith

1. *Dīn 'Alī* in the historiographers
2. The singularity of 'Alī
3. The songs of 'Alī and the Alids
4. Foundations of the "Religion of 'Alī"
 - Qur'anic Foundations
 - Pre-Islamic foundations
5. Reactions and extensions

Part Two - Between the divine and the human

Chapter 4: Remarks on the divinity of the Imam

1. Theophanic Being and Perfect Man
2. First textual data
3. The preaching of 'Alī

Chapter 5. The Five Spirits of the Divine Man

1. Shi'a traditions
2. "Prehistory
3. Extensions and implications

Chapter 6." The Night of *Qadr*" (Qur'an, Sura 97) in Early Shi'ism

1. An enigmatic text

2. Shi'ite perceptions
3. The Master of the Order

Chapter 7. Tactical concealment and sealing of prophecy

1. Keeping the secret
2. Prophetic abilities of the Imam
3. Seal of the prophets
4. Epilogue

Part Three - Spiritual Horizons

Chapter 8. *The Precious Pearl* attributed to Rajab al-Bursī The 500 Qur'anic verses about 'Alī

1. Brief notes on al-Bursī and his major work *Mashāriq al-anwār*
2. Other books and the Qur'anic commentary "The Precious Pearl" (*al-Durr al-thamīn*)
3. Annotated extracts from *al-Durr al-thamīn*
4. The "personalized comments" message

Chapter 9: Icon and Contemplation

'Alī, face of God and support of meditation

1. Portable icons
2. "The vision through the heart"
3. "What is *vejhe*?"
4. Analysis of a planchette from the Vesel collection
5. Contemplation of icons: between interpretations and applications

Epilogue

Appendix 1. Divine knowledge and messianic action: the figure of 'Alī in mystical and messianic circles (from the V^e /XI^e to the X^e /XVI^e century). Orkhan Mir-Kasimov

Introduction

The figure of 'Alī at the end of the Caliphate

The figure of 'Alī in the mystical and messianic doctrines of the post-Mongolian Muslim East

'Alī, Fāṭima and their descendants in the Maghreb

Appendix 2. The presence of 'Alī in Islamic philosophy. Mathieu Terrier

I. The historical 'Alī in the history of philosophy

II. The Metaphysical 'Alī and the Metaphysics of
'Alī By way of conclusion

Historical

References

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Works cited

General index

Acknowledgements

Some works by the same author

Notice to the reader

Double dates indicate first the Hegira date of Islam (h. = lunar hegira; h.s. = solar hegira) and then that of the common Christian era. When they come in brackets after the name of an individual, it is, unless otherwise indicated, his date of death; example: al-I:Jibarī (286/899) or (m.[i.e. died in] 286/899). When the month is not known, the two years of the common era on which the Hegira year overlaps are indicated; example: 329/940-41.

The Koranic translations are ours (we often remain close to those of Denise Masson, Paris, Gallimard, "Folio", 2 vols. 1967). In the Koranic references, the first number indicates the sura and the second the verse, according to the most usual division; example: 2: 43 = the Koran, sura 2, verse 43.

The term *ḥadīth* refers to the second scriptural source of Islam, after the Quran. It refers to what is called Islamic Tradition, namely the teachings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad and some of his Companions for the Sunnis and those of the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima, 'Alī and the Imams of their descendants for the Shi'ites. It is written here with a capital h (Hadith) when it refers to the

Islamic tradition or related disciplines; with a lower case h (hadith) when referring to a particular tradition, teaching or statement.

In Arabic onomastics, an individual's name is almost always followed by that of his father. This filiation is here marked by the letter "b.", an abbreviation of "ibn" i.e. "son of"; example: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh = Muḥammad ibn (i.e. "son of") 'Abdallāh.



LA PORTE DU SAVOIR

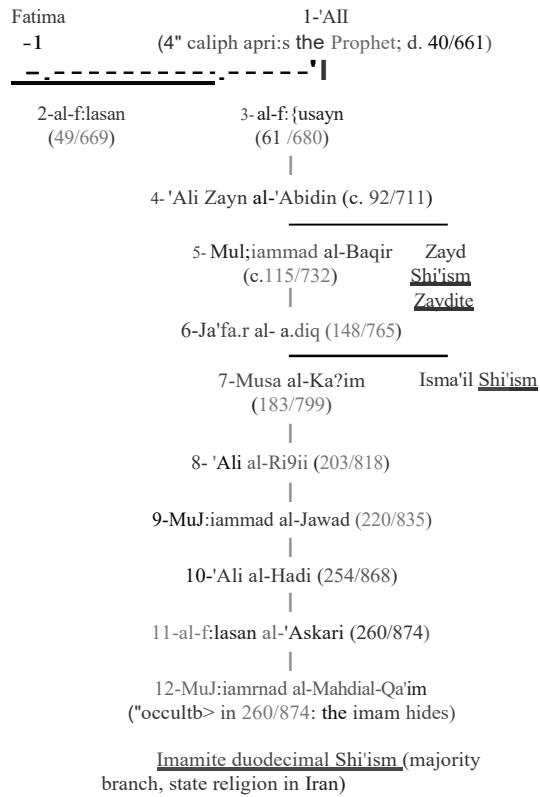
Transcription system in the order of the Arabic alphabet

Consonants: ' (indicates *hamza*, making the laryngeal fricative soft), b, t, th (like the English "th" in *think*), j (read "dj"), ħ ("h" laryngeal aspirated), kh (like the Spanish "jota" or the German "ch" in *Buch*), d, dh (as in *that* English), r (always strongly rolled), z, s, sh (like the French "ch"), ṣ ("s" emphatic), ḍ ("d" emphatic), ṭ ("t" emphatic), ḏ ("z" emphatic), ' (denotes *'ayn*, hard laryngeal fricative), gh (read as a grassy 'r'), f, q (glottal occlusive, as a glottal 'k'), k, l, m, n, w, h (still aspirated but not laryngeal), y (as in 'yack').

Short vowels: a, i, u; long vowels: ā, ū, ī.

The four additional letters of Persian: p, č (read "tch"), ž (the French j), g (as in "guard").

Genealogy of the main Imams and major divisions of Shi'ism



Introduction

'Alī son of Abī Tālib is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in early Islam. First cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, the father of the latter's only male offspring, fourth caliph, he is one of the Prophet's most respected Companions in the eyes of all Muslims. However, it is in Shi'ite Islam, the religion of the mystical worship of the figure of the Guide (*imām*), where 'Alī is precisely the first imam, father of all the others and divine man par excellence, that he acquires considerable importance, to the point that, for many, Shi'ism is the religion of devotion to 'Alī and the other imams of his descent. As I have already written, Shi'ism is the religion of the Imam as Christianity is that of Christ, and 'Alī is the Imam par excellence.

There are thousands of books on 'Alī, and even entire encyclopedias, published in recent years, written by Muslims and especially Shi'is, of course. However, besides these books, which are certainly very useful but written from a confessional point of view, there is no comprehensive study according to historical and philological critical methods. There are only a few case studies devoted to this or that aspect of this major figure in the history of Islam. The present work seeks to

modestly to fill in part of this gap and to serve as an introduction to a larger study, perhaps collective, on the character.

Various singularities characterize the figure of 'Alī, to which we shall return in the course of the book, but one of them is the basis of the observation that triggered the decision of the signatory of these lines to prepare the present work: 'Alī is the only one among the Companions of Muḥammad who has remained to this day the object of a true cult and that on the part of several hundred million faithful. Apart from more than 200 million Duodecimal Shi'is, Ismailis or Zaydites for whom 'Alī is the supreme symbol of the highest sanctity, one may mention millions of Bektashis and Turkish Alevis (the latter word means precisely

"Faithful to 'Alī), Syrian Alawites (a term with the same meaning), Kurdish Ahl-ḥaqq/Yāresān as well as millions of Sunni Sufis, especially in the Muslim East, for whom our figure represents, among other things, the origin of their mystical and initiatory transmission chains as well as the figure of the perfect divine sage. For a considerable number among these Muslims, explicitly or secretly, 'Alī is even superior to Muḥammad. Why? Where does this genuine devotion to this figure come from, and as such, he is a unique case of his kind. Many other Companions of Muḥammad occupy a central place in Muslim history or spirituality and yet none of them became, as 'Alī did, the object of such long, ample and fervent devotion. Even a particularly important figure like 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, one of Muḥammad's fathers-in-law, second caliph after him, and best known for being the architect of the first Arab conquests and the foundations of the Muslim empire, never enjoyed such popularity^{1}. And why precisely 'Alī? The various chapters of this book attempt to provide some answers to this question.

Beyond the secular positions and polemics, especially between Sunnis and Shi'ites, the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib thus has a particular importance in Muslim spirituality. I say.

"I will discuss the "figure" of 'Alī and not his historical character about whom almost nothing is known for certain, except for a few major events in their broad outlines to which I will return a little later. In an article published more than twenty years ago, Jacqueline Chabbi emphasized the impossibility of establishing a historical biography of Muḥammad, since the

sources on him are late, contradictory, full of approximations and errors, theologically and politically oriented, as belonging to times that have nothing to do with the time of the Prophet and to divergent religious movements^{2} . For his part, Harald Motzki, a scholar who is nonetheless less skeptical of Islamic sources, emphasizes the dilemma of historians who want to write about Muḥammad's life: "On the one hand, it is not possible to write a historical biography of the Prophet without being accused of exploiting the sources uncritically; and on the other hand, if one uses the sources critically, it is simply not possible to write such a biography^{3} ."

The character of 'Alī is arguably as problematic, if not more so, than that of Muḥammad. Indeed, he constitutes the center of gravity of three inseparable historical events, in their genesis as well as in their subsequent developments, major events that shaped the beginnings of Islam and conditioned its destiny up to the present day: the problem of Muḥammad's succession, the conflicts and civil wars among Muslims that lasted for several centuries, and finally the elaboration of the scriptural sources of Islam, namely, the Qur'an and the Hadith^{4} . The qualifications mentioned above for the sources on Muḥammad can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to those devoted to 'Alī, with the difference that around him and his entourage (e.g., his wife Fāṭima or his son al-I:Jusayn), the cleavages seem to have been even more violent^{5} . Thus, the life of the historical 'Alī seems lost in the whirlwind of conflicts that shook the early period and deeply marked the early writings of Islam^{6} . In contrast, a history of the various representations of 'Alī in different Muslim circles is conceivable. The book you have in your hands exposes some aspects of the figure of 'Alī in Shi'ite spirituality, particularly in the Duodecim.

Let us begin, however, with some "biographical" data on which the sources are more or less in agreement with each other (but this fact does not mean that they relate the historical reality), basing ourselves in particular on the enlightening syntheses that have just been mentioned (note 6).

Apparently very young at the advent of Muḥammad's prophetic career (but the chronology presented in the sources is absolutely unreliable), 'Alī would have grown up in the house of the latter, his first cousin, because of the bankruptcy and misery of his own father. One of the

very first followers of Muḥammad, he is said to have joined him very soon in Medina after the hegira and married his daughter Fāṭima. The latter had two sons with 'Alī, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn, the only male descendants of the Prophet and the two imams succeeding 'Alī according to the vast majority of the latter's followers. Rare enough to be noted: during Fāṭima's lifetime, 'Alī did not take another wife.

Alongside Muḥammad, 'Alī is said to have taken part in all of the latter's battles, often as a standard-bearer or as commander-in-chief. The bravery, feats of arms, and warlike and chivalrous qualities he is said to have displayed became legendary. And yet after the death of Muḥammad, he apparently did not take part in any war of conquest. He would thus be the only one among the great Companions to have remained completely aloof from those major events that marked a turning point in world history, namely the Arab conquests and the first gestations of the empire. This is one of the singularities of 'Alī, the reasons for which are unknown to historians. Some of the elements studied below will perhaps provide some answers.

Upon Muḥammad's death in the year 11/632 (according to the most widely held tradition), civil violence erupts over the question of his succession. 'Alī, his wife Fāṭima and their two sons are at the center of the conflicts^{7}. Let us look at this a little more closely. The fratricidal violence among Muḥammad's followers seemed predictable, so much so that the precarious equilibrium sustaining the motley assemblage of groups and interests that the new converts formed rested, it seems, on the person of Muḥammad. With him gone, the Meccan Emigrants who had accompanied him on his hegira clashed with the Medinan Helpers who had welcomed him. His former Qurayshite enemies, who had been very freshly and opportunely converted, and among them the influential Umayyad family, as well as his Companions Abū Bakr and 'Umar, aimed at imposing themselves by neutralizing by all means the ardor of the other competitors, especially the supporters of 'Alī. After a tense meeting at the clan of the Banū Sā'ida of the Auxiliaries, the conflicts are said to have been limited to an opposition between Abū Bakr and 'Alī in which the former quickly gained the upper hand and became the first caliph. The confrontations, limited in time and space at least temporarily, would have been of great violence. Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī, is said to have died there as a result of her injuries

caused by an attack on his house by the henchmen of 'Umar.

Of this episode, Islamic textual tradition has kept roughly two radically different representations. The vast majority of religious sources from what will gradually be called Sunnism, the majority current of Islam, supporting the legitimacy of Abū Bakr, seem to have sought to attenuate, or even to conceal, the violence of the confrontations and to make the latter a quasi-consensual figure by trying to limit the scope of the conflicts. Yet historical and historiographical sources, even Sunni ones^{8}, contain enough evidence to the contrary to have allowed the majority of modern scholars to seriously question the alleged consensus of the faithful regarding the election of Abū Bakr and the presumed unity of the Prophet's Companions^{9}. According to most Sunni doctrinal works, the Prophet had not explicitly designated anyone for his succession, either in his own statements or through Qur'anic revelations (indeed the "official" Qur'an that we know of contains no mention in this sense). His community would therefore have resorted to ancestral tribal practices that had always marked the succession of a charismatic leader among the Arabs: the appointment, by a council of influential notables, of one of the closest companions of this leader, endowed with a respectable age, a sign of wisdom, and belonging to the same tribe as him or to an allied tribe. Abū Bakr fulfilled all these conditions and was thus elected after the meeting at the Auxiliaries, supported by an almost unanimous approval with the notable exception of 'Alī who, in the end, would also be convinced by the wisdom of this choice and out of concern for safeguarding the unity and peace of the community.

The followers of 'Alī, apparently very young at the time (which some say was a handicap for him), called the Alids or proto-Shi'ites, give a completely different version of events. According to Shi'ite sources, Muḥammad had explicitly designated 'Alī as his sole legitimate successor, and this on several occasions. Even more decisive, God himself, through his revelations, had announced this succession. How could God and His Messenger have left the crucial question of his succession unresolved? Is it conceivable that they were indifferent to the direction of the

Would it be contrary to the spirit of the Qur'an that the great prophets of the past have their successors elected from among the closest members of their family, privileged by blood ties, and initiated into the secrets of their religion? This would be contrary even to the spirit of the Qur'an, according to which the great prophets of the past have their successors elected from among the closest members of their family, privileged by blood ties, initiated into the secrets of their religion. It is true that the Qur'an advises consultation in certain cases, but never for what concerns the succession of the prophets, which remains a divine election. The alide-shi'ite sources, especially during the first centuries of the hegira, maintain that the original full Qur'an, containing many explicit mentions and clear allusions to the members of Muḥammad's family and presenting, in particular, 'Alī as his successor, was falsified, heavily censored, and profoundly altered by 'Alī's opponents who usurped power upon the Prophet's death. Likewise, this full Qur'an, much larger than the Qur'an known to all, explicitly contained the names of the opponents of Muḥammad and 'Alī, who belatedly and conveniently switched to Islam. In order to remove the latter from the succession of the Prophet, these enemies, those who eventually came to power, were compelled to censor all these passages and at the same time to deny the authenticity of the prophetic utterances concerning the election of his son-in-law^{10} .

'Alī would thus have remained out of power during the reigns of the first three caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. The latter was assassinated by other followers (as were many early Islamic figures), after a rather chaotic reign and in what the sources call the first civil war among Muslims. Some of 'Alī's followers were apparently involved in it. He was the fourth caliph and came to power in a terrible atmosphere of extreme fratricidal violence. His short reign of five years (from 35/656 to 40/661) was a series of great civil wars: the Battle of the Camel against a coalition led by 'A'isha (widow of Muḥammad and daughter of Abū Bakr) and other Companions, the Battle of Siffīn against the Umayyads led by Mu'āwiya, a war that ended in arbitration, and the Battle of Nahrawān, against the Khārijites, former supporters of 'Alī who became his worst enemies because of the arbitration of Siffīn, which they never accepted. 'Alī was finally assassinated in 40/661 by one of them^{11} .

It is very difficult to have a clear idea of the personality of the historical 'Alī, since the sources on him are so oriented and contradictory, and for good reason; as Laura Veccia Vaglieri writes (above note 6): "The 'Alī was at

He was the center of struggles that went on for centuries. On the one hand, we have the Shi'ite writings, hagiographic and apologetic, which, from an early period, make of him a legendary figure and an exceptional being with superhuman qualities. On the other hand, after the Umayyad period, whose rare surviving textual remains give a particularly negative image of 'Alī, their hereditary enemy, the Abbasid sources, in order to neutralize the Shi'ite image of 'Alī, try to recover him and make him a particularly respectable Companion of the Prophet but similar to others, that is to say, presenting nothing singularly superior^{12} .

However, all kinds of sources seem to agree on some qualities of our character: his bravery (as we have seen), his eloquence both in prose and poetry (a collection of poems of very uncertain authenticity is attributed to him), his excellent knowledge of the Qur'an and the Prophetic *Sunnah* as well as his perpetual insistence on the duty to apply them, and finally his ascetic and chivalrous spirit. These qualities are partly reflected in the voluminous collection entitled *Nahj al- balāgha* attributed to him. It is a kind of anthology of letters, words of wisdom, advice, aphorisms, sermons, eschatological predictions and speeches of various kinds, the attribution of which to 'Alī has been discussed since the Middle Ages. It is true that the book was compiled by the Shi'ite scholar al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016), long after 'Alī's time and in the particular context of the Buyid government (I will come back to this). The Sunnis Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1283) or al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) think that the compiler is also the author, whereas the Mu'tazilite Ibn Abī l-I:Jadīd (d. 656/1258), one of the greatest commentators on our book, opts categorically for its authenticity^{13} . Laura Veccia Vaglieri, again one of the best scholars on the subject, believes that an early core of the texts can reasonably be attributed to 'Alī given that from the end of the ^{first} century of the hegira until the time of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, many famous authors belonging to all kinds of obediences report quite a number of sermons and aphorisms of 'Alī as proofs of his eloquence and high spiritual and moral qualities^{14} . However, the Italian scholar admits that it is very difficult to distinguish the authentic from the apocryphal. In any case, almost all Muslim scholars of all times and modern scholars are

unanimously attribute the compilation to al-Raḍī and consider the work a masterpiece of Arabic prose and moral literature^{15}. Commentaries and annotated translations in the languages of Islam number in the hundreds. Al-'Amilī, in his monograph on this subject, presents 210 titles up to 1983; since that date, and up to the present day, several hundred more must be added to this figure^{16}. The Shi'ite faithful, on the other hand, believe in the authenticity of the attribution of the *Nahj al-balāgha* to 'Alī and therefore consider the book a holy source. However, for the historian of Shi'ite thought who is mainly interested in the original esoteric tradition and its extensions - which is my case - the exploitation of this source must be carried out with caution and especially parsimony. The reason for this is quite simply the fact that its compiler, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, belongs to the purest theological-legal rationalist tradition of the Bujid period, which is known for its opposition to, and even hostility towards, the original tradition mentioned at^{17}.

The Alids/Shi'ites, consider 'Alī to be the only legitimate successor to Muḥammad, thanks in particular to his privileged relationship with God and the Prophet. Well beyond its political significance, this succession undeniably has a deeply religious dimension. For reasons that the following chapters attempt to clarify, 'Alī seems to have been very early on, in the eyes of his followers, a sacred figure who evolved, perhaps during his lifetime, from a historical figure into a heroic figure of almost divine dimensions, occupying the center of what many ancient sources call "the religion of 'Alī" (*dīn 'Alī*)^{18}. A God-inspired figure, a repository of all kinds of knowledge, a Proof of God (*ḥujjat allāh*), he soon acquires an eschatological dimension: arbiter (*qasīm*) of the Day of Judgment, intercessor with God (*shaft'*), or cupbearer (*sāqī*) of the paradisiacal pool of Kawthar in the Hereafter. Throughout Shi'i imamology and metaphysics, both in the mainstream, such as Duodecimal Imamism (the main branch of Shi'ism) and Septiman Ismailism, and in the so-called sects

"In this way, the 'Alī becomes the theophanic figure par excellence, the manifestation of the Names of God or the incarnation of a celestial 'Alī, the supreme symbol of divinity, right up to the present day^{19}. It is probably for these reasons that the declaration of the divine covenant of 'Alī, his *walāya*, becomes very early on the third element of the Shi'i profession of faith, after the divine oneness and the prophetic mission of Muḥammad^{20}.

Many of these qualifiers characterizing the figure of 'Alī can be found in Sufism, Shi'ite of course but also Sunni, in the great Muslim philosophers or in the great movement

The pan-Islamic "chivalric" movement of guilds and trade guilds, called from the Middle Ages the *futuwwa*. Within this movement, our character is considered the *sayyid al-fityān* ("the Lord of the companion-knights"); the specific motto of the *futuwwa* is the sentence supposedly pronounced by the divine voice at the battle of Uḥud: *lā fatā illā 'Alī lā sayfa illā dhū l-faqār* ("No knight except 'Alī, no sword except Dhū l-faqār")^{21}. Finally, it is necessary to emphasize the centrality of 'Alī in so-called "popular" Shi'ism, where he is the object of true devotion as the divine man par excellence, the master of all miracles, the hero of battles against disbelievers and all kinds of demons, the champion of many popular epics, and the main character of a number of plays in the Shi'i religious theater, the *ta'ziya*^{22}. We will, of course, return to many of these points in the following pages.

As has already been made clear, this book is not a work on the historical figure of 'Alī or even on all aspects of his spiritual figure. These topics are too vast and can only be adequately studied collectively. In the following chapters, only certain aspects of the figure of the first Imam in the spirituality of Shi'ism, more specifically, the Imamite Duodecimal Shi'ism, are examined. These chapters have already been published in the form of articles in scientific journals or collective academic publications. Here, they are updated, if necessary expanded and somewhat modified so that they can be articulated among themselves like the parts composing a coherent book.

The book is divided into three sections. The first, entitled "Singularities of 'Alī," consists of three chapters. The first is a study of the relationship between 'Alī and the Qur'an. It examines the role of the latter first as author and subject of the exegesis of Revelation, and then as its content and ultimate object. This dual dimension seems to be based on the dual nature, human and divine, of 'Alī. This is why the study ends with the hypothesis of the possible identification, by certain proto-Shi'ites and on the basis of a number of texts, between their first imam and Christ^{23}. The second

chapter can be summarized by a kind of syllogism: Muḥammad came primarily to announce the imminent end of the world; he belonged to a biblical culture; he therefore certainly announced the advent of the Messiah (if the conclusion of the syllogism is said in this form it is because the Qur'an, unlike the Hadith, never speaks of the Messiah as the Savior of the end of the world). However, in the ancient layers of the Hadith, this Messiah is Jesus, and in a number of Shi'i texts, 'Alī is the new manifestation of Jesus and thus the eschatological Savior^{24}. The third study deals with an a priori unusual expression found in quite a number of ancient sources, namely "the religion of 'Alī" (*dīn 'Alī*). In what way is it distinct from "the religion of Muḥammad" which will eventually be called "Islam"? What are its specificities? Why was this expression used only in connection with 'Alī? Its examination clearly shows in filigree the singularity of the figure of the first Imam within the great figures surrounding Muḥammad^{25}.

The second section is composed of four chapters and is entitled "Between the Divine and the Human". His first chapter, the fourth in the book, examines various aspects of the Shi'i theology of the Imam of whom 'Alī is the supreme symbol. The esoteric and mystical dimensions of this theology are based on the figure of the Imam as the locus of manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God^{26}. In chapter 5, the fivefold constitution of the imam's spirit is analyzed. This notion, undoubtedly inherited from several biblical traditions of late antiquity and ultimately from Manichaeism, emphasizes the presence of the "holy spirit" or "spirit of holiness" (*rūḥ al-quds*) as the superior organ of the intellectual limbs of the divine man. This is what enables him to receive revelations directly from God, in other words, to possess the spiritual capacities of a prophet in the biblical sense^{27}. The next chapter outlines some of the particular ways in which the imam receives divine revelations, especially during the holy night par excellence of the Muslim calendar, namely the "Night of Power" or "Night of Decree" (*laylat al-qadr*) which gave its name to Surah 97 of the Qur'an^{28}. Chapter 7 shows how the belief in the continuity of prophethood through the imam becomes problematic with the establishment of the Sunni dogma of "the end of prophethood" after the death of Muḥammad. The chapter thus examines the articulation between two major notions of the Shi'ite religion, namely the duty of "keeping the secret" (*taqiyya*) and "the

sealing of prophecy" (*khatm al-nubuwwa*). Islamic orthodoxy, as just mentioned, eventually succeeded in giving this expression, taken from Qur'an 33:40, the meaning of "the end of prophethood," the main implication of which was the end of the possibility of receiving the Divine Word by anyone after the death of Muḥammad and thus making Islam the last religion. The Shi'ites, like other believers during the early centuries of Islam, did not adhere to this dogma. For them, revelation could not stop. It continued thanks to the Imams, especially 'Alī, but from the time of the establishment of Sunni orthodoxy, they were forced to tactically conceal this doctrine^{29} .

The third and final section, "Spiritual Horizons", is composed of two chapters. It shows the extensions of the cult of 'Alī among his followers, first towards the end of the Middle Ages and at the dawn of modern times, and then in contemporary times. Chapter 8 is thus devoted to a genuine mystical religion of the figure of the first Imam through the work of a major thinker of late Imamite mysticism, al-I:Jāfīz Rajab al- Bursī (d. after 813/1410-1411), in particular through an examination of what can be considered his Qur'anic exegesis^{30} . The final chapter of the book is devoted to the spirituality of the icon in modern and contemporary Shi'ite Sufism. It shows how the painted "portraits" of the saints, in particular the icons of 'Alī, serve as a means of contemplation and internalization of the figure of the Imam even among the unlettered strata of believers^{31} . The 'Alī thus constitutes, over a long period of time, the most sublime spiritual horizon in the hearts of his followers, both through the intellectual and philosophical itinerary of the scholars of the learned tradition and in the so-called "popular" religion, where the Sufi brotherhoods are particularly present.

The book ends with contributions from two friends and colleagues whom I thank wholeheartedly. In the first, Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, a researcher at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, studies with relevance and erudition the figure of 'Alī in mystical and messianic circles from the 5th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries. In the second, Mathieu Terrier, a researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, examines, in detail and with finesse, the presence of 'Alī in Islamic philosophy, more particularly among Shi'ite philosophers.

Part 1

Singularities of 'Alī

Chapter 1

'Alī and the Qur'an

*To Carmela
Baffioni, In friendly
tribute*

1. Introduction

"The 'Alī is inseparable from the Qur'an as the Qur'an is inseparable from the 'Alī^{32} ." This prophetic tradition, reported here in its simplest version transmitted by Sunni sources, is also reported, of course, and with many variations, by innumerable Shi'ite works. It sums up wonderfully the perception that the Alids in general and the Imamite Shi'ites in particular have of the privileged nature of the relationship between the Holy Book and their first Imam.

More generally, in Shi'ism, the Qur'an and the holy prophetic family are inextricably linked as illustrated by the famous prophetic tradition of the Two Precious Objects (literally "Two Objects of Weight," *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*). Transmitted with many variants, accepted by both Sunnis and Shi'ites but obviously with different interpretations, this hadith attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad states in substance that he leaves behind and

as an inheritance for his community "Two Precious Objects" which are inseparable, namely his Family and the Book of God^{33}. This prophetic statement thus establishes an organic relationship between the two elements, and even, for some, an equivalence in their sacredness within the spiritual economy of Islam. The identity of the Qur'an being known, each major religious-political trend of the nascent Islam tried to recover for its own benefit the identity of the second element, namely "the Prophetic Family" expressed in various ways: *'itra* (family, relatives), *ahl al-bayt* (People of the Abode), *āl al-rasūl* (Family of the Envoy), *āl al-nabī* (Family of the Prophet)... Even the Umayyads, descended from the Banū 'Abd Shams, i.e., the hereditary enemies of the Banū Hāshim to which Muḥammad belonged, claimed this title for a time, but this claim disappeared very quickly after their fall. For some among the early Sunnis, according to different interpretations, the formula referred either to the wives of the Prophet or to the whole of the believers, i.e., to the whole Islamic community (the latter meaning goes against the letter and spirit of the majority version of the hadith according to which the Two Objects are meant for the community and therefore distinct from it). Eventually, with the help of elementary reason, most Sunnis themselves came to accept that the Family of Muḥammad means, either in a comprehensive way the whole of the Banū Hāshim - which was supported by all the descendants of this clan, especially the Abbasids - or, in a more restricted way, the immediate family of Muḥammad, namely his daughter Fāṭima, his son-in-law and first cousin 'Alī and the two sons of the latter two, i.e. the only male descendants of the Prophet, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn - as well as the Imams descended from them, which was always supported by the proto-Shi'ite Alids and later by the Shi'ites of all stripes^{34}. In addition, as will be seen below, in Shi'ism, a dialectical relationship links the Imam, considered as the living Word of God, called "the speaking Qur'an", and the Qur'an as the written Word of God and as "the silent Guide".

In these equations concerning the Holy Book and the Imams of the Holy Prophetic Family, 'Alī occupies the central place. Through the traditions linking the first Imam to the Qur'an, three distinct and at the same time inseparable "moments" can be distinguished: 'Alī as an inspired exegete of the Book, the Qur'an's allusions to 'Alī, and the explicit mentions of the latter in the Qur'an.

2. 'Alī, master of hermeneutics

First of all, 'Alī is the exegete par excellence of the divine Word. This role of great connoisseur of the Qur'an is also recognized in Sunnism, but it takes on a doctrinal dimension of primary importance in Shi'ism^{35}. From its earliest texts, Shi'ism is defined as a hermeneutical doctrine based on the teaching of the *Imam/walī* (Friend or Ally of God)^{36}. The latter essentially reveals the hidden meaning(s) of the Revelation. Without the commentaries and explanations of the *walī*, the Scripture revealed by the prophet (*nabī*) remains obscure and its deeper levels remain misunderstood. 'Alī, the greatest of God's allies, is therefore the undisputed master of hermeneutics.

'Alī proclaimed, "Ask me before you lose me! By God, at the revelation (*tanzīl*) of each verse, the Messenger of God recited it to me so that I would recite it back to him and I had the knowledge of the interpretation of its hidden meaning (*ta'wīl*)"^{37}.

In one of the sermons attributed to him, 'Alī, imam and thus exegete par excellence, states:

[This light by which one is guided, this Qur'an which you have asked to speak and which will not speak. It is I who will inform you about it, about what it contains in the knowledge of the future, in the teaching of the past, in the healing of your ills and in the setting in order of your relations^{38}.

The hermeneutical nature of Shi'ism, conveyed through the teachings of the Imams, is also strongly illustrated by the famous and important hadith of the "Fighter of the *Ta'wīl*." This is a prophetic tradition in which Muḥammad is said to have proclaimed:

There is among you [*i. e.* my followers] someone who fights for the spiritual interpretation of the Qur'an as I myself fought for the letter of its revelation, and that person is 'Alī b. Abī Tālib^{39}.

A similar sentence is put into the mouth of 'Ammār b. Yāsir, a faithful Companion of the Prophet and 'Alī, supposedly uttered at the battle of Siffin which pitted the latter's troops against those of Mu'āwiya:

By Him who holds my life in His Hand, just as we once fought our enemies for [the letter of] the Revelation, we fight them today for its spirit^{40}.

It is interesting to note that, according to this sentence, corroborated by others, the real issue at stake in the battle of Siffin was the safeguarding of the spirit of the Qur'an by 'Alī and his followers in the face of the threat of its annihilation by the proponents of exclusive literality, i.e. Mu'āwiya and his followers. For the Alids, breaking the organic link between the Book and its hermeneutics by the imam and thus reducing the Word of God to its letter is an amputation of the religion of what it has of most value. It is thus the whole spiritual destiny of Islam that is at stake here, hence the necessity of the *jihād* that 'Alī leads against Mu'āwiya^{41}.

According to the conception conveyed by these traditions, 'Alī, the first Imam and "father" of all the other imams, the supreme symbol of Shi'ism, comes to complete Muḥammad's mission, by revealing, through his hermeneutical teaching, the spirit hidden beneath the letter of Revelation. The same idea is conveyed by another prophetic tradition reported by the Ismaili thinker I:Jamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. shortly after 427/1036): "I am the master of the revealed letter [of the Qur'an] and 'Alī is the master of its spiritual hermeneutics^{42}."

Other traditions, also reported by non-Shi'ite sources, notably Sunni mystical writings, emphasize the role of 'Alī as an initiate in the arcane of the Qur'an and the conditions of its revelation, traditions that are obviously constantly quoted in Shi'ite works:

Every revealed verse without exception, 'Alī himself is reported to have said, the Prophet recited it to me, dictated it to me so that I would write it with my own hand, taught me the esoteric and exoteric commentaries (*ta'wīl/tafsīr*), the abrogating and abrogated (*nāsikh/mansūkh*), the clear and the ambiguous (*muḥkam/mutashābih*). At the same time, the messenger of God was imploring God that He would instill in me the understanding and learning by heart of it; indeed I have not forgotten a single word of it^{43}.

The Qur'an was revealed according to seven Themes (?) (*sab'at ahruf*)^{44} and each of these Themes has an apparent level (*ẓahr*) and a hidden level (*baṭn*). 'Alī b. Abī Tālib is the one who possesses the knowledge of the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and the esoteric (*bāṭin*) [of each Theme]^{45}.

Ask me!" 'Alī would have said. By God, I will not leave any of your questions unanswered. Ask me about the Book of God. Not a single verse has been revealed without my knowing [when] it was revealed, by night or by day, [and where it was revealed], in the plain or in the mountains^{46}.

'Alī is further reported to have said:

Not a single verse has been revealed without my knowing the reason and place of its revelation. My Lord has given me a heart endowed with penetrating intelligence and a tongue that answers all questions (*qalban 'aqūlan wa lisānan sa'ūlan*)^{47}.

There is no one more knowledgeable than 'Alī in the knowledge of what lies between the two covers of the Book of God^{48} except the Prophet.

According to numerous early textual attestations, 'Alī had his own Qur'anic recension, his codex (*muṣḥaf 'Alī*)^{49}. According to the Shi'ite version of events, after the death of the Prophet, 'Alī was certain that the latter's enemies, now in power, would falsify the Book of God, which, in its original unabridged version, explicitly contained the names of these enemies as well as those of Muḥammad's friends, now removed from power. This is what actually happened. It was therefore urgent for 'Alī to gather the complete version of the Qur'an, which he alone possessed, in order to safeguard the heavenly Book as it was revealed to the Prophet, three times as voluminous as the official falsified version known to all^{50}. Now, for a number of Shi'i authors, this "Qur'an of 'Alī" contained both the revelations "descended" on Muḥammad (*tanzīl*) and the commentaries of 'Alī (*ta'wīl*), inspired by God or taught by the Prophet^{51}. The combination of these two categories of texts was called *al-qur'ān*: the former constituted the letter of Revelation, its exoteric aspect (*ẓāhir*), and the latter, its spirit, its esoteric aspect (*bāṭin*). The two were organically associated. It was 'Alī's commentaries, indispensable for a proper understanding of the Revelation, that his opponents suppressed, making the Qur'an, reduced to its letter alone, a text that was difficult to understand. Hence the Shi'ite doctrinal couplet that describes the known Qur'ān as the silent, mute Book or Guide (*Qur'ān/kitāb/imām ṣāmit*) and 'Alī - and after him the other Imams of his descent - as the speaking Qur'ān or Book (*Qur'ān/kitāb nāṭiq*)^{52}.

3. The Qur'anic allusions to 'Alī

The second "moment" of the Shi'a doctrines linking the figure of the first imam to the Holy Book of Islam is a milestone. He is no longer merely the inspired exegete of the Qur'an, but is part of its content. Countless texts and traditions record different kinds of Qur'anic allusions to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. First, there are the verses specifically revealed about him. The Qur'anic commentary of the Zaydi Shi'ite al-I:Jusayn b. al-I:Jakam al-I:Jibarī (d. 286/899) is probably one

of the oldest existing sources in this regard. This commentary, edited with its supplement, contains one hundred traditions, almost all of which date back to the Companion Ibn 'Abbās and concern alleged allusions or hidden meanings of the Qur'an concerning 'Alī, his family members, his followers, and his opponents^{53}. The work can be considered to belong to the genre of *asbāb al-nuzūl* ("circumstances of the Revelation"), in a Shi'ite version that hides its identity under the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, a highly respected figure among non-Shi'ites and considered "the father" of Sunni Qur'anic exegesis^{54}. As a result, the *Tafsīr* of al-I:Jibārī constitutes one of the earliest sources of what I have elsewhere called the long tradition of "personalized commentaries" in Shi'ism^{55}. A few examples, among many, concerning 'Alī:

– Qur'an 2 (al-Baqara) / 45: "Let patience and prayer sustain you; this is truly painful except for the humble." Ibn 'Abbās: "'Humble' is one who stoops in prayer [before God] and goes enthusiastically to prayer; this refers to the Messenger of God and 'Alī exclusively^{56}."

– Qur'an 2 (al-Baqara) / 82: "Those who believe and do good will be the people of Paradise and will dwell therein forever." Ibn 'Abbās: "This was specially revealed about 'Alī, because he was the first one to convert [to Islam] and the first, after the Prophet, to perform the canonical prayer^{57}."

– Qur'an 3 (Al 'Imrān) / 61: "[...] Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, our persons and your persons, and let us engage in an ordination [literally "a mutual imprecation"] [...]" Ibn 'Abbās: "[This verse] is revealed about 'the persons' of the Messenger of God and 'Alī; [the expression] 'our wives and your wives' refers to Fāṭima; 'our sons and your sons' means I:Jasan and I:Jusayn [*sic*: both names are without an article]^{58}."

– Qur'an 5 (al-Mā'ida) / 55: "You have no master except God and His Messenger and those who believe, perform prayer and give alms while bowing [during prayer]." Ibn 'Abbās: "This was specially revealed about 'Alī^{59}."

– Qur'an 5 (al-Mā'ida) / 67: "O Messenger! Make clear what has been revealed to you by your Lord, [for] if you do not do so, you would not have made His message known." Ibn 'Abbās: "This was revealed about 'Alī. Indeed, the Prophet was ordered to announce 'Alī [as his successor]. He then took his hand and said, 'He whose patron (*mawlā*) I am, 'Alī is its patron also. Lord! Love him who loves 'Alī (*wāli man wālāhu*) and be hostile to him who is hostile to him.'^{60}" This tradition is complemented by the one commenting on Qur'an 13 (al-Ra'd) / 43, reported by the traditionist 'Abdallāh b. 'Aṭā who quotes Imam Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Bāqir:

"God revealed to His Messenger, 'Declare to the people, "The one whose patronage I am, 'Alī is also its patron. But the Prophet, fearing the people, did not announce this^{61}'. Then God revealed to him, "O Messenger! Announce clearly what has been revealed to you by your Lord, [for] if you do not do so, you would not have made His message known." It was then that the Messenger of God took the hand of 'Alī on the day of Ghadīr Khumm and proclaimed, "He whose patronage I am, 'Alī is its patron too."^{62}"

– Qur'an 9 (al-Tawba) / 18: "Only those who believe in God and the Last Day, perform daily prayer, give alms, and fear God, visit the oratories of God. Such people will undoubtedly be among the well-guided". Ibn 'Abbās: "This verse is exclusively for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib^{63}."

- Qur'an 9 (al-Tawba) / 20-21: "Those who believed, made exodus, fought in the way of God with their goods and their person, they will be placed on a very high degree with God. They will be the glorified ones. Their Lord announces to them the good news of a mercy from Him, of a pleasure and of Gardens where there is for them eternal delight". Ibn 'Abbās: "This is revealed exclusively about 'Alī^{64}."
- Qur'an 14 (Ibrāhīm) / 27: "God strengthens those who believe with a firm word". Ibn 'Abbās: "This concerns the *walāya* of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib^{65}."
- Qur'an 33 (al-Aḥzāb) / 33: "O you People of the [Prophetic] Family! God seeks only to remove defilement from you and purify you completely." A dozen traditions reported from several Companions of the Prophet identify "the People of the Prophetic Family" of the verse with the Five of the Cloak, namely Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn^{66}.

Already before al-I:Jibarī, the anonymous author(s) of the *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays* associated many Qur'anic verses with 'Alī^{67}. Verses 9 (al-Tawba): 100 and 56 (al-Wāqī'a): 10 are said to be related to the person of the first Imam: "The forerunners, the very first among the Emigrants and the Helpers [of the Prophet]" and "The forerunners who are indeed the first, they are the closest [to God]^{68}."

Verses 98 (al-Bayyina): 7 and 6 are respectively associated with the friends and enemies of 'Alī: "Those who believe and do good deeds, these are the best of mankind" and "Those who disbelieve among the People of the Book as well as the associates will be eternally in the fire of hell; these are the worst of mankind^{69}."

Verses 14 (Ibrāhīm): 37, 22 (al-I:Jajj): 77 and 2 (al-Baqara): 143 are associated with 'Alī: "[Lord] make hearts of some humans bow to them"; "O you who believe! Bow down, prostrate yourselves, worship your Lord and do good in the hope of victory; "We have made you a median community so that you may bear witness to men^{70}." Similarly, verses 11 (Hūd): 17 and 13 (al-Ra'd): 43: "He to whom proof from his Lord has been given and hears [Revelation] stated by a witness"; "He who holds knowledge of the Book^{71}."

Examples of such verses, purporting to have been revealed about 'Alī, number in the hundreds. The Shi'a religious literature has developed this into a literary genre ("personalized commentaries dedicated exclusively to 'Alī") which includes countless works from the ^{third/ninth} century to the present day^{72}.

Furthermore, many Qur'anic terms or expressions are almost consistently identified as allusions to 'Alī or the status

of the *imam/walī* of which he is the most accomplished illustration: *al-sabīl* ("the way"), *al-ḥaqq* ("the truth," "the real"), *al-khayr* ("the good"), *al-ḥasana* ("the good deed"), *al-mīzān* ("the balance"), *al-ni'ma* ("the good"), *al-ṣirāṭ* ("the way," "the path"), or (*al-*)*ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* ("the right way"), and many others^{73}. Hence many traditions, abundantly exploited by Shi'i doctrinal works:

The Qur'an is revealed in four parts, 'Alī himself is reported to have said: one quarter is about us (*i.e.* the people of the Prophetic Family), another quarter is about our opponents, a third quarter is about the lawful and the unlawful, and a final quarter is about duties and precepts. The most noble parts of the Qur'an belong to us^{74}.

No one equals 'Alī in the Book of God for what has been revealed about him^{75}.

Seventy verses have been revealed about 'Alī with whom no one else can be associated^{76}.

4. Explicit mentions of 'Alī in the Qur'an

According to a number of other traditions, the presence of 'Alī in the text of the Qur'an itself is not limited to allusions, metaphors and symbols. It is also mentioned explicitly. However, it is known that this is not the case in the official version of the Qur'an known as the 'uthmānian Vulgate. According to a large number of ancient Shi'ite sources, especially those dating from the pre-Buwayhid period, this "caliphal Qur'an" is only a censored and falsified version, elaborated by the adversaries of Muḥammad and 'Alī, of the true divine Revelation^{77}. This contained precisely the names of many of the Prophet's contemporaries, his family, friends and followers, but also his adversaries and enemies. With a few rare exceptions that do not pose any particular theological-political problems, all other names would thus have been removed from the Qur'anic text (in the Vulgate, there are only four or five mentions of Muḥammad, one mention of Zayd, the Prophet's presumed adopted son, and another of Abū Lahab, Muḥammad's uncle and adversary, according to tradition).

In a tradition reported by al-Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939-40 or 940-41), we read:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr [disciple of Imam al-Riḍā] narrates, "Imam Abū l-I:Jasan [the eighth Imam, 'Alī al-Riḍā] lent me a codex of the Qur'an while asking me not to open it. I

However, I did so and I came across the verse: "Those who made themselves ungodly" and I saw within the verse the names of 70 men of Quraysh and the names of their fathers. The Imam then sent someone to ask me to return the *codex*^{78} to him."

In an eschatological tradition, reporting a vision of 'Alī and transmitted by al-Nu'mānī (d. c. 345 or 360/956 or 971), it is said:

al-Aṣḥab b. Nubāta [companion of 'Alī] reports, "I heard 'Alī say, 'I see from here the non-Arabs (*al-'ajam*) [*i.e.* the companions of the Savior at the time of His Return at the end of time] set up in their tents pitched in the mosque of Kūfa and teaching the people the Qur'an as it was revealed.' I asked, 'Prince of the believers! Is [the Qur'an] not now as it was revealed?'" "No," he replied, "the names of 70 people of Quraysh have been deleted (*muḥīya minhu*) from it, as well as the names of their fathers, and the name of Abū Lahab has been left only to humiliate the Prophet, for Abū Lahab was his uncle."^{79}

The "original Qur'an" would thus have contained many names of Muḥammad's contemporaries, and here again, according to Shi'ite sources, the explicit mentions of 'Alī would have been, by far, the most numerous. Let us reproduce some quotations from this "Qur'an" to illustrate our point (expressions in addition to the official text of the Qur'an are written in italics):

– Qur'an 2 (al-Baqara) / 6: "[...] As for those who deny the *walāya of 'Alī*, equal is for them whether you warn them or not; they will not believe^{80} ."

– Qur'an 2 (al-Baqara) / 87: "[...] But, is it not the case that whenever *Muḥammad* [instead of: a messenger] reveals to you something concerning the *muwālāt of 'Alī* [here *muwālāt* is synonymous with *walāya*] that vexes you, your pride denies one group *among the Family of Muḥammad* and murders another^{81} ?"

– Qur'an 2 (al-Baqara) / 90: "Vile is the price for which they have sold their souls, denying what God has revealed *about 'Alī*, and that out of jealousy^{82}

... "

– Qur'an 4 (al-Nisā') / 167-170: "Those who are unjust [instead of: "those who deny and are unjust"] with *regard to the rights of the Family of Muḥammad*, God will not forgive them nor guide them to any path / except that of Gehenna where they will dwell therein forever and that is easy for God / Men! The Messenger brings you the truth *about the walāya of 'Alī* from your Lord; add faith to it, it is better for you and if you deny *the walāya of 'Alī* [know that] to God belongs what is in the heavens and on earth"^{83} .

– Qur'an 5 (al-Mā'ida) / 67: "Envoy! Communicate what has been revealed to you from your Lord *about 'Alī...*" ^{84} .

– Qur'an 7 (al-A'rāf) / 172: "And when your Lord took from the loins of the descendants of Adam their offspring and made them witnesses about themselves, "Am I not your Lord, *is Muḥammad not the Messenger of God, is 'Alī not the Commander of the Believers?*" They said, "Yes, we bear witness to that" ^{85} ."

– Qur'an 15 (al-Ijir) / 41: "[God] says, 'This is the way of *'Alī* all straight'" (*hādhā ṣirātu 'Alīyin mustaqīmūn*, instead of: This is, for Me, a straight path, *hādhā ṣirātun 'alayya mustaqīmūn*) ^{86} .

– Qur'an 16 (al-Nahl) / 24: "And when it is said to them, "What did your Lord send down *about 'Alī?*" They answer, "Fables of the ancients" ^{87} ."

– Qur'an 20 (Tāhā) / 115: "And we once entrusted Adam *with Words concerning Muḥammad, 'Alī, [Fātima,] al-Ffasan, al-Ffusayn, and the Imams of their descendants,* but he forgot them" ^{88} ."

– Qur'an 33 (al-Aḥzāb) / 71: "Whoever obeys God and His Prophet *in what is the walāya of 'Alī and that of the Imams after him,* that one enjoys a grand happiness" ^{89} ."

– Qur'an 33 (al-Aḥzāb) / 25: "In battle, *thanks to 'Alī,* God is sufficient for the believers; God is strong and powerful" ^{90} ."

– Qur'an 43 (al-Zukhruf) / 4: "In the Mother of the Book, he is [*i.e. 'Alī*] with Us [*i.e. God*], *'Alī* who is full of wisdom" (instead of the official understanding: "[...] he is [*i.e. the Qur'an*], with Us, sublime and wise") ^{91} .

Let us stop the quotations here, but there are many more ^{92} . Thus, God is said to have mentioned 'Alī and his *walāya* by name in His Book - before it was falsified - on many, many occasions; infinitely more than the Prophet Muḥammad himself, if one is to believe the ancient Shi'i traditions. The question that legitimately arises then is: why? What is the reason for such a strong emphasis by God on the importance of 'Alī?

5. The dual nature of 'Alī and his sacredness

In the Shi'ite doctrinal corpus in general and in the compilations of hadith-s in particular, 'Alī is presented in two different and at the same time interdependent aspects: a historical, physical, earthly figure and a spiritual, metaphysical, heavenly being. Here we find the ubiquitous Shi'ite pairing of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, of the apparent and the hidden, the manifest and the secret, the exoteric and the esoteric. The earthly 'Alī, the historical Imam par excellence, is the manifestation, the revealed face of the heavenly Imam, a metaphysical entity, often also called 'Alī, which is the locus of manifestation of the divine Names and Attributes. This latter theophanic entity, the first created being, is sometimes (but not always) associated with the other pre-existential entities, the celestial persons of other holy figures whom Shi'ism calls Impeccable (*ma'ṣūm*), namely Muḥammad, Fātima, al-I:Jasan, and al-I:Jusayn, or all the Imams. At the dawn of the creation of the sensible world, it is placed, in the form of light, in Adam to be transmitted, from generation to generation, to the Friends or Allies of God (*walī*, pl. *awliyā'*), prophets, imams, saints and holy men and women of history, in order to achieve its ultimate goal i.e. the historical 'Alī^{93}. This 'light' of the divine covenant, making its bearer a man (or woman) of God, a receptacle and transmitter of divine teachings, is referred to, sometimes with nuances, by several technical terms in theological, prophetological and imamological contexts: *walāya* (as we have seen, a term that is difficult to translate into a single word - see above note 5), *waṣiyya* (legacy, inheritance), *nūr* (light), *amr* (another word that is difficult to translate: order, thing, matter...), *amr ilāhī* (divine *amr*), *juz' ilāhī* (divine parcel), or by combinations of these (*nūr al-walāya*, *nūr al-waṣiyya*, *waṣiyya walawīyya*, *amr al-walāya/al-waṣiyya...*^{94}). It is true that, as just mentioned, in the traditions concerning this entity, its creation, function and transmission, the other members of the set of Impeccables, and in particular Muḥammad, sometimes accompany 'Alī, but a consideration of the whole corpus clearly shows that the latter constitutes in an obvious way the pole around which the doctrine of the dual nature of divine man revolves, and all the more so since 'Alī is also one of the most important Names of God^{95}. In this context, "the *walāya* of 'Alī" designates a doctrinal element of exceptional richness: the sacredness of 'Alī as a theophanic being, the symbol of the Covenant with God (almost in the sense

The Shi'ites have a central role to play in the history of the Islamic world: the love of the metaphysical 'Alī through the love of and loyalty to his earthly manifestation, the historical 'Alī; the spiritual and temporal power of the latter; the brotherhood created between the members of the Shi'ite community through their common loyalty to 'Alī; and the strength, the light, the divine parcel that sacralizes man and of which the first Imam is the supreme *exemplum*. Hence the centrality of the notion and the person who symbolizes it among the Shi'ites who, as a result, often refer to themselves as *ahl al-walāya* (the People of the *walāya*) or the '*Alawīyūn* (the Faithful of 'Alī).

'Alī thus becomes the religious symbol, the spiritual horizon of an initiatory secret, of a two-faceted spiritual journey: the humanization of the divine and the deification of the human. The doctrine of the *walāya/waṣiyya/amr* constitutes the core of the Shi'ite faith, the hidden, esoteric dimension (*bāṭin*) enveloped in the exoteric religion (*ẓāhir*) carried by prophecy (*nubuwwa*) which is symbolized by the figure of Muḥammad. Hence the Shi'ite adage, repeated over and over again by all sorts of sources: *al-walāya bāṭin al-nubuwwa* (*walāya* is the esoteric of prophecy). The historical 'Alī is the guardian of this secret whose ultimate content is the metaphysical 'Alī. Thus the Imam is at the same time the subject and the object of Scripture exegesis: he is the exegete par excellence and his metaphysical theophanic dimension constitutes the ultimate content of hermeneutics.

After these introductory lines, the traditions we are going to examine will become clearer:

When God the Most High created the heavens and the earth, the Prophet is reported to have said, He called to them and they responded, and then He presented to them my *nubuwwa* and the *walāya* of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib [respectively, exoteric and esoteric aspects of religion as the Divine Message] and they accepted them. Then God created the creatures and entrusted the matter of [their] religion (*amr al-dīn*) to us both. Thus, the happy one is happy by us and the unhappy one is unhappy by us. We are the ones who make lawful what is lawful for them and unlawful what is unlawful for them^{96}.

The *walāya* of 'Alī permeates the entire history of humanity and constitutes its spiritual substance since it lies at the heart of all Revelations and all prophetic missions. Al-Saffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902-3), an important traditionist of pre-Buwayhid early Shi'ism, devoted several chapters of the second section of his great book *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* to these issues^{97}. According to many traditions, dating mainly to the fifth and sixth imams, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Sādiq, the pre-temporal pact (*al-mīthāq*), made between God

and creatures at the dawn of creation and to which Qur'an 7 (al-A'rāf): 172 is supposed to allude, is mainly about the *walāya*^{98}. Other hadith-s specify that only the "elites" of creation took an oath of loyalty to the *walāya* of 'Alī, namely: the Remainers (*al-muqarrabūn*) among the angels, the Envoys (*al-mursalūn*) among the prophets, and the Fallen (*al-mumtaḥanūn*) among the believers^{99}. According to a prophetic tradition, in the pre-existential World of Shadows (*'ālam al-aẓilla*), the status of the prophets was only completed when they recognized the *walāya*^{100}. Similarly, the Covenant granted to Adam, which is mentioned in Qur'an 20 (Tāhā): 115, concerns the *walāya*^{101}. This constitutes the essential reason for any prophetic mission:

No prophet or messenger has been commissioned except by (or "for") our *walāya* (*bi- walāyatīnā*)^{102}. Our *walāya* is the *walāya* of God. Every prophet has been sent (by God) only for/by it^{103}. The *walāya* of 'Alī is recorded in all the books of the prophets; every envoy was sent only to proclaim the prophethood of Muḥammad and the *walāya* [or *waṣīyya*] of 'Alī^{104}.

The Quran, in its "original unabridged version", would have clearly mentioned the fact (as before, the extra passages compared to the official version of the Quran are in italics):

Qur'an 42 (al-Shūrā) / 13: "He has established for you O *Family of Muḥammad*, in the matter of religion, what He had prescribed to Noah, and what We reveal to you O *Muḥammad*, and what We had prescribed to Abraham, Moses and Jesus: 'Establish the religion of *the Family of Muḥammad* (*i.e.*, the religion of the *walāya*), and do not divide yourselves about it, *and be united*. How difficult it seems to the associationists, *those who associate with the walāya of 'Alī* (*i.e.*, other *walāya*-s); what you are calling them towards *regarding the walāya of 'Alī*. Surely God guides, O *Muḥammad*, to this religion the one who repents, *the one who accepts your call to the walāya of 'Alī*" (instead of: "God chooses and calls to this religion whom He wills; He guides to it the one who repents")^{105} ."

If Adam was expelled from paradise, it was because he had forgotten the *walāya*^{106}. If the prophet Jonah was enclosed in the belly of the whale, it was because, for a time, he had refused fidelity to the *walāya*^{107}. If some Israelites were metamorphosed into fish or lizards, it was because they had neglected the *walāya*^{108}. This is because without the *walāya*, there is no religion. Without a God revealed in one of His Friends or without the divine man manifesting the ultimate Mystery in his person and teachings, faith

has no meaning. Without the spirit, the letter is dead, only an empty shell, a lifeless corpse. It is therefore only natural that Islam, the ultimate religion of the most perfect of the prophets, should be even more than others centered on the *walāya*; more, if Muḥammad is Muḥammad, it is because he was initiated, even more than other prophets, especially during his celestial ascensions, into the mysteries of the *walāya* of the Imam, of the God-Man symbolized by the cosmic 'Alī: "The 'Alī is a Sign of God (*āya* - in the same way as a verse of the Qur'an) for Muḥammad. This one only called (people) to the *walāya* of 'Alī"^{109} .

Commenting on Qur'an 94 (al-Sharḥ) / 1, on Muḥammad's prophetic calling, "Have We not opened for you (O Muḥammad), your chest?", Imam Ja'far is said to have proclaimed, "God opened his chest at the *walāya* of 'Alī"^{110} .

The angel Gabriel came to me, the Prophet is reported to have said, and said to me, 'Muḥammad! Your Lord commands you love (*ḥubb*) and the *walāya* of 'Alī'^{111}.

The Prophet was elevated to heaven a hundred and twenty times; not a single time passed without God entrusting him with the *walāya* of 'Alī and the imams (who come) after him far more than what He recommended to him concerning the canonical duties^{112}.

There is nothing earthly about the *walāya* of 'Alī to the Prophet; it comes from heaven, from the very Mouth of God (*mushāfahatan*; i.e., message received orally and unmediated by Muḥammad during his celestial ascents)^{113}.

In a solemn statement attributed to the Prophet, he praises 'Alī in terms that are clear allusions to the latter's dual nature, human and divine:

... Here is the most resplendent Guide, the longest Spear of God, the widest Threshold of God; let him who seeks God enter through this Threshold... Without 'Alī, the true would not be distinguished from the false, nor the believer from the unbeliever; without 'Alī, God could not have been worshipped... No Curtain (*sitr*) hides God from him, no Veil (*ḥijāb*) between God and him. No! 'Alī himself is Curtain and Veil...^{114}.

In other traditions dating back to 'Alī himself, notably in a number of sermons supposedly delivered in the mosque of his capital Kūfa, the identity of the speaker switches, from one sentence to another, between his human person and his divine Face^{115} . Here the first Imam seems to boldly announce his identity with the cosmic Imam, the theophanic being who reveals in his person the Names and Attributes of God. Here, we are satisfied with two examples of these sermons. We shall return to them at length in Chapter 4.

From the pulpit of the mosque of Kūfa, 'Alī, Commander of the Initiates, declared: By God, I am the Retributor (*dayyān*) of men on the Day of Retribution; I am the one who divides between the Garden and the Fire, enter no one therein except by my division; I am the Supreme Judge (between good and evil; *al-fārūq al-akbar*)... I hold the Sharp Word (*faṣl al-khiṭāb*); I hold the Penetrating Sight of the Way of the Book... I possess the knowledge of the fortunes and misfortunes and the science of judgments; I am the Completion of Religion; I am the Beneficence of God to His creatures...^{116}. I am the Queen Bee (*ya'sūb*) of the initiated; I am the First among the Elders; I am the successor of the Envoy of the Lord of the Worlds; I am the Judge of the Garden and the Fire...^{117}.

In the following sermon, the Names of God mentioned in the Qur'an are in italics:

... I am the Secret of Secrets... I am the Face of God; I am the Elijah of God; I am the Hand of God; I am the Language of God... I am the Most Beautiful Names by which God is invoked... I am the lord of the primordial pre-eternity... I am the master of hermeneutics [of the Qur'an]; I am the commentator of the Gospel; I am the scholar of the Torah... I am *The First* (*al-awwal*); I am *The Last* (*al-ākhir*); I am *The Manifest* (*al-zāhir*); I am *The Hidden* (*al-bāṭin*)... I am *The Creator* (*al-khāliq*); I am The Created; I am *The Giver* (*al-mu'tī*); I am *The Taker* (*al-qābiḍ*)... I am *The Compassionate One* (*al-raḥmān*); I am *The Merciful One* (*al-raḥīm*)... I am the Lion [of the clan] of the Banū Ghālib; I am 'Alī b. Abī Tālib^{118}.

It is in this doctrinal context that 'Alī (and after him, the Imams of his descent) is described in Shi'i works by such Qur'anic expressions as "the Supreme Sign" (*al-āya al-kubrā* ; Qur'an 79 [al-Nāzi'āt] / 20), "the strongest Handle" (*al-'urwa al-wuthqā*; Qur'an 2 [al-Baqara] / 256 and 31 [Luqmān] / 22), "the august Symbol" (*al-mathal al-a'lā* ; Qur'an 16 [al-Naḥl] / 60) or titles such as "the Proof of God" (*ḥujjat allāh*), "the Way of : God" (*ṣirāṭ allāh*), "the Vicar of God" (*khalīfat allāh*), "the Threshold of God" (*bāb allāh*), etc^{119} .

6. Roots, extensions and questions about the origins: 'Alī and Christ

The two natures, human and divine, of 'Alī would very early be referred to respectively as *nāsūt* and *lāhūt*, words of Syriac origin that Arabic Christian texts use for the dual nature of Christ^{120} . And for good reason: the main doctrines of Shi'ite imamology, indissolubly linked to its theology and propetology, seem to be heirs to the Christological speculations of various Christian currents

and Judeo-Christian neo-Platonist movements of late antiquity, especially various Gnostic movements and Manichaeism^{121}. The cosmic metaphysical Imam, a pre-existent being manifesting the luminous Word of God and a celestial archetype of the earthly Imam, seems to have its roots in the commentaries of the Gospel of John on the nature of Christ^{122}. One thinks in particular of the exegeses of the so-called "*Logos* theologians", Philo of Alexandria, Justin, Origen, Arius, etc. The status of 'Alī, simultaneously heavenly and earthly Imam, ontological intermediary between the divine and the human, presents more than one analogy with certain Christological dogmas from Paul (e.g. *Col* 1:15 or 2:9) to Origen's *Commentary on John*, Arius's *Thalia*, Nestorius's speculations on Christ, as well as the Christological and gnoseological doctrines of Mani, Bardesanes of Edessa, or Marcion^{123}. It is interesting to note that these movements were present in Sassanid Iraq, and in particular in the city of I:Jīra, several centuries before and several centuries after the advent of Islam. Now, Iraq is the homeland of Shi'ism, especially the city of Kūfa, built near I:Jīra. Is this the reason for the equally rapid and enigmatic transfer of the capital from Medina to Kūfa during the caliphate of 'Alī^{124}? The concept of *walāyat 'Alī*, and its vehicle "the light of the *walāya/waṣiyya*," as well as its "journey" through the generations to reach God's Allies, are reminiscent, sometimes in detail, of certain Judeo-Christian and Christian doctrines about the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the True Prophet or the Christology of angels, as found for example among the Manichaeans, the Montanists or the Monarchianists, which have been studied in detail in recent years, notably by Jan Van Reeth^{125}.

Thus, the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib stands at the crossroads of these spiritual doctrines and constitutes their epicenter. It is thanks to his dual nature that 'Alī constitutes the pivot of the spirituality of different Islamic domains and groups, as a theophanic being and at the same time an initiating guide par excellence: Shi'ite religiosity (all tendencies) especially in its imamological chapter, mysticism and Sufism both Shi'ite and Sunni, occult sciences, *futuwwa*, Shi'ite religious literature and art, devotion and practices of movements such as the Nuṣayri-Alaouites of Syria, the I:Jurūfiyya, the Nuṣṭawīyya, the Bābā'ī, the Bektāshis and the Turkish Alevis, the Musha'sha'iyya, the Ahl-e

I:Jaqq/Yārersān Kurds... For a very large number of Shi'ite faithful, in the great diversity of their doctrines and practices, 'Alī, the true manifestation of God, is superior not only to the other imams, but also to the Prophet Muḥammad. This is, for example, the case of many Alide sects of the early centuries of Islam (the Saba'iyya/Kaysāniyya, the 'Ayniyya among the Mukhammisa, the Nuṣayriyya Ishāqiyya...), some Ismailis with their doctrine of 'Alī as *asās*, superior to the *imām* and the *prophet/nāṭiq*, thus placing the *walāya* as the source of the prophetic mission, from the Druze up to the present mystical orders, the Shaykhiyya as well as the Shi'ite Sufi brotherhoods (Dhahabiyya, Ni'matullāhiyya, Khāksāriyya and others), for whom the Prophet himself had called his followers to the *walāya* of 'Alī, thus proving the superiority of the esoteric, the spirit, the *bāṭin* of which 'Alī is a symbol and spokesman, over the exoteric, the letter, the *zāhir* of which he himself was the messenger. For these followers, 'Alī, the Seal of the universal *walāya*, secretly accompanying all the previous Envoys and manifestly the Prophet Muḥammad, is the place of manifestation of the Supreme Name of God (*ism allāh al-a'ẓam/al-akbar*)^{126} .

Sunni heresiographers, but also Shi'ite authors claiming to be part of the post-Buwayhid rationalist tradition, have charged these doctrines with exaggeration (*ghuluww*) and those who profess them with extremism (*ghālīn*, pl. *ghulāt*). The accusation is of course ideological, but it does not stand up to historical critical scrutiny. We have seen that these imamological notions are all ubiquitous in the so-called "moderate" corpus of Shi'ite traditions considered authentic^{127} . Whether one thinks of the great ancient (3rd-5th/9th-11th c.) and modern (10th-13th/16th-19th c.) compilations of Hadith, the important authors ranging from Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) to the great masters of modern and contemporary mystical brotherhoods via I:Jaydar Amulī (d. 794/1391-1392), Rajab al- Bursī (d. 814/1411), Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (m. after 901/1496) or the great Iranian philosophers of the Safavid era, Mullā Sadrā (d. 1050/1640), Mullā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680), and the great theorists of the ontological *walāya* (*al-walāya al-takwīniyya*), such as Mīrzā Rafī'ā Nā'inī (d. 1083/1672), 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhijī (d. 1032/1622), Mullā Na'imā Tāliqānī (d. after 1135/1722) or Mullā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Damāvandī (d. 1160/1747)^{128} .

I would like to end this chapter with some questions, suppositions and hypotheses. I will expose them here very briefly and in bulk, leaving their detailed examination for the following chapter.

Shi'ism is the religion of the Imam, just as Christianity is the religion of Christ; similarly, the Shi'i doctrine of the Imam, Imamology, which fundamentally determines theology and prophetology, is entirely centered on the figure of 'Alī. In other words, for the past one and a half millennia, Shi'ism has been the religion of 'Alī, the divine man and supreme guide^{129}. This figure and the doctrines related to it thus possess a very great spiritual power, involving whole sections, certainly in the minority, but very largely representative, of the community of the faithful, and this from the very beginning of Islam until today^{130}. However, it is difficult to imagine that such a religion, such a devotion to a person, was born out of nothing or was based solely on a question of succession, even if it was that of a prophet.

At this point in the reasoning, several legitimate questions arise if we take into account a few premises. In very many Shi'i traditions (we have seen some of them), the Prophet Muḥammad states that the ultimate objective of his mission is the declaration of the sacredness of the person of 'Alī, i.e., to call the faithful to follow the person and teachings of the latter. Furthermore, as it appears in countless Qur'anic passages, Muḥammad's message is presented as the continuation and completion of the earlier monotheistic religions, in this case Judaism and Christianity. Finally, if one were to take seriously, as it richly deserves, the old and unjustly neglected thesis of Paul Casanova, Muḥammad would have come to announce the End Times; this is clearly attested first by several dozen short final suras of the Qur'an, rightly called

"apocalyptic", then by one of the titles of the Prophet attested by some of the earliest sources, namely *nabī* or *rasūl al-maḥama* ("the prophet/messenger of the calamities of the End Times") and by numerous traditions^{131}. One could then hypothesize the following: Muḥammad would have come to announce the End of the World; belonging to the biblical religious tradition, he could not remain silent about the central figure of biblical eschatology namely the Savior, the Messiah or Christ, the Anointed One (*al-masīḥ*); yet, according to some sources, 'Alī was considered, by a number of followers, to be

this Messiah of the End Times. Hence the many explicit mentions in the original Qur'an of 'Alī as God's Ally par excellence and the deletion of these mentions by his opponents in the official, but falsified, version of the Qur'an. This is at least what the early Alids would have professed. We will take a closer look at this in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah

*To Patricia
Crone In
memoriam*

1. End of the World in the Qur'an and Hadith

The Koranic corpus insists heavily on the coming end of the world. Many verses and suras are more or less directly dedicated to it. This is particularly the case of a large number of the final suras, the shortest, reputed to be the oldest, in any case of an archaic language and a remarkable literary style, close to the rhymed prose (*saj'*) that would have been used, in their ecstatic visions, by the pre-Islamic Arab diviners. These difficult passages announce the dramatic cosmic upheavals of the end of time, and invite unbelieving men to repent and purify themselves in order to avoid the wrath of God, to follow the right path and become part of the pious and good people to whom salvation is promised. Let's just take a few examples:

Qur'an 81 (The Darkening), 29 verses^{132} : "In the name of God the Merciful / When the sun becomes dark / When the stars become dim / When the mountains are made to move.

When the camels about to give birth will be left behind/ When the wild beasts will be gathered/ When the seas will become boiling/ When the souls will be gathered/ ...When the sky will be turned aside/ When Gehenna will be stirred up/ When Paradise will be brought forward/ Every soul will know what it must present/ ...Where then are you going?/This is but a Reminder to men/ For those among you who want to follow the straight path/ ... "

Quran 82 (The Breaking), 19 verses: "In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful/When the sky breaks up/ When the stars are scattered/ When the seas overflow their bounds/ When the graves are turned upside down/ Every soul will know what it has advanced or postponed/...You call the Judgment a lie/...Verily the good men will know the delight/ And the libertines the Gehenna/...How could you know what the Day of Judgment is?/Yes, how could you know what the Day of Judgment is? /On that Day no soul will be able to do anything in favor of another soul, for the Verdict will belong to God alone."

Quran 84 (The Tear), 25 verses: "In the name of God.../When the sky is torn apart/ It will obey its Lord and do what it should do/ When the earth is leveled/ And rejects what is in it until it becomes empty/ It will obey its Lord and do what it should do/ Then you, man who turns to your Lord, you will meet Him/ The one who receives the writing of his deeds in his right hand/ Will be judged with ease/ And will return to his own with joy/ But the one who receives the writing of his deeds behind his back/ He will cry out his distress/ While he falls into Hell/...I swear by the redness of the twilight/ By the night and what it envelops/ By the moon when it is full/ You will soon go up layer after layer/ Why don't they believe? Moreover, the unbelievers go so far as to deny/... Announce to them a painful chastisement/ Except for those who believe and do good works..."

Qur'an 99 (The Earthquake), 8 verses: "In the name of God.../When the earth is shaken terribly/ And vomits out its burdens/ Man will ask himself, 'What is the matter with him?'/On that Day, the earth will report all that it has witnessed/...On that Day, mankind will arise in groups to be shown their deeds/ Then whoever does an atom of good will see it/ And whoever does an atom of evil will see it."

Qur'an 100 (Those who gallop), 11 verses: "In the name of God.../By those who gallop, panting/Those who shoot out sparks/Those

And those who arise in the early morning/And raise a cloud of dust/Those who are already in the midst of the fray/And yet Man is ungrateful to his Lord/Whilst he is certainly a witness to all this/Because his love of possessions is too intense/Does he not know that the graves will soon vomit their contents? And that of the hearts will be exposed in broad daylight/ In that near day, their Lord will be fully informed about them."

Qur'an 101 (The Shattering), 11 verses: "In the name of God.../The Shattering/What is the Shattering?/...It is a Day when men will be like scattered locusts/When the mountains will be like the flocks of carded wool/Then he whose deeds are heavy/Will live a happy life/And he whose deeds are light/Will have an abyss in front of him/Do you know what is in the abyss?/A blazing fire."

Qur'an 102 (Rivalry), 8 verses: "In the name of God.../Rivalry distracts you/ Till you reach your graves/No! you will know very soon/ Again: you will know very soon/No! If only you knew it with certain knowledge/You will see Gehenna/You will see it soon by the eye of certainty/ And on that coming day you will be questioned about your past pleasures."

The imminence of the end of the world is still mentioned in several pericopes. In particular, it is underlined by the use of the term *al-sā'a*, the Hour, to designate the very imminent coming of this end^{133} .

"The Hour approaches and the moon splits / If they see a sign, they turn away and say: They cry out in falsehood to follow their passions, but every Decree is unchangeable^{134} /...Warnings are of no avail to them/The Day when the Crier will call them to a terrifying thing/They will come out of the pits with downcast eyes, like locusts scattered about/...The unbelievers will then say: 'This is a hard Day'..." (Qur'an 54:1-8).

"God is the One who sends down the Scripture of Truth and the Balance. What can make you understand that the Hour may be close at hand? Are not those who doubt t h e Hour in deep error? (Qur'an 42:17-18).

"The blind and the enlightened are not equal. Those who believe and do good deeds cannot be compared with the wrongdoers; but how few are those who meditate on the Reminder/The Hour is upon the

There is no doubt about it, but most people do not believe in it" (Qur'an 40:58-59).

"To God belongs the mystery of the heavens and the earth. The Decree (*amr*) of the Hour may come in the blink of an eye or it may be even closer than that. God is omnipotent over all things" (Qur'an 16:77).

Very often, the Qur'an gives the impression that the main object of its revelation is the announcement of the very near end of time. Sura 21 begins with these words: "In the name of God.../The reckoning of men is near, and they turn away from it in their carelessness/No new Reminder comes to them from their Lord, but they listen to it and mock at it...". This is also the case at the beginning of Sura 16: "The Command of God (*amr u llāh*) is coming! Do not ask for its swiftest coming. We can still emphasize the use of the term *āzifa* for the Judgment, evoking the idea of an event that is about to happen or that is approaching at full speed, something that happens suddenly: "Warn them of the Day that is about to come (*yawm al-āzifa*) when, distressed, with hearts raised to their throats, the unjust will find neither protector nor intercessor who can be listened to" (Qur'an 40:18); "...Which of your Lord's blessings do you want to dispute?/Here is a warning like the warnings of old/ The coming of the Imminent is imminent (*azifati l- āzifa*)/ None but God can ward it off..." (Qur'an 53:57). Elsewhere, the coming of the End of the World is described by the qualifier *wāqi'a*, literally "falling, falling" (Qur'an 52:7 and 70:1). The list is not exhaustive.

Moreover, according to some passages, the signs of the Day of Judgment are already there: "...As for those who are already in the right direction, God directs them even better and offers them piety/What are they waiting for, if not for the Hour to come to them unexpectedly? The Signs have already appeared..." (Qur'an 47:17- 18). Thus, the contemporaries of the revelation will witness the Hour in their lifetime: "May the Merciful prolong the lives of those who are in error for a little while until they see with their eyes the punishment or the Hour they are threatened with..." (Qur'an 19:75:75); "They did not believe in him; they will know very soon/...Turn away from them for a short time/ Look at them, they will soon see with their eyes/ Do they seek to hasten the coming of our Torment?/When it falls at their door,

The bad awakening will be for those who were warned [in vain]..." (Qur'an 37:170-177).

The examples from the Qur'an can thus be multiplied on several other pages. These passages, as well as many similar data in the Hadith corpus (to which I will return), have led some scholars, from the ^{nineteenth} century to the present day, to consider the Qur'an, the environment in which it was born, as well as the very early period of Islam, as phenomena belonging to a time and a space, in other words a history and a geography, strongly imbued with apocalyptic beliefs. The questions raised by these researchers have profoundly renewed the issues, the perspective and the methods of investigation concerning the birth of the Arab religion: if Muḥammad had come to announce the end of the world, as is proved by a significant part of the Qur'an and the Hadith, why would he found a new religion? To which religious background(s) did he belong? What is the part of the great religions of the time such as Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, in his formation and his message? How can we understand the other, non-apocalyptic parts of the two scriptural sources of Islam? What was the relationship between the first Muslims, especially the men of power and knowledge, and their prophet? What credit should be given to Islamic sources that are so abundant and at the same time so contradictory to each other, so full of implausibilities, so often manifestly apologetic and ideological? How to integrate non-Islamic sources, contemporary with the origins of Islam and the Arab conquests and just as oriented, in the study of the beginnings of Islam?

Among the authors of the most decisive studies on the apocalyptic dimension of the Qur'an and the Hadith as well as the figure of Muḥammad are: Christian Snouck Hurgronje, in his study of the Mahdist movements and his debate with Hubert Grimme^{135} ; Paul Casanova who wrote the best documented and most solidly argued book of his time and this despite the fact that many of the sources corroborating his theses were not yet known^{136} ; Tor Andrae, especially in his seminal study of the origins of Islam^{137} ; Patricia Crone and Michael Cook in *Hagarism*, their seminal joint work^{138} ; Suliman Bashear in numerous articles on Muslim apocalypticism^{139} ; David Cook, in several articles as well as in many passages of his valuable monograph on the same subject^{140} ;

Edouard-Marie Gallez whose voluminous work, *Le Messie et son prophète*, is a veritable mine of information, despite ideological positions and methods that sometimes give rise to reservations^{141} ; finally, Stephen S. Shoemaker in his very solidly documented work devoted to the divergences on the date of death of Muḥammad and their multiple and important implications^{142} .

Each of these studies has given rise to numerous scholarly reactions, either admiring, critical or even violently hostile, and if the author of these lines lists them, this obviously does not mean that he agrees with all of their approaches or hypotheses. However, the least that can be said is that these researches, based on erudition as deep as it is relevant and on solid philological and historical methods, have undeniably renewed the scientific debates on the origins of Islam by marking them in a lasting way, although some of them have been unjustly neglected for a long time. It is in this sense that the present study is a modest attempt to extend and complement somewhat the issues examined by them.

Let us return briefly to the corpus of Hadith. The scholars mentioned, as well as others but in a less systematic way, have drawn extensively from this corpus to support the thesis of the imminence of the end of the world as the original core of Muḥammad's message. I will therefore mention here only a few significant examples. First, there is "the hadith of the two fingers". According to the *Musnad* of Ibn I:Janbal (d. 241/855), the Prophet is reported to have said, "The Hour is coming. My coming and the Hour are separated from each other like these two" and he showed his index and middle fingers^{143} . In his work on the life of Muḥammad, Aloys Sprenger examines the same hadith, according to a report by Ibn 'Abbās quoted by al-Wāḥidī (d. 411/1020-1021). According to this account, after the revelation of the verse

"When they saw that the Hour was approaching (Qur'an 54:1), the unbelievers were worried for a while. Then, when they saw that nothing happened, they went back to their dissolute life. Then God revealed the verse: "For men the reckoning of their account draws near, while they are careless and turn away from it" (Qur'an 21:1). The unbelievers again had the same worries and then the same carelessness. Then the verse was revealed: "The Command (*amr*) of God is coming. Do not hasten it" (Qur'an 16:1). Then the Messenger of God said:

"My coming and the Hour are separated from each other as my index finger and my middle finger^{144} ."

Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845) reports in his *Tabaqāt* that Muḥammad was sent at the same time as the Hour so that he would warn his people of the coming of a painful punishment^{145} . Casanova quotes another prophetic hadith from the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442): "My coming and the coming of the Hour are concurrent; even this one almost came before me^{146} ." The same Maqrīzī, quoting al-Kindī (d. ca. 260/873-874), relates this saying of Muḥammad addressing his people: "Compared to the peoples who preceded you, the time you have left to live is like the white hair in the robe of the black bull [or "the black hair in the robe of the white bull]" i.e., an extremely short time^{147} .

Again according to the *Musnad* of Ibn I:Janbal, Muḥammad is said to have been missioned at the time of the coming of the Hour^{148} . The same scholar and his contemporary, the great traditionist Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), report a prophetic tradition in which Muḥammad states, "Those who see me or hear my words will see al-Dajjāl (the Muslim antichrist) in their lifetime^{149} ." Kister, Bashear, Cook, and Shoemaker, to name a few, report in their studies already mentioned other accounts along the same lines from the corpus of the *Sīra*. Casanova, on the other hand, analyzes a large number of texts and passages taken from the Prophet's "biographies" or more or less ancient historiographical works where Muḥammad is called "the prophet of the end of time" (*nabī ākhir al- zamān*) or "the prophet/sent of the calamities of the end of the world" (*nabī /rasūl al-malḥama* or *nabī al-malāḥim*)^{150} .

It does not seem useful to me to enter here into the debate, which is, after all, rather vain, on the more eschatological than apocalyptic character of the Koran (Andrew Rippin, David Cook, Fred Donner)^{151} or its fundamentally apocalyptic nature (Carlos Segovia)^{152} . Both dimensions are massively present, eschatological of course, but also apocalyptic as we have just seen. In this respect, Michel Cuypers considers, rightly so it seems to me, that with a few exceptions, the last 33 suras are apocalyptic and shows this convincingly^{153} . What is important for our purposes is that the suras and Qur'anic passages, hadith-s and narratives we have just examined are most likely to be traced back to Muḥammad himself, to his immediate entourage or very soon after. For, given that the advent of the Hour did not ultimately

not take place and that the world did not end, what later Muslim scholars or currents had an interest in fabricating such texts by attributing them to Muḥammad, who would thereby have lost all credibility and thus all prophetic legitimacy? This is the central argument of Casanova and more recently of Shoemaker in support of the thesis that the announcement of the end times constituted the main message of the Muḥammadian mission, a message that later Muslim authorities had every interest in obscuring. I will come back to this.

2. Remarks on the religious background of Muḥammad

Another crucial historical element corroborating this thesis is that the time and part of the world that saw the birth of Muḥammad and his message (in other words, the century from the first half of the ^{sixth} to the first half of the ^{seventh} century in the vast regions we now call the Near and Middle East), is strongly marked by intense apocalyptic expectations illustrated in all religious traditions. The incessant and bloody great wars between the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, and to a lesser degree, the violent conflicts bloody from Ethiopia to Yemen, with their share of massacres, destruction, displacement of populations and diseases, making the defeated of today the victors of tomorrow, all this created a world of uncertainty and anguish particularly conducive to the darkest premonitions and to the most grandiose hopes. Messianic uprisings, especially among the Jews, seeking to liberate Jerusalem from Byzantine domination and to rebuild the Temple were frequent: in 530, in Palestine, under the leadership of Julian who claimed to be the Messiah; in 602, in Antioch, where the Christian patriarch and thousands of his followers were killed; under Heraclius, where Jewish uprisings facilitated the occupation of Palestine by the Persians between 614 and 628^{154}. Jewish apocalyptic writings such as "The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel" or "The Secrets of Rabbi Shim'ôn ben Yoḥai" had a great religious influence among some Jews who looked forward to the deliverance of Jerusalem and who, after the advent of Muḥammad, would have regarded him as

the providential instrument of this liberation^{155} . Apocalyptic beliefs were also prevalent in Sassanid Zoroastrian circles of the time (although the exact dating of the sources is problematic), as appears from texts such as *Zand-ī Wahman Yasn*, the *Jāmāsp Nāmag*, or the History of the Armenian Sebēos^{156} . But the most numerous sources of this kind were composed by Christian authors, especially Syriac-speaking ones, some of them from a few years after the Arab conquests and thus prompted by them: the Testament of the Twelve Apostles, the Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius, the Apocalypse of Bahīra, the Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Esdras, The Sermon on the End of Time of the Pseudo-Ephrem, the Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Athanasius, etc.^{157} The emergence of a new prophet among the Arabs, the latter's lightning conquests within the two largest empires in the region, and the civil wars pitting the followers of Muḥammad against each other constitute a not insignificant part of the Apocalypses written or developed after the advent of the latter^{158} .

The Qur'anic apocalyptic belongs, in its own way, to this rich literature that was widespread in its time and place. And for good reason... At that very time, Arabia was largely permeated by biblical monotheistic culture. This must also have been the case in the region of I:Jijāz, despite the almost total absence of material evidence, an absence no doubt caused by the policy of systematic destruction of pre-Islamic remains in this region by the Saudi authorities. Contrary to what Muslim apologetics would later argue, pre-Islamic Arabia was not the era of "ignorance" (*al-jāhiliyya*) and idolatry nor was Islam the beginning of Arab monotheism. Probably idolatry had not existed there for many centuries, except perhaps among some unsettled Bedouins^{159} . Now, Muḥammad's message was aimed at the cities, certainly of tribal but not Bedouin culture. Apart from numerous epigraphic, archaeological and historical proofs, especially outside the I:Jidjāz, as shown by the numerous studies of scholars such as Frédéric Imbert, Christian Robin or Jan Retsö, the most obvious textual attestations are found in the Qur'an itself: the massive presence of figures from the Old and New Testaments, the allusive character of the biblical narratives which shows that the audience knew them well, otherwise these allusions would have remained completely unintelligible, the onomastics of the biblical characters

stemming from that of Eastern Christianities of Syro-Palestinian culture, the Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac roots of such important technical terms as *qur'ān*, *sūra*, *āya* or *zakāt* and *ṣalāt* or *ḥajj* and *'umra*, the role of Ethiopian Christianity, etc. The phenomenon has been extensively studied by dozens of scholars from various disciplines through hundreds of works whose synthesis remains to be done^{160} .

What about Muḥammad? What was the religious background of his birth and education? From what tradition(s) did his spirituality draw? What are the origins of the very many biblical or parabiblical characters and pericopes in the Qur'an, the occurrences of which are counted in the hundreds? For nearly a century and a half, various questions, theories and theses have been developed on this subject, again through innumerable works, without it being possible to draw any definitive conclusions: one or more forms of Judaism^{161} ? Different non-Nicene and non-chalcedonian Christian currents, that is to say above all "non-trinitarian" (Nestorianism? Arianism? Monarchianism? Montanism?...)^{162} ? Heterodox tendencies of Manichaeism^{163} ? One can also think of a syncretism between several of these religious traditions. Obviously, it is not a question here of entering into a detailed discussion on this particularly complex subject which would move us away from our subject. However, the most likely hypothesis seems to be that formulated by Alfred-Louis de Prémare as "a more or less definite membership [of Muḥammad] in one or other sectarian grouping qualified as Judeo-Christian... The hypothesis that there existed at the beginning of the ^{seventh century}, if not Arabic translations of entire biblical books, at least Arabic florilegia of quotations from the Bible or other parallel texts of Jewish or Christian apocalyptic writings^{164} ". It is true that the term "Judeo-Christian" remains ambiguous, even vague. Historically speaking, the non-trinitarian Judeo-Christian sects would have disappeared as such around the ^{fourth} and ^{fifth} centuries of the common era^{165} . However, many of their doctrines seem to have survived, in a "nebula" often known as the Ebionites or Nazarenes/Nazoreans (the *naṣārā* of the Qur'an?), especially on the margins of the Byzantine Empire in general and among Arabic-speaking peoples in particular, from Syria through Arabia and Yemen to Egypt. A very large number of researchers, from the second half of the ^{nineteenth century} to the present day, have studied the question in detail^{166} . Simon C. Mimouni even goes so far as to

The Ebionite and Elkasaite (Aramaic-speaking) groups persisted long after the birth of Islam - at least until the ^{eighth} century. One of them, the Ebionites, probably merged with the new religion, which it influenced so much that one may wonder whether it did not, to some extent, participate in its birth^{167}. The transmission, including textual transmission, was mainly carried out through different East Syriac and Iraqi Dyophysite and/or West Syriac, Egyptian and Ethiopian Miaphysite Christian currents^{168}. I have spoken of a "nebula" because, as Daniel Boyarin has rightly pointed out, the term "Judeo-Christian" can designate a non-sectarian group of spiritual movements, very often of a messianic type, sharing a certain number of dogmas and practices of Judaism and Christianity^{169}. Concerning the native milieu of Muḥammad and the Koran, to these dogmas and practices have been added sectarian data pertaining to the Christology of certain Jewish Christians, notably the denial of the divine filiation of Jesus^{170}. Still, a good number of doctrines and religious practices that Christian theologians and heresiographers such as Irenaeus in *Against Heresies*, Origen in *Against Celsus*, Epiphanius in *Panarion* or Augustine for example in his *Letter on Heresies to Quodvultdeus*, attribute to these "Ebionites" or "Nazarenes" (those who call themselves Christians but still want to live according to the law of the Jews), have a massive presence in the message of Muḥammad : a strict monotheism thus denying the divinity of Jesus but considering him to be the Christ and the Messiah (the two synonymous words are said *masīḥ* in Arabic, literally "anointed one" ; I will come back to this), the belief in the imminence of the end of the world and the coming of the Day of Judgment, regular prayer, youth, almsgiving and the practice of charity, the centrality of ritual purity, the practice of circumcision and the prohibition of the consumption of pork and wine^{171}. This is why Crone and Cook, referring to the Chronicle attributed to the Armenian priest Sebêos, contemporary with the advent of Muḥammad, consider that apart from the consumption of wine, the latter does not prohibit anything that is not prescribed in the Bible^{172}. And what about the advent of the Messiah?

3. The coming of the Savior

This is a kind of syllogism: Muḥammad announces the end of the world; he belongs to a biblical culture; he must therefore announce the advent of the eschatological Savior. Indeed, if Muḥammad and his message came from a monotheism of "Judeo-Christian sensibility" (the expression is by Guillaume Dye^{173}) and were addressed to listeners belonging to the same kind of milieu, and if they were announcing the imminence of the end of the world - all of which is amply attested by the Qur'an and the Hadith as we have just seen - then the Prophet could not fail to speak of the central figure of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and messianism, namely the Messiah (*al-masīḥ*, from the Hebrew *mashiaḥ* "anointed one"). Why this negative formulation of the last sentence? Because, very curiously and unlike the Hadith to which I will return, the Qur'an says nothing about Muḥammad's announcement of the imminent advent of the Messiah^{174} . In contrast, non-Islamic works contemporary with the Arab prophet mention the fact. For example, in the *Doctrina Jacobi*, also known as the *Didascalia of Jacob*, a Christian writing written in Greek probably shortly before 640, a certain Abraham, a Jew from Caesarea, addresses his brother Justus, the source of Jacob the author of our work, as follows: "A prophet has appeared with the Saracenes (i.e., Arabs), proclaiming the coming of the expected Anointed One, the Messiah. Once in Sykamine, I went to an old man versed in the Scriptures and asked him: 'What can you tell me about the prophet who appeared among the Saracens?' He answered me with a sigh: 'He is false! Prophets do not come with swords and chariots'^{175} ..." Similarly, in the already mentioned Jewish work "The Secrets of Rabbi Shim'ôn ben Yoḥai", reference is made to an apocalypse from the beginning of the ^{seventh century} where it is said that for some Jews Muḥammad was considered the liberator of Jerusalem and the herald of the Messiah^{176} . Toward the end of the ^{seventh} century CE, the Syriac chronicler John Bar Penkayē writes in *Rīsh mellē*: "...[the Umayyads] had received, as I have already said, from [Muḥammad] who was their *mhadyōnō*, an order in favor of the people of the Christians and the order of the monks^{177} ..." The term *mhadyōnō* has given Syriacists some trouble. Absent from the Costaz Dictionary, it is rendered as "guide" in Payne-Smith's. Alphonse Mingana translated it as "leader" but Sebastian Brock's translation as "guide" or even "spiritual guide" seems more relevant. Of interest to us is the latter's remark that the term "*mhadyōnō* [from the verb *hdī*, "to lead, guide," giving the

noun *hadōyō/hadīyō* "leader, guide"] has no obvious ancestry, but the intimately related term *hadōyō* is a Christological title as early as early Syriac literature^{178} ." Articulating this meaning with the texts of the *Doctrina Jacobi* and the "Secrets of Rabbi Shim'ôn ben Yoḥai," it is reasonable to assume that the title could have referred to the one who announces the coming of Christ.

Indeed, numerous textual attestations show that, for Muḥammad's first followers and most probably for himself, the Messiah of the End Times was none other than Jesus Christ^{179} . First, the Qur'anic corpus makes this very clear on numerous occasions (verses 3:45; 4:157, 171 and 172; 5:17, 72 and 75; 9:30-31). Among these occurrences, four use the phrase "the Messiah Jesus" (*al-masīḥ 'lsā*). The admittedly rather obscure 43:57-61 even seems to indicate that Jesus is a sign of the arrival of the Hour that Muḥammad's people would have rejected: 'When an example was taken of the Son of Mary, behold, your people depart from him/...He is a Sign of the Hour. Do not dispute this one and follow me. This is the Straight Way^{180} . In his letter to John the Stylite, James of Edessa (d. 708) writes: "the *Mahgraye* [most likely Aramaic transliteration of *muhājirūn*, the name, along with the *Mu'minūn*, of the early followers of Muḥammad]...all firmly confess that he [Jesus] is the true Messiah who was to come and who was foretold by the prophets; on this point there is no dispute with us [the Christians]^{181} ." A large number of studies are devoted to the identification of the Messiah, as the savior of the End Times, with Jesus Christ by the Prophet's followers during the early days of Islam^{182} .

This is probably why Muḥammad would never have been presented as the Messiah himself^{183} . Instead, he would have been considered, at least by some of his followers, as the Paraclete. The best-known textual attestation is the famous passage by Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām in *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* where we find an echo of verses 14:16 and 15:23-26 of John's Gospel about the Paraclete: "...And when the *munḥamannā* comes, the one whom God will send to you from the Lord, as well as the Spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-quḍs*), the one who comes forth from the Lord. He will be a witness for me, and so will you, for you have been with me from ancient times. I tell you this so that you will not doubt'. The *munḥamannā* in Syriac is *muḥammad* [in Arabic] and in Greek the Paraclete (*al-baraq̄lītus*) (*al-munḥamannā bi l-siryāniyya muḥammad wa huwa bi l-*

rūmiyya al-baraq̣lītus)^{184} ." The Syriac term *menaḥḥemānā* (from the Hebrew root *nḥm*), meaning "comforter, advocate, intercessor," does indeed translate the Greek *paraklētos*. The Arabic text obviously plays on the vague assonance between *munḥamannā* and *muḥammad* to demonstrate the evangelist's proclamation of the Arab prophet. However, the former means, as just noted, "comforter" and the latter "the most praised". The semantic equivalence that the *Sīra* establishes between the two terms would come from a confusion between the Greek words *paraklētos* ("advocate, "defender," "intercessor") and *pēriklutos* ("someone renowned, praised"), a confusion due to their transcription in a Semitic language without vowel annotation (*brqlts*). It should be noted, however, that the gospel term is rendered as *prqlt'/paraqlītā* in the Syriac version of the New Testament, the Peshīttā^{185} . The name *Aḥmad* in the Qur'anic verse 61:6 (another name for Muḥammad according to tradition and also meaning "God revealed Himself to Jacob and declared: 'From among your descendants, I will send kings and prophets to arrive at the Prophet of the Sanctuary (*nabī al-ḥaram*), the one who will rebuild the Temple (*haykal*) in Jerusalem. He is the Seal of the Prophets and his name is Aḥmad', that is, Muḥammad^{186} ."

It should be noted that the name Muḥammad (as well as the very close Aḥmad) is problematic. It would indeed be a kind of "onomastic hapax". In his monographic article devoted to this subject, Mohammed Hocine Benkheira speaks of an "innovation," a "laudatory nickname," or even "a title linked to the messianic status of the Prophet^{187} ." Thus, prosopographers such as Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845; contradicted, incidentally, by Ibn Qutayba, d. 276/889) to the late Ibn I:Jajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), mentioning other Muḥammad, either prior to or contemporary with the Prophet, would thus have sought to obscure the uniqueness of the Prophet's name, to obliterate the messianic nature of his mission, and to make it part of Islamic history^{188} . The question had already been raised by Hartwig Hirschfeld for whom the four Qur'anic mentions of Muḥammad are later additions aimed at the same goals^{189} . Other scholars, from Aloys Sprenger to Gabriel Reynolds, have also studied this problem from different angles^{190} . Moreover, the widely divergent spellings of the name among Syriac *authors-mḥmt* among almost all West Syrians and *mḥmd* among all East Syrians-while not constituting evidence, suggest that the name was unusual or even unknown in the

region^{191} . Was this because it was an Arabized form of the names of Paraclete in other languages, such as the Syriac word *munḥamannā* as just discussed or, as Geo Widengren has pertinently suggested, the Iranian term *Manūḥmēd/Manvahnēd*, a Manichaean variant of the Avian *Vohu Manah* > *Vahman/Bahman*^{192} ?

And what does "Paraclete" mean? We do not know exactly, since the meanings, exegeses and concepts that accompany its mention in the Johannine writings - the only ones in the New Testament - and above all, as it should be, in Christian literature, are numerous and varied^{193} . This is shown by articles in textbooks such as the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Dictionary of Dogmatic Theology*, the *Dictionary of Catholicism*, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, *Migne's Theological Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, as well as by innumerable monographs in the form of articles or books from the end of the nineteenth century to the present. In his already mentioned article "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", Jan Van Reeth offers a dense and documented synthesis of the different meanings of the term: "the one who comforts, comforter", "intercessor, advocate", "helper, helper", "resurrector, reviver", "herald, herald"^{194} . Often identified with the Holy Spirit, with Jesus Christ himself or with his spiritual reality, the Paraclete, in its different functions, is a force, a spiritual, angelic or divine entity that descends upon the saint to identify with him and make him a prophet, a messenger from Above^{195} . Among these different meanings, the last one seems to be relevant to our subject. It would come from a Mandaean and especially a Gnostic perception of the Paraclete rendered by the Syriac term *parwānqīn* - probably confused with "paraclete" in its adjectival form *pūrqnāyā* - used in the famous text called *The Hymn of the Pearl*: "I left the East (and) I went down, while two guides (*parwānqīn*) were with me. For the road was terrible and difficult and I, to travel it, was (only) a child^{196} ." The word is of Iranian origin and effectively means "guide." More precisely, it designates, especially in Parthian, the herald announcing the coming of the king and guiding the people by transmitting the latter's directives. Transposed into Manichean soteriology, the notion takes on the meaning of a spiritual entity that guides the souls of the faithful towards the Good^{197} . This meaning is echoed in two Johannine texts. First, John 14:25-26, which most exegetes have understood as referring to the Paraclete-the Holy Spirit who announces the

I told you these things while I was with you; but the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you everything, and remind you of all that I have said to you. Then John 15:26, where the Paraclete is said to be the witness of the coming of the Messiah: "When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will testify about me^{198} ." Thus, in a "Judeo-Christian" messianic context, the title "Paraclete" attributed to Muḥammad would have meant the herald of the parousia, the advent of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ^{199} . Now, according to a fair amount of textual evidence, for a number of his followers, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was the place of manifestation of Jesus and thus the Second Messiah.

4. Jesus and 'Alī

"Addressing 'Alī, the Prophet said, 'Something in you resembles Jesus son of Mary (*fīka shibh min 'lsā b. Maryam*) and if I did not fear that some groups in my Community would say about you what the Christians said about Jesus, I would reveal something about you that would have made the people gather the dust of your footsteps in order to receive the blessing of it^{200} ." This tradition, emphasizing a theological similarity between Jesus and 'Alī, is reported by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al- Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939-40 or 940-941), one of the recognized authorities of the so-called "moderate" Duodecimal Hadith. However, the association between the two characters reaches its peak in certain sources belonging to esoteric Shi'ite circles, taxed a posteriori and by the opponents of "bāṭinism" (belief in the absolute superiority of the esoteric dimension of faith over its exoteric dimensions) and "extremism" (*ghuluww*)^{201} . These circles plunge their roots all the way back to the early days of Islam, in the entourage of the Imams Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. c. 119/737) and Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765), on the borders of the first and second centuries of the hegira^{202} , and even earlier still, in the entourage of 'Alī himself and thus possibly in the time of Muḥammad himself^{203} . This is why the more or less late texts that transmit the traditions we are interested in often hold them to reports that are often quite

This is corroborated by the information provided by the heresiographic works on the first Shi'ite circles of esoteric and gnostic type and the great Alid "heresiarchs". Moreover, as has been said about the very probable authenticity of the apocalyptic data of the Qur'an and the Hadith, one could argue in the same way here: what interest would the later Shi'ites have in identifying 'Alī with Jesus as the Savior of the End of Time since this End did not happen after all? They would have discredited their champion! For all these reasons, the traditions we are studying here are likely to be very old, probably going back to the time of Muḥammad and 'Alī themselves, even if they are reported by later sources.

"People! I am the Christ (*anā l-masīḥ*), says 'Alī; I who heal the blind and the lepers, who create birds and drive away the clouds (allusion to Qur'an 5:110)...I am the Christ and he is me...Jesus son of Mary is part of me and I am part of him (*huwa minnī wa anā minhu*). He is the greatest Word of God (*kalimat allāh al-kubrā*)^{204} ." 'Alī is not a reincarnation of Jesus. His identification with the son of Mary is explained in early Shi'ism by the doctrine of the transmission of the Sacred Legacy (*al-waṣiyya*), the Light of the Covenant or Divine Friendship (*nūr al-walāya*), the Divine Parcel (*juz' ilāhī*), or the

"metemphosis" ("the shifting of light," as I have translated the *tanāsukh* term)^{205} . It is the passage, the inherence of a luminous divine force in the persons of a long chain of initiated saints, making them inspired persons capable of communicating with God in order to transmit to men the messages from Above and even, in some cases, transforming them into a place of God's manifestation (*maẓhar, majlā*); a doctrine which, in many respects, recalls that of the Paraclete, as we have just seen^{206} .

The messianic nature of 'Alī, as Savior, Resurrector and Judge of the end times, is clearly illustrated in many sentences of some preaches (*khuṭba*) attributed to him where an eternal Guide, speaking through the mouth of the historical 'Alī, loudly declares his theophanic reality^{207} :

"'Alī: '...I am the Retributor on the Day of Retribution [*dayyān yawm al-dīn*]. I am the Judge' [*qasīm*] of the Garden and the Fire^{208} ... I am the first Noah. I am the trigger [*ṣāhib*] of the first Flood. I am the trigger of the second Flood^{209} ...I am the Hour for the deniers. I

I am the Call that awakens the inhabitants of the graves. I am the Lord of the Day of Resurrection [*anā l-sā'a li l-mukadhdhibīn/ anā al-nidā' al-mukhrij man fī l-qubūr/anā ṣāhib yawm al-nushūr*]... I am the One who will fill the earth with justice and fairness as before it overflowed with oppression and injustice [or darkness: *zulman* or *zuluman*]. I am the Occult, I am the Attendant of the Resurrection [*anā qayyim al-qiya'ma*]. I am the Overseer of the Hour...I am the Resurrector of the dead...I am he who spoke through the mouth of Jesus...I am the Savior [literally "the Guided One"] of this time [*anā mahdī l-awān*]. I am the Christ. I am the Second Christ. I am the Jesus of this time [*anā l-masīḥ/anā l-masīḥ al-thānī/anā 'lsā al-zamān*]^{210} ..."

This is probably the reason why the Docetist-leaning view of the death of Jesus, exemplified in Qur'anic verses 4:157-158, would have been applied to 'Alī by his unquestioning followers. According to the heresiographer 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037):

"When 'Alī was murdered, [his follower] 'Abdallāh Ibn Saba' claimed that the person killed was not 'Alī but a demon (*shayṭān*) who had taken the form of 'Alī for people. As for the latter, he was taken up to heaven, just like Jesus, son of Mary'. Ibn Saba' further said, 'Just as the Jews and Christians lie in claiming the murder of Jesus, so do the enemies [of 'Alī and his family: *nawāṣib*] and the Khārijites lie in claiming the murder of 'Alī. The Jews and Christians saw a person crucified and it seemed to them that this person was Jesus [allusion to the above-mentioned verses of the Qur'an]. In the same way, those who claim that 'Alī is killed have only seen a dead person whom they took to be him. However, 'Alī ascended to heaven. Thereafter, he will come down to earth and take revenge on his enemies^{211} ."

Similarly, al-I:Jasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī (d. c. 300/912-913), another famous heresiographer, writes: "[After the assassination of 'Alī, his followers divided into three groups.] The first claimed that 'Alī was not killed and that he did not die; that he cannot be killed and will not die until he leads the Arabs with his staff and fills the earth with justice and fairness as it is now overflowing with oppression and injustice... [On hearing of the killing of 'Alī by a messenger, Ibn Saba' said to him]: 'You lie! Even if you were to bring us the brain of 'Alī in seventy bags, accompanied by seventy witnesses to his murder, we would still be convinced that he is not dead, that he cannot be killed nor will he die before

return to reign on earth^{212} ." Another example is the case of the heresiarch al- Ablaq, one of the leaders of the Shi'ite sect of the Rāwandīyya and a proponent of the doctrine of *tanāsukh*, who professed that the spirit of Jesus was installed in 'Alī^{213} .

Moreover, in several dozen Shi'ite traditions, 'Alī bears the two "Judeo-Christian" messianic titles of Fārūq (from the Hebrew and Aramaic *pārūqa*, redeemer, savior)^{214} and Siddīq (from the Qumranian Master of Justice *\$eddēq*)^{215} . It is known that in Sunnism these titles were given to 'Umar and Abū Bakr, respectively, but the Alyids always considered this to be one more usurpation of the rights of 'Alī^{216} . It is even reasonable to think that in such a context the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn*, exclusively reserved for 'Alī in Shi'ism - even the other imams are not allowed to bear it - would have had a messianic and apocalyptic meaning: *amīr*, the attendant of the *amr*, i.e., of the Hour, of the End of Time, the Messiah, therefore, who is at the head of the *mu'minīn*, i.e., the "Judeo-Christians" followers of Muḥammad^{217} .

Thus, if we consider that the ancient expression *walāyat 'Alī*, "the divine covenant (practically in the biblical sense) of 'Alī," could have had the meaning of "theophanic nature and messianic mission of 'Alī," this would shed a whole new light on a large number of traditions articulating Muḥammad's apocalyptic message and the messianic nature of 'Alī:

"'Alī is a miraculous sign from God (*āya*, in the same way as a verse of the Qur'an sent by God) to Muḥammad. The latter only called the people to the *walāya* of 'Alī^{218} ."

"The angel Gabriel came to me, the Prophet is reported to have said, and said to me, 'Muḥammad! Your lord commands you the love (*ḥubb*) of 'Alī and the proclamation of his *walāya*^{219} ."

"There is nothing earthly about the *walāya* of 'Alī to the Prophet; it comes from heaven, from the very Mouth of God (*mushāfahatan*, i.e. the message received orally by Muḥammad directly from God)^{220} ."

Verse 7 of Surah 13 alludes to two important religious figures, "...You are only a Warner (*mundhir*) while every people has a Guide (*hādīn*)."

Shi'i exegetes unanimously hold that the former refers to Muḥammad and the latter to 'Alī^{221} ; in other words

Muḥammad, the warning Prophet of the End of the World only calls his people to the guidance of his Messiah 'Alī.

5. Rewriting history and creating a new collective memory

As in other religions with apocalyptic proclamations, here too the problems begin when the End of the World does not come; when the "warning" prophet and the expected Messiah die without the time reaching its end. Moreover, in the case of the new Arab religion, other facts made things even more complex: incessant civil wars, dazzling conquests, the rapid constitution of a huge empire and the establishment of a strong and more or less centralized state, in this case the Umayyads. Then, a well-established state and powerful men at its head, with little desire for the world to end, never went well with messianism and apocalyptic aspirations^{222}. All these factors had some inevitable consequences: the rewriting of history, the reinterpretation of Tradition, the inflection of texts for the establishment of a new collective memory.

According to Paul Casanova, and more recently Fred Donner and Mahmoud Ayoub, Muḥammad died while being convinced that the advent of the Hour was imminent^{223}. The disadvantage of such a hypothesis is its inherent radicality, for if one accepts it one must consider almost the entire Qur'anic corpus and Hadith - everything that has no relation to the end of time - to be fabrications subsequent to the Prophet's death. However, a certain amount of data allows us to nuance this hypothesis and to avoid such a hypercritical attitude at the same time.

According to traditional chronology, Muḥammad's prophetic career lasted more than twenty years, between 610 and 632 CE. Although these dates, like many others concerning the events of the *sīra*, are unreliable (precisely because of the rewriting of history just discussed), it is reasonable to assume that this career covered many long years. For a mind that designates the End of the World by terms like *al-sā'a*, (the Hour, the Instant, the delay

immediate), *al-āzifa* (what is coming) or *al-wāqi'a* (what is "falling") which announce the imminent advent of the Day of Judgment, so as for all those who believe in him, several years would have seemed extremely long. Muḥammad may well have evolved during this period: still believing in the coming of the Hour but in a less immediate future. The Qur'an itself seems to reflect such an evolution. Besides the sentences about the inevitable immediacy of the Hour (see the Qur'anic passages, as well as the hadith-s mentioned above, part 1), other passages emphasize, in the face of the insistence of the unbelievers, that only God has the knowledge of the Hour (*'ilm al-sā'a*, see verses 7:187; 31:34; 41:47; 43:85), that a "day of God" is equivalent to a thousand human years (verses 22:47 and 32:5); it may even last fifty thousand years (verse 70:4). Moreover, expressions of nuance and hesitation (*'asā an*, "it may be"; *la'alla*, "may be") concerning the arrival of the Hour, or invitations to patience are used in other verses (e.g., 11:8; 17:51-52; 27:72; 33:63; 40:77; 72:25; see also 22:55 or 70:6-7)^{224}. The same

evolution seems perceptible in the Hadith when the Prophet states that the arrival of the Hour may take a century^{225}. Other data, extremely recurrent and reported by all sorts of sources belonging to divergent, even rival factions, would not be explained if Muḥammad had considered the end of the world to be imminent throughout his life; by way of examples: his ardent desire for male offspring^{226}; his insistence on the marriage of 'Alī and Fāṭima; the rich oasis of Fadak, left as an inheritance for his daughter Fāṭima and her family, especially his only two male descendants, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn^{227}. Thus, he might well have been thinking of his succession as well. The choice of 'Alī, the father of his only male offspring (not to mention the other special relationships that would have linked the two men), seems self-evident, especially if the Prophet or some of his followers considered him to be the Savior of the end times^{228}.

The rewriting of history and the fabrication of a new collective memory began from the beginning of the Umayyad caliphate (perhaps even earlier), historical enemies, at least since the battle of Badr, of the Banū Hāshim in general and the Alids in particular. A seemingly systematic policy aimed at replacing the figure of the Prophet with that of the Caliph. In this process, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, conqueror of Jerusalem in

who was granted the messianic title of Fārūq (see above), was the supreme symbol^{229}. In his letter to Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (reign: 65-86/685- 705), the famous Umayyad governor of Iraq, al-I:Jajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) states that the caliph is superior to the prophet-sent (*rasūl*) because in the eyes of God he fulfills a more important role in carrying out the divine will. Some strong men around 'Abd al-Malik felt that doing ritual circumambulations around his palace will be better rewarded by God than doing the same around Muḥammad's grave^{230}. The public cursing of 'Alī, from the pulpits of mosques but also in the propaganda of the state apparatus, becomes systematic from the reign of Mu'āwiya I, the first Umayyad caliph. The hatred of 'Alī, his family - which is obviously that of the Prophet - and his followers reaches its peak in Karbalā and the massacre of al-I:Jusayn b. 'Alī, grandson of the Prophet, and almost all of his relatives on the orders of Caliph Yazīd I in 61/680^{231}. In the same way, the other Qur'anic recensions were sought out and destroyed. Similarly, the initiative for the constitution of an official corpus of Hadith of the same nature was taken, mainly in the entourage of 'Abd al-Malik and the court scholar Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742)^{232}. A fine politician, Mu'āwiya, settled in Syria - a largely Christian country - had adopted a strongly pro-Christian attitude and policy (however without any reference to the Qur'an, or to Muḥammad or Jesus, or any other prophet), recovering at the same time "the Judeo-Christian sensibility" of Muḥammad's message and his early followers while trying to obscure the messianic dimension of it, widely supported in Alid circles^{233}. This is most likely the reason why he is unquestionably the heavily praised hero of most Syriac chronicles of the period, which, no doubt in order to go along with Umayyad propaganda, delete 'Alī from the list of

Arab "kings" after Muḥammad^{234}. With 'Abd al-Malik, again, the process of "demessianization" becomes decisive. The figure of Muḥammad, as the holiest and last of the prophets, is rehabilitated and at the same time, his message, originally "universalist," uniting the other monotheists called the Believers (*mu'minūn*), is now strongly Arabized, his differences and soon his superiority over Judaism and Christianity valorized, his followers called the Muslims

(*muslimūn*). The supreme symbols of the establishment of the new Arab religion are, on the one hand, the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the officialization of an official Koran, called the Vulgate of 'Uthman, henceforth declared independent of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures and as the Book of the Muslims, and, on the other hand, the sacralization of the Arab cities of Mecca and Medina^{235}. Jesus becomes a prophet almost identical to the others in this Qur'an, which, in the words of Alfred-Louis de Prémare: "was controlled from point to point by the Umayyad family, from 'Uthmān to 'Abd al-Malik, passing through Mu'āwiya and Marwān^{236}". Two other Umayyad personalities are also said to have played a role of primary importance in the establishment of this Qur'an: the two famous governors of Iraq 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād said Ibn Ziyād (governor from 56 to 67/675 to 686) and al-I:Jajjāj b. Yūsuf, already mentioned^{237}. The common denominator of all these prominent historical figures is their implacable hatred for 'Alī and the Alids; Ibn Ziyād was even directly involved in the Karbalā massacre. As a result, the thesis of the *tahrīf*, the "falsified Qur'an," widely held in Shi'ite circles until the ^{fourth/tenth} century, and according to which the power hostile to 'Alī and the Prophet's Family (*ahl al-bayt*) removed all mentions of them from the "original Qur'an," gains in plausibility^{238}. Interestingly, according to the *History* of the Armenian scholar Ghevond, in the letter sent around 719 CE by Emperor Leo III to the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II, it is stated that in the program of systematic destruction of Qur'anic recensions set up by al-I:Jajjāj b. Yūsuf, the only surviving text was the Codex of 'Alī (called here by his *kunya* Abū Turāb)^{239}. The idea that emerges from this report is that a Qur'anic recension by 'Alī would have been better protected than the others, probably because it had a singular importance among his followers; in any case, the "Qur'anic" quotations not part of the commonly known Qur'an reported by the early Shi'ite works are said to have been taken from the Qur'anic codex of 'Alī (*muṣḥaf 'Alī*) (see above chapter 1).

Gradually, even those who believed in 'Alī as the Messiah of the end of time changed their minds, probably within a few years of his death, when the hopes of his "return to earth" were dashed. The Alids, and later the Shi'ites, continued to dispute large parts of the rewritten history within the caliphal power and collective memory.

that it elaborated and which will be gradually presented as Islam. They were "orthodox". However, they were part of the same empire, the same community, the same religion, and to maintain the totality of their original doctrines was to cut off the branch on which they were sitting. Inflections were introduced into the beliefs. From his messianic status, 'Alī lost the apocalyptic dimension but kept the main spiritual functions: theophanic nature and inspired guidance. He thus became the imam par excellence, the first and father of all the other imams, countless descendants of his sons, recognized as such by countless Shi'ite currents of the first centuries of the Hegira. His *qā'imiyya*, his function as the "Resurrecting Guide", the trigger of the Day of Judgment, will be transferred to one or another of his descendants, according to these different currents. The figure of the Imam, as it emerges from the earliest sources, becomes the pivot of the Shi'ite religion. The historical Imam becomes the theophanic place of a pre-existential, metaphysical, spiritual Imam who manifests the Names and Attributes of God. We shall speak of the two human and divine natures of 'Alī, resorting to the terms *nāsūt* and *lāhūt*, words of Syriac origin and used by Christian sources to designate the dual nature of Christ (see above chap.1). The Imam in general, and 'Alī before and above all others in particular, is said to be the First (*al-awwal*) and the Last (*al-ākhir*), in other words, the alpha and omega of the Christic utterance, qualifiers which are at the same time Qur'anic divine Names. Similarly, he is, as an imam, "the Qur'ān/*al-kitāb al-nāṭiq*", the true Word of God, the Logos, contained in the Qur'ān called "the Book/the Silent Guide" (*al-kitāb/al-imām al-ṣāmit*). 'Alī and the Imams of his descendants thus extend prophecy, i.e., communication with God and the transmission of divine messages to mankind. It is true that the words designating this function (*risāla*, *nubuwwa*) are not used to describe them, no doubt so as not to contradict the dogma - belatedly accepted by all - of Muḥammad as "the last prophet", but the most authoritative sources attribute to the imams all the prophetic qualities and capacities^{240}. Shi'ism thus becomes very early the religion of the Imam as Christianity is the religion of Christ^{241}. Is this what the unusual expression "religion of 'Alī" (*dīn 'Alī*) expresses? How does this differ from the religion of Muḥammad, which is

has come to call "Islam"? This is what we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Considerations on the expression *dīn 'Alī*

The origins of the Shiite faith^{242}

In Shi'ite lands in general and in Iran in particular, there are a large number of compound names ending in 'Alī. Many are very common: I:Jusayn-'Alī, Muḥammad-'Alī, Ja'far-'Alī... Others have a more literary, even poetic resonance: Sayf-'Alī 'sword of Ali', Nūr-'Alī 'light of Ali', Maḥabbat-'Alī or Mehr-'Alī

"love of Ali", Imān-'Alī "faith of Ali" ... Still others are quite unusual: Shīr-'Alī "lion-Ali", Gorg-'Alī "wolf-Ali", Cerāgh-'Alī

"lamp of Ali" or Dīn-'Alī "religion of Ali". This last name had always intrigued me: isn't the "religion of 'Alī" identical to Islam, to the religion of Muḥammad? How could this first name be explained, especially since the first names Islām and Dīn-Muḥammad also exist? What was my astonishment when, a few years ago, I came across the expression *dīn 'Alī* in some passages of ancient historiographic works. What does this expression mean? How should it be understood? The present study is therefore an attempt to answer an old question, although the context is obviously not the same. It consists of five parts: 1. *Dīn 'Alī* among historiographers; 2. The singularity of 'Alī; 3. The rhetoric of 'Alī and the Alids; 4. Foundations

of the religion of 'Alī, 4.1. Qur'anic foundations, 4.2. pre-Islamic foundations; 5. Reactions and extensions.

1. *Dīn 'Alī* among historiographers

In a few passages of his monumental *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, al-Tabarī (d. 310/923) reproduces reports in which the expression *dīn 'Alī* appears. The first is part of a long narrative reported by 'Aṭīyya b. Bilāl concerning the battle of the Camel in 36/656^{243}. At one point in the battle, 'Amr b. Yathribī al-labbī *al-rājiz*, a warrior-poet in the Confederate camp against 'Alī, killed three of the latter's men, 'Ilbā' b. al-Haytham al-Sadūsī, Hind b. 'Amr al-Jamalī, and Zayd b. Sūḥān, before being neutralized by 'Alī's old follower, 'Ammār b. Yāsir. Falling to the ground, he is said to have chanted this *rajaz*:

Let him who does not know me know that I am Ibn Yathribī, slayer of 'Ilbā' and Hind al-Jamalī. And again of the son of Sūḥān, all (followers) of the religion of 'Alī^{244}.

He was then taken to 'Alī who, not accepting his request for *amān*, ordered his death. According to the author of the account, Ibn Yathribī was the only captive to whom 'Alī refused his pardon. Al-Tabarī does not provide any details as to the reasons for this intransigence, and the reader may reasonably conclude that his haughty boasting of the killing of three of 'Alī's most loyal companions was the main reason for the execution of the *rājiz* warrior. At the same time, another scholar, Ibn Durayd Muḥammad b. al-I:Jasan al-Azdī (d. 321/933), reproduced the poem in his *Kitāb al-ishtiḳāq*, adding that, in order to justify this single execution, 'Alī is said to have said:

he (*i.e.* Ibn Yathribī) had claimed to have killed them (my three companions) while they were following the religion of 'Alī; yet the religion of 'Alī is the religion of Muḥammad (*za'ama annahu qatalahum 'alā dīn 'alī wa dīn 'alī dīn muḥammad*)^{245}.

According to Ibn Durayd's text, the reason for Ibn Yathribī's killing was his distinction between the religion of 'Alī and that of Muḥammad, thus implicitly accusing 'Alī of having a different religion from Islam^{246}. Yet, other passages in al-Tabarī cast doubt

on the explanation provided by the *Kitāb al-ishtiḳāq*, since this time the expression in question is put in the mouths of the followers of 'Alī. One such passage appears during a report, due to the famous Abū Mikhnaḥ after 'Ubaydallāh b. al-I:Jurr al-Ju'fī, on the arrest and killing, by Mu'āwiya, of a number of Alid rebels led by I:Jujr b. 'Adī. During one of the interrogations, one of 'Alī's supporters, Karīm b. 'Afīf al-Khath'amī, is said to have had the following dialogue with Mu'āwiya: al- Khath'amī:

Fear God, Mu'āwiya (literally: God! God! O Mu'āwiya) for you will be taken (inescapably) from this transient abode to the final and eternal Abode; there you will be questioned as to why we were put to death and you will be asked why you shed our blood?" Mu'āwiya: "What do you say about 'Alī?" Al-Khath'amī: "I say the same thing as you: I dissociate myself from the religion of 'Alī by which he submitted to God (*atabarra'u min dīni 'Alī alladhī kāna yadīnu llāha bihi*)." Thereupon, Mu'āwiya remained silent, finding it difficult to answer him^{247}.

Also according to al-Tabarī, during the revolt of al-Mukhtār, one of the latter's followers, Rufā'a b. Shaddād al-Hamdānī recited this verse in the midst of the battle:

I am the son of Shaddād, follower of the religion of 'Alī,
I am not the ally of 'Uthmān, scion of a goat^{248}.

Finally, according to a tradition reported by Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) in *al-Muṣannaḥ*, at the Battle of the Camel, Muḥammad b. al- I:Janafiyya, son of 'Alī, let an opponent live when the latter proclaimed to adopt the religion of 'Alī^{249} .

A few elements seem to indicate that the expression is authentic. First of all, the rarity of the occurrences and the almost fortuitous character of those. One of the characteristics of the apocrypha is the insistence and the multiplicity of its use as well as the meticulousness deployed in its exergue^{250} . I do not claim, of course, to have systematically combed through al-Tabarī's monumental "History," but I have gone through it carefully enough and, with these few passages, I do not think I am far off the mark. Secondly, the expression *dīn 'Alī* is attributed to both the bitter opponents and the loyal and devoted supporters of 'Alī. This tends to show that it was commonplace, that it was known to all, and that its use by the reporters of historiographical traditions was not dictated by partisan positions; this would also explain its almost fortuitous occurrences, without any particular need in the

contexts in which they appear. In the course of the following discussion, we will see other evidence that seems to show that this expression could indeed have existed in the early days of Islam.

2. The singularity of 'Alī

As far as I know, 'Alī is the only character in early Islam, apart from the Prophet of course, to whom the term *dīn* is attached. We know from some analyses by R.B. Serjeant and especially from the fundamental study of M.M. Bravmann, that *dīn* designates, in ante-Islam as well as in the early days of the new religion of the Arabs, a set of laws both secular and sacred^{251}. By extension, *dīn* is also submission to a law or to a leader, thus opposing the anarchy and savagery that characterize *jahl*, ignorance. The meaning of "religion", increasingly exclusive in the Islamic era, would be derived from this original secular and/or religious meaning^{252}. The use of the expression *dīn 'Alī* is all the more remarkable because when speaking of 'Alī's most prestigious contemporaries, in this case the other three *rāshidūn* caliphs, the sources use the term *sunna* and almost never *dīn*. Again, the studies of M.M. Bravmann (rectifying the analyses of J. Schacht), followed by those of G.H.A. Juynboll show that the *sunna* is originally a path well marked in the soil, from which one could deviate only voluntarily, and by extension the path of the ancestors or sages of the tribe which should be followed scrupulously. Although the Qur'an gives the term the meaning of "the way of God", in the early days of the nascent religion, the *sunna* designates a set of profane or religious behaviors, attitudes and words, of the sages and models par excellence, in this case the Prophet himself and his first caliphs^{253}. Both historiographical and purely religious sources refer to the *sunna-s* of the early caliphs. Al-Balādhurī (d. *circa* 302/892) refers to the *sunna* of Abū Bakr and 'Umar as do the Khārijites, when arbitrating the battle of Siffin, at al-Tabarī^{254}. The expression "*sunna* of the Two 'Umar," i.e., Abū Bakr and 'Umar, is found in the poetry of Farazdaq (*circa* 109/728)^{255} and Ibn Abī Ya'lā (526/1133), citing the *Kitāb al-sunna* of al-Barbahārī (329/941), refers to the *sunna* of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and

'Uthmān^{256} . In the current state of my research, I have only encountered the expression *sunnat 'Alī* in the ancient period in the anonymous historiographical text, dating from the ^{second-thirteenth/eighth-ninth} century and edited under the title *Akḥbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya*^{257} . M. Sharon's masterful analysis of this work shows how this pro-abbasid source also spares 'Alī and the Alids^{258} , hence the use of the term *sunna* for 'Alī to emphasize the latter's role as a role model, along with the other "rightly guided caliphs," the *rāshidūn*. The rarity, or even the near non-existence, of the expression *sunnat 'Alī* seems all the more surprising since 'Alī seems to have had, as far as legal matters and ritual practices are concerned, the same decisions as the first two caliphs. This is undoubtedly why later on, the Shi'is, marked by their aversion to the first three successors of the Prophet, will follow, in many cases, much more the legal teachings of Ibn 'Abbās than those attributed to 'Alī^{259} . Imamite literature itself will seek to justify this fact by invoking a form of *taqiyya* practiced by 'Alī who feared being accused of deviation from the line followed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar^{260} . The ostracism against 'Alī's *sunnaḥ* may have been precisely because when speaking of him, the term *dīn* was used more frequently, thus emphasizing the radical difference in some of his stances in the field of faith compared to his three predecessors. The traditionist Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd b. Abī Umayya (d. 204/819), a fierce opponent of the Kūfa Shi'ites, constantly enumerated the merits of the first three *rāshidūn*, exhorting his listeners to follow their *sunna*, probably deliberately deleting 'Alī from the list of role models^{261} . It was probably in reaction to the use of the expression *dīn 'Alī*, that Ibn Abī Ya'lā wrote, in the confines of the ^{fifth} and ^{sixth / eleventh} and ^{twelfth} centuries, that the *sunna* of the first three caliphs - 'Alī is thus deliberately excluded - was called "the ancient, original religion," *al-dīn al-'atīq*^{262} . *Dīn 'Alī* would thus have been much more than a *sunna*, more than a set of behaviors or decisions affecting daily religious and secular life. It seems to designate rather a set of beliefs, professions of faith one might say, concerning the profane as well as the sacred domain, the spiritual as well as the temporal, justifying the translation of the expression by "religion of 'Alī". Let us try to discover the content of this "religion", at least in its broad outline.

Can it be thought that the expression referred to "the religion" proclaimed by Muḥammad in which 'Alī was considered the Messiah, the Savior of the end of time? (See here chap. 2). This is possible inasmuch as a number of his followers would have professed this doctrine. However, the sources that testify to this messianic belief in the figure of 'Alī do not seem to mention the expression *dīn 'Alī*. Let us then turn to tracks where textual evidences are numerous and concordant.

In his masterful work, *The succession to Muḥammad*, W. Madelung notes almost all the above-mentioned passages where our expression appears^{263}. An impressive sum of erudition and fine analysis, the work concerns many fundamental issues in the history of early Islam; as a result, its eminent author confines himself to an allusion to the subject of *dīn 'Alī*: "*Dīn 'Alī could at this stage have only a limited meaning, most likely the claim that 'Alī was the best of men after Muḥammad, his legatee [waṣī] and as such most entitled to lead the Community*^{264} ." "The best of men after Muḥammad, his legatee, and as such most entitled to lead the Community" would indeed summarize, as we shall see, the fabric of the "religion of 'Alī," but each of these data carries with it many implicit notions and conceptions, affecting both the ancestral Arab beliefs and the new faith, which allowed for the claim of exclusive legitimacy in the eyes of a certain number of faithful. The meaning of the term may be limited, but it is highly complex. The purpose of the present study is to try to discover the why and how of this meaning and to provide a modest complement to the magisterial study of the great Oxford Islamist.

3. The songs of 'Alī and the Alids

The best first field of investigation is the words of 'Alī himself. As is well known, authentic or not, these are extremely numerous, filling pages and pages of sources belonging to all sorts of literary genres^{265}. The life of 'Alī, as it appears through the sources and despite many contradictions and implausibilities, seems to have been particularly rich:

his youthful period at the time of the birth of Islam, his relations with Muḥammad in Mecca and then in Medina, his warlike exploits, his spiritual dimension, his family, his sidelining for the succession of the Prophet, his relations with the first three caliphs, his reign which was an uninterrupted series of civil wars, etc., constitute so many multiple and complex backdrops that reflect their richness and variety in the remarks of one of the most colorful characters that Islamic sources have presented to us. However, in the multitude of remarks on the most diverse subjects, two themes constitute real leitmotifs, almost obsessive refrains: the fact that he was the first man to have accepted the prophetic message of Muḥammad and to have devoted absolute fidelity to the new religion (this is the notion of *sābiqa*); secondly, and more importantly, to a much greater extent, the fact of being the closest relative, with the most conclusive blood ties, of the Prophet (the notion of *qarāba*). As will be seen, the importance of this kinship is so fundamental that it encompasses and even explains the *sābiqa*^{266}. Explicitly or implicitly, these two claims made 'Alī, in his own eyes and in the eyes of his followers, the sole legitimate successor to Muḥammad. One need only peruse, through historiographical works for example, the sayings of 'Alī, more particularly those concerning the leadership of the Community where his legitimist claims appear, to note these two ubiquitous themes: his letters to Mu'āwiya in the context of the battle of Siffīn^{267}, in the same context, his letter to his elder brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Tālib^{268}, or his words in the wake of the famous prophetic speech of Ghadīr Khumm^{269}. These are the same themes that cause the followers of 'Alī to recognize him as the only legitimate *waṣī* (legatee) of Muḥammad. In the poem, reported by al- Balādhurī, of the warrior of the Banū 'Adī who, alongside 'A'isha, Talḥa and al- Zubayr, fights 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel, this title of 'Alī is an object of mockery (which proves its existence), for for the Banū 'Adī, the only true "legatee" of the Prophet is Abū Bakr whose daughter is now being fought over by the Alids:

We are 'Adī and we seek 'Alī (to kill him) ... we kill all those who oppose the *waṣī* [*i.e.* Abū Bakr]^{270}.

Al-Tabarī reports, that after the assassination of the third Caliph 'Uthmān, poets entered into competition to sing about the event. Among them,

al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. 'Utba b. Abī Lahab took the opportunity to praise 'Alī:

...Surely, the best of men after Muḥammad, among those who remember (*'inda dhi dh-dhikri*) is indeed the Legatee of the Chosen Prophet/He who first offered prayer, closest (*ṣinw* or *ṣunw*) to the Prophet, and who first struck down the misguided of Badr...^{271}.

In a letter, reported by some historiographers and censored by others, Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr, the first caliph, takes Mu'āwiya violently to task, probably just before Siffīn. Referring to 'Alī, he presents him as the first man to respond positively to the Message of Muḥammad, of whom he was brother and cousin, leader of the faithful, legatee and father of the only male offspring^{272}. In one of his *ṭawīl*-s, the Alide poet of Baṣra, Abu l-Aswad al-Du'alī (d. 69/688), citing his favorite figures among the Prophet's close relatives, is content to call 'Alī by the single term *waṣī*^{273}. The same leitmotifs are found in the sermon of al-I:Jasan, eldest son of 'Alī, proclaimed at the mosque of Kūfa, after the latter's assassination; a sermon reported both by the Sunni Balādhurī and by the pro-Shi'ite Abu l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/966)^{274}. The Shi'ite sources and especially the works of I:Jadīth will repeat, to satiety and amplifying them, the refrains concerning the *sābiqa* and even more the *qarāba* of 'Alī.

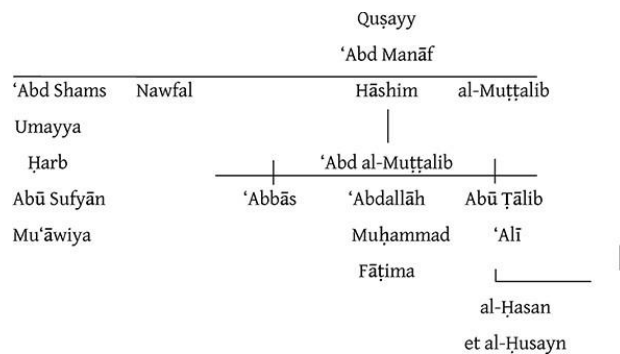
4. Foundations of the "religion of 'Alī"

How do these notions justify the name "religion of 'Alī"? How and why can they constitute articles of faith? The reason why 'Alī and his followers claimed them so obsessively, and why it became customary among both pro- and anti-Ali'udists to refer to them as *dīn 'Alī*, is that they were based on doctrinal and ideological justifications that appeared religiously legitimate and credible to those who professed them. It seems to me that two categories of

These notions were supported by "legitimizing proofs" which justified the name *dīn 'Alī*: Islamic proofs based on the Qur'anic text and even more so proofs based on secular and ancestral beliefs.

Qur'anic foundations^{275}

Famous for his great knowledge of the Qur'anic text and his scrupulous fidelity to it^{276}, 'Alī and his followers could not fail to use the data of the revealed text to prove their legitimacy. Here again, the work of W. Madelung will serve as a guide. In a subchapter, as dense as it is relevant, of his introduction to *The succession to Muḥammad*, he acutely examines all the Qur'anic occurrences that could serve as justification for the Alid claim to leadership of the Community after the Prophet's death. This is an obvious point, emphasized for the first time to my knowledge with such erudition and precision, which even serves as a nodal point and fundamental argument for the purpose underlying the entire book^{277}. We shall therefore limit ourselves here to summarizing this work, with particular emphasis on the Koranic data.



The Qur'an places great emphasis on respect for kinship and blood ties:

God commands justice, benevolence and generosity towards close relatives (*dhi l-qurbā*), He forbids turpitude, blame and injustice. He warns you so that you may mediate" (Q. 16: 90),

"Render to your loved ones what is due to them (Q. 17: 26).

They ask you about what they should spend on largesse. Say: what you spend in goodness should go to the father and mother (*wāliḍayn*) and then to the next of kin (*aqrabīn*), the orphans, the poor, the child of the way (Q. 2: 215).

Kindness to relatives and their material support is a religious duty, but only if they have converted to Islam; but even if they have not, the Muslim is enjoined to be fair and impartial to his pagan relatives (Q. 4:135; 6:152; 9:23-24 and 113-14)^{278}. However, despite these limitations, the Qur'an clearly states

the superiority and preeminence of blood ties over any other tie or alliance:

Blood relatives (*ūlū l-arḥām*) have reciprocal priority, according to the Book of God, over believers and Emigrants (Q. 33: 6).

Verses 72-74 of Sura 8, praising the former converts, the Emigrants and the Helpers, are followed by a verse, probably added later:

As for those who converted late, but migrated and make an effort with you, they are of you. Blood relatives have priority over each other according to the Book of God{279}.

More importantly for our purposes, in the Qur'anic "Stories of the Prophets", the close family members of the prophets always play a leading role: they are the protectors of God's Messengers against their opponents and after the death of the latter, they become their heirs both spiritually and temporally. The prophets of the Banū Isrā'īl are in fact from the same family going back to Noah and Adam; this same family extends to Jesus (Q. 3: 33-34 and 19: 58). The chain of prophets and the importance of their heirs, chosen from among their close relatives, in the economy of the sacred, are emphasized by verses 84-89 of Surah 6:

We gave him Isaac and Jacob and guided them all; and Noah, We guided him before, and among his descendants David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron. Thus do We reward those who do good/ And Zechariah, John the Baptist and Jesus, Elijah, all of them from among the righteous/ Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah, Lot, We favored them among all created beings/ With some of their forefathers and their children and their brothers, We enlightened them and guided them in the right path/ This is God's guidance; He leads whom He wills among His worshippers. If men associate other gods with Him, their deeds will surely come to naught/ To such We gave the Scripture, the wise authority and the prophecy.

All of Noah's people are wiped out by the Flood, except for his family (*ahl*), except for one of his sons and his wife who betrayed him (Q. 9: 40 and 45-46; 21: 76-77; 23: 27; 37: 76-77). Similarly, Lot's family, except for his treacherous wife, is the only survivor of the catastrophe that befalls the people (Q. 54: 33-35; 66: 10) because his family is composed of people who "purified themselves" (*yataṭahharūn*) (Q. 27: 56). Abraham, a central figure in the Qur'an, is the patriarch of the prophets of the descendants of Israel.

All the prophets and transmitters of the Scriptures after him are in fact his direct descendants from his sons Isaac and Ishmael, thus forming an unbroken chain of Messengers and Guides (*imām*) (Q. 2: 124; 19: 49-50; 29: 27; 57: 26). Addressing Sarah and speaking of the family of Abraham, the angels say, "Would you be surprised at God's decree, when God's mercy and blessing are upon you (masculine plural), family of the abode (*ahl al-bayt*)?" (Q. 11: 76)^{280}. Or, "...We gave the family of Abraham the Scripture, wisdom, We gave them a grand sovereignty (*mulkan 'azīman*)" (Q. 4 : 54). Moses is assisted in his prophetic mission by his brother Aaron who shares with him the intimacy of God (Q. 20: 29-32 and 36; 21: 48-49; 25: 35). The mysterious *baqiyya*, a relic containing the divine *sakīna* and a sign of the divine investiture and kingship of the Banū Isrā'īl, belongs to the family of the two chosen brothers (Q. 2: 248). Similarly, David has as his assistant, heir and successor, his son Solomon (Q. 21: 78; 27: 16; 38: 30). Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, asks God to have a divine son who would inherit the prophecy from the family of Jacob (Q. 19:5-6). In the case of the non-Israelite prophets, in this case Shu'ayb of the Madyan people and Sāliḥ of the Thamūd people, their families also play a vital role as protectors and followers (Q. 11: 91 and 27: 49)^{281}.

This prominent place accorded to the close relatives of earlier prophets could not remain without a parallel with the close family of Muḥammad. Some Qur'anic passages remain vague and allusive (Q. 26: 214, "*ashīrataka al-aqrabīn*"; 42: 23, "*al-mawadda fi l-qurbā*"). Others certainly refer to the family and consanguineous relatives of the Prophet. These are verses concerning the allocation of the quint of the booty (*khums*) and part of the *fay'*, properties of the infidels acquired without fighting, to the close relatives (*dhu l-qurbā*) of the Prophet (Q. 8: 41 and 59: 7). Practically, all exegetical and historiographical sources agree in recognizing in these "close relatives" the descendants of the two brothers Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, sons of Muḥammad's forefather, 'Abd Manāf, to the exclusion of two other sons of the latter, 'Abd Shams and Nawfal. According to multiple reports, these allocations compensated in some way for the fact that Muḥammad's immediate family could not benefit from the alms (*ṣadaqa*, *zakāt*). The reason given for this prohibition was that alms were derived from the "impurities" (*awsākh*) of people, hence the purifying role of giving alms. The purity status of the

family of the Prophet was therefore considered incompatible with the receipt of alms. As in the case of the purity of Lot's family, which we saw above, the Qur'an also mentions the purity of Muḥammad's family:

... God only wants to remove impurity from you, O family of the Abode (*ahl al-bayt*), and purify you (Q. 33: 33).

The spiritual and religious importance of Muḥammad's family is also emphasized by the famous verse of the Ordinal, *mubāhala* (Q. 3: 61). Just as the Qur'an constantly draws parallels between Muḥammad and the earlier prophets in his prophetic mission, the fierce rejection and scorn of his people, and finally his victory through God's support, so the similarity of status seems evident between Muḥammad's family and the families of the past prophets in terms of his spiritual and temporal legacy. It is true that, according to the later dogma of the "seal of prophethood," Muḥammad's heir could not claim prophethood (see, however, here even chap. 7), yet it is equally true that the Qur'an counts, among the prophetic inheritance bequeathed by God's Envoys to their close relatives, sovereignty (*mulk*), authority (*ḥukm*), wisdom (*ḥikma*), scripture (*kitāb*), and imamate. Given these Qur'anic evidences, W. Madelung is right, it seems to me, in concluding that the Qur'an advises consultation (*shūrā*) in some cases but never in matters concerning the succession of prophets^{282}.

I will come back to several of these points but for the moment I would like to emphasize the fact that 'Alī, given his privileged parental relationship with the Prophet, would certainly not have failed to put these Qur'anic elements to use in legitimizing his statements. In this respect, Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), an author who could not be suspected of pro-'Alid sympathy, reports in his *Tabaqāt* an account that seems to me particularly significant. In a chapter devoted to "the legacy of the Messenger of God and what he left behind" (*dhikr mīrāth rasūli llāh wa mā taraka*), Ibn Sa'd reports, according to 'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad, grandson of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that Fāṭima and al-'Abbās went, together with 'Alī, to Abū Bakr, who had been elected caliph, to ask him for their share of Muḥammad's inheritance. Abū Bakr then said:

The Messenger of God said: "We (the prophets) leave no inheritance; all we leave behind is alms. And all that the Messenger of God left behind was

Now I am responsible for it. 'Alī then replied by quoting the Qur'an: "Solomon inherited from David" (Q. 17: 16) and Zechariah said (invoking God when he asked Him for a son: "Provide me with a rightful heir from You) who, inheriting from me, will become the heir of the descendants of Jacob" (Q. 19: 6). Abū Bakr: "Surely, but you know, by God, what I know"; 'Alī: "It is the Book of God that speaks there". Thereupon they remained silent and parted^{283}.

This legitimization by the Qur'an undoubtedly had something to do with the support that, according to historiographers, a majority of Qur'anic reciters (*qurrā'*) gave to 'Alī, during his conflict with Mu'āwiya, especially before the outbreak of the Battle of Siffin and the subsequent arbitration^{284}. However, in the early days of the new religion, legitimization by the Qur'an certainly could not be unanimous. The new religion would need many generations to be assimilated, to deeply affect the minds and hearts of people, and to become a social fact that would deeply shape their minds. At that time, to be credible, a speech or a fact had to have roots in ancient, ancestral beliefs, to be supported by the tribal culture of ancient Arabia in order to be able to trigger a deep resonance among the fresh believers. We have already discussed the culture of biblical sensitivity of the milieu that saw the birth of Muḥammad and his message (see above chap. 2). Here, other aspects of that milieu will be examined.

Preliminary foundations

For more than a century, many eminent orientalist, Arabist, and Islamists have succeeded in uncovering and studying the remarkable continuity between pre-Islam and early Islam, in terms of many institutions, beliefs, and rituals. From J. Wellhausen and I. Goldziher to the scholars of the circle of "From Jāhiliyya to Islam", gathered around M.J. Kister and his students and colleagues, M. Lecker, U. Rubin, H. Busse and others, through J. Henninger, R.B. Serjeant, T. Fahd, A.F.L. Beeston and J. Chelhod or even more recently E. Conte and C.J. Robin, to name a few. Many have studied the kinship system in its secular and sacred dimensions, its natural and supernatural aspects.

The old thesis of H. Lammens, in *Le berceau de l'Islam*, according to which hereditary power and dynastic rules were completely foreign if not detested by the Arabs, no longer seems tenable^{285}. As early as the monumental study of E. Tyan on the

Institutions of Muslim Public Law, it has been established that tribal secular leadership was indeed not always hereditary but that religious leadership and theocratic functions depended directly on the importance of a noble lineage, *nasab*, and that this conception was most particularly observed in the Quraysh tribe^{286}. Even W.M. Watt, who in his biography of Muḥammad sometimes seems close to the opinion of H. Lammens^{287}, concedes in his *Islamic Political Thought* that the Arabs used to elect their leader from within particular families^{288}. In this respect, the studies of R.B. Serjeant seem to me to be decisive. In the course of several publications, he establishes, in a very convincing manner, that Muḥammad's rapid success and the ultimately easy rallying of a large number of tribes to his cause, were essentially due to the fact that he belonged to a Meccan and Qurayshite family, aristocratic and theocratic, where the religious functions, as everywhere in Arabia, were hereditary. Without belonging to this lineage, which the English scholar calls "*The Holy Family*," Muḥammad would have had no credibility with the other tribes^{289}.

Long before the time of Muḥammad, the tribe of Quraysh was considered to enjoy divine protection because of its sacred position as *ahl al-ḥaram*, People of the Shrine of Mecca and its territory. According to U. Rubin, even early Muslim exegesis has retained traces of this ancient belief^{290}. Muḥammad's ancestor, Quṣayy appears to have been the chief guardian of the shrine; from this, the various clans of his direct descendants would inherit the different responsibilities of the ritual functions of the pilgrimage: the guarding of the Ka'ba (*ḥijāba*), the responsibility for drinking water (*siqāya*), food (*rifāda*), and banners (*liwā'*), or the privilege of the *nadwa*, a term with an imprecise meaning referring either to the council of the tribal board or to the place of meeting for the arbitration of inter-tribal disputes^{291}. Traces of the hereditary sacred functions of Muḥammad's ancestors can be found as far back as the poems of the Prophet's cantor, I:Jassān b. Thābit (d. 54/674)^{292}. Muḥammad himself is said to have referred to the descendants of al-Muṭṭalib and even more so to those of the latter's brother Hāshim, the father of his own grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, as the "holy family" within the Quraysh (see the family tree, above). The canonical works of *Ffadhīth* leave no doubt about this by identifying "the close relatives" (*dhu l-*

qurbā) mentioned by the Qur'an to whom the collection of alms is forbidden, who benefit from *khums* and *fay'* and who were mentioned above, to the descendants of al-Muṭṭalib and even more often to those of Hāshim^{293}. Moreover, it is known that, as early as the ante-Islamic period, the Banū l-Muṭṭalib and the Banū Hāshim were firmly linked to each other by the *Ffīlf al-fuḍūl*^{294}. In this regard, the tradition reported by Abū Dāwūd and al-Maqrīzī, under the authority of al-Zuhrī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib and Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, is most significant: after the victory of Khaybar, the Prophet distributed the share of the close relatives (*sahm dhi l-qurbā*) between the Banū Hāshim and the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, excluding the Banū Nawfal and the Banū 'Abd Shams (Nawfal and 'Abd Shams are two other brothers of Muṭṭalib and Hāshim). Then the reporter, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im (descendant of Nawfal) and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (future third caliph, descendant of 'Abd Shams) go to protest to Muḥammad saying:

Envoy of God, we do not deny the excellence of the Banū Hāshim because of the place God has given you among them. But what about our brothers, the Banū l-Muṭṭalib? You have given them a share and excluded us while our kinship with you is identical to theirs.

Muḥammad then replies:

We [the Banū Hāshim] and the Banū l-Muṭṭalib were never separated, neither during the *Jāhiliyya* nor in Islam. We and they are one and the same^{295}.

The sanctity of the Banū Hāshim also emerges from the fine analyses of the collection of poems *Hāshimiyyāt* by al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. 126/743)^{296}, conducted by T. Nagel, M. Sharon, and especially by W. Madelung in his monograph on this work^{297}. It seems that, among the descendants of Hāshim, Muḥammad recognized his own family as the "Holy Family" par excellence^{298}. This "Holy Family," Muḥammad would have referred to it as *ahl baytī* (Family of My Abode), of course having in mind the Qur'anic occurrences of the phrase *ahl al-bayt* that we saw above. Apart from the purity that the Qur'an attributes to the Family of Muḥammad's Abode (Q. 33: 33), the sacred dimension that marks the term *bayt* must surely have come into play as well. Indeed, the religious aspect of the term, coming from the ancient fund of Semitic languages where it means temple, sanctuary, place of residence of a supernatural entity, is still clearly perceptible in some of its uses in the Qur'an, in this case when it designates the

Ka'ba, or in *al-bayt al-ma'mūr*, or in the expression *rabb al-bayt* in the ancient suras 105, al-Fil and 106, Quraysh^{299}. The point here is not to determine the exact content that Muḥammad gave to the expression *ahl al-bayt*, of definite religious, sacred and political charge^{300}. Numerous studies have been devoted to it, analyzing both the various classical exegeses of the expression as well as historical and philological information: from H. Lammens and R. Strothmann, who see in it only an allusion to the wives of the Prophet^{301} and R. Paret, for whom *ahl al-bayt* designates the followers of the cult of the Ka'ba^{302}, to the meticulous monographs by M. Sharon on the different contents infused into the expression according to the times and the different religious and political currents, studies which seem to me to be decisive on certain points and to which I will have the opportunity to return^{303}, as well as W. Madelung, according to whom the expression essentially designates the descendants of Hāshim in a general way^{304}. It is, however, useful to recall, as I. Goldziher, that, despite the part the Alids were to play in it, the majority opinion, had identified early on the *ahl al-bayt* of Muḥammad with the *ahl al-kisā'*, (the People of the Cloak) namely Fāṭima, 'Alī, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn^{305}. As a particularly telling example, almost all of the numerous ancient exegeses of verse 33:33, on the purity of the *ahl al-bayt* of Muḥammad, reported by al-Tabarī in his monumental Qur'anic commentary point in this direction^{306}. In any case, in the context of the problem at hand, it seems frankly unthinkable that 'Alī would not have claimed to belong to the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt*. He would even have claimed exclusivity for himself and his descendants in the spiritual and temporal aspects of the Prophetic inheritance, to the point of having made it a body of articles of faith which could be called *dīn 'Alī*^{307}.

'Alī is indeed related to Muḥammad by the two main aspects of Arab kinship (*qarāba*), namely *nasab* and *muṣāhara*^{308}. Hardly translatable terms, the first evokes the meaning of genealogy, provenance or patrilineage, kinship by blood or marriage, noble birth and affinity. The second, as polysemous as the first, evokes the primary meaning of fusion and means affinity, kinship by women, alliance by marriage. *Roughly speaking, nasab is kinship by blood and muṣāhara, kinship or alliance by marriage*^{309}. 'Alī was the cousin of Muḥammad, the son of his paternal uncle, one of the most noble

relations characterizing the *nasab*, according to the tribal conception^{310}. Having become the Prophet's son-in-law, he was also linked to him by *muṣāhara*, thus fulfilling, with regard to the latter, the condition of *walī*, relative by blood and/or by alliance^{311}; we know what central importance this term was to assume later in Shi'ism.

Other data pertaining to ancestral beliefs concerning the supernatural aspects of kinship also seem to ground "the religion of 'Alī." In the context of our problem, these beliefs are inextricably linked to certain aspects of Muḥammad's personality, as they would have been perceived by his contemporaries^{312}. For the latter, Muḥammad appears to have had a genuine magical aura. T. Fahd has shown, with relevance and scholarship, the extension of the ancient figures of the magical characters of the "diviner" (*kāhin*), the "poet" (*shā'ir*), the

The prophetic figure of Muḥammad has been described as a "seer" (*'arrāf*) and even a "sorcerer" (*sāḥir*): on both sides, with different formulations and justifications of course, we find communication with supernatural entities, different forms of divination, inspirations and oracles, healing power, use of a particular language, knowledge of hidden things, power over objects, etc. The great specialist of the Muslim occult sciences demonstrates, in my opinion, through his thorough analyses, to what extent ancient Arab magic and prophecy touch and interpenetrate each other^{313}. According to many passages in the Qur'an, Muḥammad is equated by his opponents with *kāhin-s*, *sāḥir-s*, and *shā'ir-s* (Q. 37: 36; 52: 29; 69: 42). He is often accused of being possessed or inspired by the jinn-s, (expressions *majnūn* or *mā bihi ... min jinna*). J. Chabbi notes that this was, on the part of the opponents, a way of trivializing his action, that is, presenting him as one of the magical characters, related, not to God, but to different kinds of "genies", characters that Arabia had always known^{314}. In connection with the famous question of Muḥammad's human "informants," still supported by his opponents, Hūd b. Muḥkim/Muḥakkam (second half of the 3rd/9th c.) reports a statement by al-I:Jasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) that one of these alleged informants, was a servant of Ibn al-I:Jaḍramī, a famous soothsayer in the so-called *jāhiliyya* period^{315}. In another report, reproduced by al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), the same I:Jasan speaks of 'Ubayd b. al-Khaḍir, an Ethiopian diviner^{316}. According to Ibn al-Athīr, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, before his conversion, took the Prophet to be a *kāhin* and a *shā'ir*^{317}. Finally, according to

a report by Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad himself, at the beginning of the revelation, feared that he was a *kāhin*; terrified by the supernatural voices he was hearing, he is said to have said to his wife Khadīja:

I hate nothing so much as idols and *kuhhān*, but I'm afraid I'm a *kāhin*{318}.

It is known that in many ancient beliefs, the body fluids, blood, sperm, saliva, milk or sweat, are considered to be the agents of magical transmission; they can convey and transmit beneficial or evil things, faculties, virtues or spiritual influences from their owner to others, especially, in a hereditary way, to his descendants^{319}. The Arabs, too, possessed this kind of belief. The *kāhin*, a magical man par excellence, had the power to consciously and voluntarily control and direct what he transmitted through the fluids of his body; his supernatural gifts were considered hereditary^{320}. Muḥammad, an extension of the ancient *kāhin*, participates in this conception. This, at least, is evident from a number of reports, direct or allusive, concerning him in which his various bodily fluids come into play.

The mixing of blood made two men brothers or relatives^{321}. J. Wellhausen is right to compare the result of Arab blood pacts with the *Verbrüderung* or *adoptio in fratres*^{322}. In spite of the great discretion of Islamic sources, it seems certain that the rituals of "Elective brotherhood pact" (*mu'ākhāt*), practiced twice by the Prophet upon his arrival in Medina, was accompanied by blood mixing. A "pagan" practice, originating according to L. Caetani from the ancient Arabic *ḥilf*^{323}, already sung by the pre-Islamic poet al-A'shā Maymūn^{324}, it undoubtedly carried more weight than "Qur'anic" arguments in winning over the *Anṣār-s* of Medina. According to Ibn Hishām's account, at the second meeting in 'Aqaba, faced with the reluctance of the Medinese to enter into a pact with him, Muḥammad, resorting to the language of paganism, declares:

Your blood is mine. I am yours and you are mine. Your enemies are my enemies and your friends are my friends. Choose twelve leaders from among yourselves to represent you in the ritual of the oath (*ḥilf*){325}.

At the battle of I:Junayn in the year 8/630, in the midst of the general rout of the Muslims, victims of the Hawāzin's ambush, the Prophet asked his uncle 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to remind the troops, with his powerful voice, of the alliances sealed by blood^{326}. The various episodes in Ibn Hishām's account, make it clear that this kind of speech, rooted in the ancestral culture, resonated far more with the Arabs than the prophetic declarations of Muḥammad^{327}. The second pact of brotherhood interests us even more. It is obviously the ritual of *mu'ākhāt*, practiced by Muḥammad, as early as the Meccan era among the Meccan faithful, according to Ibn I:Jabīb^{328}, or at the beginning of his arrival in Medina, among the Meccans and Medinans, according to Ibn Hishām^{329}. During this "pairing" ritual, certainly accompanied by mixing of blood, Muḥammad chose 'Alī as his brother. Remarkably, according to Ibn I:Jabīb, the *mu'ākhāt*, made on "the basis of right (?) and division" (*'alā l- ḥaqq wa l-mu'āsāt*), implied that upon the death of one of the two individuals, the other, his "brother," became his priority heir^{330}. This seems authentic, since the Qur'an, in verses 4:33, 8:75, and especially 33:6, appears to vigorously challenge this ancient institution by emphasizing the priority of kinship over the pact of brotherhood^{331}. Based among other things on the Roman legal sources governing the Bedouin populations in 5th century Syria and studied by Bruns, which once again proves the great antiquity of the practice, E. Conte concludes that the *mu'ākhāt*, sealed by blood, made the "twin brothers" kin (*qarā'ib*), classificatory germans (*ibnā' l-'amm*) and consequently heir agnates (*aṣaba*); by instituting kinship, the "twinning" founded a common filiation between the two "brothers"^{332}. One might as well say that the *mu'ākhāt* alone allowed 'Alī to claim the prophetic inheritance, which tends to explain the almost complete silence of the non-Shi'ite sources on this episode of Muḥammad's life, a silence that is curious, to say the least, on one of the founding acts of the community of the faithful in Medina^{333}.

But there is more. For the Arabs, *kahāna*, like nobility, is hereditary. The qualities of the *kāhin* or nobleman are transmitted, among other things, through the sperm of the father^{334}. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the Bedouin went so far as to "lend" their wives to notables of great merit whose semen was praised in order to have racy children^{335}. As for the qualities of sanctity, Islamic sources do not dry up on the power

transmission of the seminal substance of Muḥammad's ancestors, manifested by the "Light" and symbolized by the *ṣulb* organ (kidney, lomb) considered the reserve of sperm^{336}. Transiting through the woman's uterus (*raḥim*), the storehouse of her own "sperm," the man's semen will constitute the milk in the mother's breasts, further aiding the transmission of the father's qualities to his child; hence the inseparable link between sperm and milk found in expressions such as.

"milk comes from the man" (*al-laban min al-mar'*), "milk from the stallion/reproducer" (*laban al-faḥl*), or "the single sperm" (*liqāḥ wāḥid*), which refers to both the man's seminal fluid and the woman's milk^{337}. The father's seed provides the blood and meat (*dam wa laḥm*) of the child; the mother gives form to this material and completes the formation of the child by her milk, equated with the father's sperm^{338}. Coming from the same Hāshimite seed as the Prophet, 'Alī, married to Fāṭima, also becomes the father of Muḥammad's male offspring. Fāṭima, on the other hand, whose one of the most usual titles among the Shi'ites is "the Confluence of the Two Lights" (*majma' al-nūrayn*)^{339}, since made by the seed of Muḥammad and receptacle of that of 'Alī, becomes the other factor in the transmission of the prophetic virtues. 'Alī seems to have been fully convinced of these statutes. According to a report of al-Tabarī, in his conflict with Mu'āwiya, just before the arbitration of Siffin, at the stage of Kūfa when part of his army is dispersed, 'Alī decides for a moment to continue the fight, to the death if necessary. But looking at al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn, he realizes that if they perish, the faithful will be completely deprived of the Prophet's progeny. From the account of al-Tabarī, this was the main reason why he stopped his campaign^{340}. The opinion of a number of Muslims, reported by al-Maqrīzī, that if 'Alī had directly succeeded the Prophet, while he was father of al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn, people would have believed that the caliphate is a hereditary sovereignty (*mulk mutawārath*), seems historically plausible^{341}.

Saliva is also seen as a factor of magical transmission. The gift of saliva is of course the famous practice of *tahnik*, which C. Gilliot has translated as "sputation"^{342}. According to Arabic lexicologists, Ibn Manẓūr or al-Zabīdī for example, the verbal form means "to rub the roof of the mouth" when accompanied by a complement (*ḥannaka bi-*, e.g., *ḥannakahu bi-tamratin*, to rub the roof of someone's mouth with a

Date (crushed), *ḥannakahu bi l-iṣbi'*, ... with the finger). Used without a complement, it means to put one's saliva into someone's mouth (*ḥannaka Zaydun 'Amran*, Zayd put his saliva into 'Amr's mouth; literally: Zayd rubbed the roof of 'Amr's mouth with his saliva); in the latter case, the meaning can be clarified by adding the word "saliva" (*ḥannakahu bi-rīqihi*, he spat in his mouth)^{343}. Saliva can protect, heal, impart virtues or knowledge but also destroy or humiliate. Depending on the intention of the person using it, it is a blessing, an initiation, a medicine or a curse^{344}. The literature of the *Fḥadīth*, the *sīra*, but also historiographical works report a large number of examples of the *taḥnīk* practiced by the Prophet. The purpose is either therapeutic: Muḥammad thus cures the sick hand of the son of Umm Jalīl bint al-Mujallal^{345} or the epilepsy of a seven-year-old child^{346}; or initiatory: Muḥammad transmits science to Ibn 'Abbās^{347}; or above all the transmission of blessing or moral virtues: numerous related cases of parents bringing their children to the Prophet so that he would practice *taḥnīk* on them^{348}, or new converts requesting that the Prophet spit in their mouths^{349}. It is worth noting here the close connection between *taḥnīk* and *baraka/tabarruk*. In many of the *ḥadīth-s*, both roots are used simultaneously (*fa- yubarriku 'alayhim wa yuḥannikuhum*, "...so that he 'blessed' them and spat in their mouths"; *ḥannakahu fa-barraka 'alayhi*, "...he spat in his mouth and 'blessed' him," etc.)^{350}. *Baraka*, a word that comes to mean in Muslim hagiology a kind of mysterious and beneficent effluence, a spiritual energy or influx acting mostly through contact and affecting the living and objects, originally meant abundant rain, or the hutting of the camel near the watering place, or the act performed by the camel during the hutting that consists of chewing the food and putting it (mixing it with her saliva of course) into the mouths of her young. In his excellent article devoted to this notion, J. Chelhod shows how this last meaning leads to *baraka*, in the sense of the spiritual strength that the father communicates to his newborn child, by taking it on his lap and putting his saliva in its mouth, blessing it and granting it protection in this way^{351}. What is common between *taḥnīk* and *baraka* is the idea of nourishing and life-giving water (rain, saliva, and even a watering hole), both for the body and the soul, which constitutes a true blessing.

Again, like the case of the *mu'ākhāt* we saw earlier, a deliberate ostracism seems to affect 'Alī and his sons, al- I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn, on the part of the non-Shi'ite authors. No mention of them in the many *ḥadīth-s* or narrations concerning the *taḥnīk-s* practiced by the Prophet. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), a pro-Abbasid author, goes so far as to say that to his knowledge no one other than Ibn 'Abbās received in his mouth the saliva of the Prophet^{352}, while it is unthinkable that he did not know at least some of the many traditions reported by the canonical works of *Fḥadīth* and which we have seen above. How indeed can one imagine that Muḥammad would have thus

How could the Prophet have "blessed" a large number of his companions and followers while leaving out his own "brother", cousin, future son-in-law and probably one of the most intimate companions? Moreover, how is it conceivable that the Prophet would have

"blessed" with his saliva a large number of children while forgetting or deliberately depriving his own grandchildren, his only male offspring, of his blessing? To my knowledge, Shi'ite literature is the only one to report the *taḥnīk-s* that the Prophet is said to have practiced on 'Alī and the two sons the latter had by Fāṭima. A practice that the imams will perpetuate, moreover, still according to the same sources^{353}.

According to tradition, adopted at an early age by his paternal uncle Abū Tālib, Muḥammad was, even before Islam, the "adopted brother" of his cousin 'Alī. This *qarāba*, as well as surely spiritual convergences, made the latter not hesitate to embrace the religion proclaimed by Muḥammad. A friend and confidant surely "blessed" by the latter, his lifelong companion, "paired" with him during the ritual of the *mu'ākhāt* during which there was most likely a mixing of blood, a fearless warrior fighting for his Cause, 'Alī eventually married Fāṭima, Muḥammad's daughter, to become the father of the latter's male offspring. A number of Companions had been privileged with one or more of these relationships with Muḥammad, but no one, except 'Alī, gathered them all into him. Is this why some of the faithful would have professed that 'Alī was considered by Muḥammad to be the Messiah of the end of time? (See above chap. 2)

In addition, 'Alī had had the exclusivity of two fundamental *qarāba-s*, the He had the right to be a "twin" and the paternity of the male offspring. Thus, 'Alī had major assets, confirmed, according to him, by the Qur'an and even more so by ancestral beliefs, to believe in the divine election of his own person

and his descendants by Fāṭima. It was this "election" that was surely the center of gravity of what his contemporaries would have called *dīn 'Alī*.

5. Reactions and extensions

Whatever was meant by the expression *ahl bayt al-nabī*, very soon synonymous with *āl Muḥammad*, *āl al-nabī*, *āl al-rasūl*, etc., 'Alī would surely not have failed to claim it for himself and his household. Some Hāshimites, and especially among them the Alids, seem to have echoed this claim as early as the first century of the hegira; this seems to be evident, for example, from a number of verses of ancient poets such as Abu l-Aswad al-Du'alī (d. 69/688), Kuthayyir 'Azza (d. 105/723), or al-Kumayt b. Zayd (d. 126/743)^{354}. From the lengthy and relevant analyses of the phrase and its religious and political implications, made by M. Sharon in several of these publications, it turns out that popular opinion at that time identified the *ahl bayt al-nabī* with the Hāshimites in general, with the household of 'Alī more particularly (this is also evident from a large number of *ḥadīth-s* on the *ahl al-kisā'*, analyzed by I. Goldziher; see *supra*), without, moreover, this popular respect having necessarily meant the recognition of a legitimacy to govern the community^{355}. In the case of the Alids, some of those who shared this respect would have been the first to claim the political legitimacy, i.e. the caliphate, exclusively reserved for 'Alī; it is reasonable to think that they were the followers of "the religion of 'Alī". Mr. Sharon examines the likely influence of the Jewish conception of the House of David, which is very present in Iraq, on the population of Kūfa, the homeland and stronghold of the Alids. According to this conception, the leadership of the community remains exclusively reserved for descendants of the House of David^{356}. Elsewhere, the same scholar seems to suggest also the influence of the Christian conception of the "Holy Family" (also very present in Iraq in the early centuries of Islam), pointing to the constant connection that Shi'ite literature establishes between the figures of Fāṭima and Mary^{357}. He even considers, as entirely plausible, the historical existence of a Qur'anic recension of Kūfa in which 'Alī and the members of his

family would have been mentioned by name and abundantly^{358} , as the *Ffadīth* imāmite kept declaring openly until the middle of the ^{fourth/tenth} century^{359} .

Alongside some violent reactions against the emphasis on kinship or against the legitimacy of the Prophet's family, e.g. that of the Khārijites^{360} , of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr^{361} or even some *ahl al- Ffadīth*^{362} , the non-Aliyah members of the Prophet's family and their descendants, in this case the Umayyads and then the Abbasids, would have tried to react by reclaiming, too, the title of *ahl al-bayt*. Although his methodical caution prevents him from making an explicit statement on the subject, Mr. Sharon seems, on several occasions, to suggest that the Umayyad and Abbasid attempts to identify themselves with the *ahl bayt al-nabī* would have been a reaction to the Alid claims, which would thus be older^{363} . Their common anti-Umayyad position brought Alids and Abbasids together for a time^{364} , but once effectively in power, the latter distanced themselves by presenting themselves as the only "Holy Family"; witness, among other things, the attempt to devalue the figure of Fāṭima or the presentation of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his sons as the *ahl al-kisā'*^{365} .

Moreover, the study of *dīn 'Alī* seems to corroborate the hints of G.H. Sadighi and E. Kohlberg that the process of glorification of 'Alī, transforming the historical figure into a semi-legendary one with heroic and even sacred dimensions, goes back to a very early period, namely the period of his caliphate or even the one immediately following the Prophet's death^{366} . A certain reaction to the violent and repressive policies of the early Umayyads, most notably Mu'āwiyah and his son Yazīd, also seems to have contributed to amplifying this process^{367} . The "religion of 'Alī" thus appears to have been the primitive core of what would later become Shi'ism. The Imamite sources have retained some reports, rare it is true, in which one finds the expression *dīn 'Alī* and also *dīn Ffasan* or *dīn Ffusayn*, which seem to have been nothing other than the name of the "religion" of 'Alī under the imamate of the latter's two sons^{368} . Shi'ism, in its various forms, seems in fact to be the development, in considerable proportions obviously with the doctrinal implications that follow, of the various elements that would have composed the "religion of 'Alī"^{369} : the cult of the *qarāba*, the notion of **t h e** prophetic heritage,

The divine election of 'Alī and his descendants, ancestral and natural aspects but also supernatural, magical and initiatory aspects linked to the prophetic "Holy Family". In this evolution, the theophanic dimension of the figure of 'Alī, his divine attributes stemming perhaps from his ancient messianic status, occupies a central place. This is what we shall examine in the following chapters.

Part Two

Between the divine and the human

Chapter 4

Remarks on the divinity of the Imam^{370}

1. Theophanic Being and Perfect Man

In some texts, rather discreet - it must be said - and as if diluted in the mass of traditions contained in the ancient duodecimal compilations, the Imam is not only presented as the man of God par excellence but as fully participating in the Names, Attributes and Acts that theology usually reserves for God alone. This

The "figure" of the Imam has many fundamental analogies with the Cosmic Man, called in various ways, in Near and Middle Eastern religions and spiritual traditions. It even seems to be, in many respects, the origin of the reminiscence of this ancient notion in Muslim spirituality^{371}. Also, obvious analogies exist between the Imam-God of Shi'a texts and the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) of Muslim theosophy, the ontologically necessary intermediary between God and the world, the mysterious ultimate goal and "Secret of Secrets" of the theosophist^{372}.

In this respect, perhaps the most representative and also the most daring Shi'i texts are some of the preaches attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, the imam par excellence and the "father" of all historical imams of all Shi'ite currents. One could call these preaches "theo-

imamosophical" so much the identity of the speaker topples there, from one sentence to the other, between God and the Imam. In a long succession of affirmations, whose repeated hammering in assonant prose ended up, it is said, putting the audience in a trance, the first Imam boldly announces his identity with the cosmic Anthropos, the Perfect Man who, according to Massignon's apt words, is not the humanized divinity but the deified humanity^{373}. In order to give an idea of the content of these texts, I shall only note here a few of these affirmations in order to return in detail to these precepts in the second part: "I am the Secret of Secrets, I am the Guide of the Heavens, I am *The First* and *The Last*, I am *The Manifest* and *The Hidden*, I am *The Compassionate*, I am the Face of God, I am the Hand of God, I am the Archetype of the Book, I am the Cause of Causes..." (italicized terms are the Qur'anic divine Names).

Some scholars have denounced the late date of the writing of these precepts^{374}. On the other hand, since the 6th / 12th century, many Imamite scholars have considered these precepts as belonging to Shi'ism. They were not accepted as "extremist" (*ghuluww* current)^{375} and excluded from the duodeciman doctrine, which is recognized as "moderate" Shi'ism. The apocryphal character of most of these precepts, in their developed forms, seems indeed undeniable; the philosophical or astronomical vocabulary of the majority of the versions alone provides proof of the late date of their final forms. In this first part, therefore, I do not seek to establish their authenticity but simply to show that, on the one hand, similar discourses existed, from an ancient time, in the alide-shi'ite circles and that, on the other hand, the duodeciman imamological doctrine, such as it is reported by the ancient compilations, allows for such a conception of the Imam and includes, as well, texts which could be considered as the first milestones of the precepts in question. If it is true, as Corbin points out, that "even if the preaching was not actually pronounced by the 1^{er} Imam... it was pronounced, at a given moment, by an eternal Imam, in the Shi'ite consciousness, and it is this that is phenomenologically important^{376}", the fact remains that the genesis and development of the notion of Imam-God in Imamite Shi'ism has a history that deserves to be addressed. As a result, as far as the early period of Shi'ism is concerned, that of "proto-Shi'ism" according to Watt^{377}, the distinction between Shi'ism

The distinction between "extremist" and "moderate" Shi'ism is, once again, totally artificial^{378} .

2. First textual data

The process of glorification of 'Alī by his followers, transforming the historical figure into a semi-legendary figure of tragic and heroic proportions, is said to date back to a very early period, since its first indications go back to the period immediately following 'Alī's assassination, or even further, to the period when he was considered to be the Saviour of the end of time, or even the period following his failure to succeed the Prophet. The character acquires cosmic dimensions: the archetypal imam, manifestation of a primordial Light proceeding from the divine Light, theophanic Entity^{379} . He will transmit his qualities to the other imams of his descendants, and even to the imams' initiates. Indeed, according to heresiographic authors, during the first three centuries of Islam, quite a number of Shi'ite currents and sects conceived of this or that Imam or this or that follower as the Place of Manifestation (*mazhar*) of God^{380} . The earliest among these sects seems to have been that of the enigmatic Saba'iyya^{381} who, for a number of doctrinal features, were probably identical with the Kaysāniyya^{382} , supporters of the imamate of Muḥammad b. al-I:Janafiyya (non-fāṭimid son of 'Alī) and most likely the first Shi'ites with gnosticizing ideas. Precisely a Kaysānite proclamation, dating from 278/890-1 and reproduced by al-Tabarī (d. 310/923) in his *Ta'riḫ*, appears to be the earliest written attestation of this type of preaching in Alid circles^{383} . Two nuṣayrī texts, dating according to Silvestre de Sacy and Massignon to the end of the third century of the hegira, reproduce fragments of both *Bayān*'s and *Taṭanjiyya*'s proclamations (see *infra* 2^e part), and the Jābirian corpus (second half of the ^{third-early fourth} century) contains a quotation from the former^{384} . In the first half of the fourth century, attestations multiply. A few fragments of our preaching are reported by the duodecimal Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshī^{385} and a few sentences from the "eschatological prophecies" (*malāḥim*) that appear at the beginning of some versions of

the *khutbat al-bayān* are cited by the anonymous author's satirical pastiche of *Abū l-Qāsim*^{386} as well as by al-Maqdisī in his *Bad'*^{387} ; this shows that at least primitive kernels of what would later become these precepts were known before 350/960. The second half of the third century - first half of the fourth - is also the period of the writing of the very first large compilations of duodecimal traditions^{388} . These are still strongly marked by what I have elsewhere called the early "non-rational esoteric tradition"^{389} , "recovering" a good number of traditions originating from other Shi'ite currents (Kaysānite, Ismā'īlian, Wāqifite, etc.) and incorporating them into the Duodecimal corpus^{390} . This monumental corpus does not contain any of the preaches we are interested in but texts that, in a way, clearly announce them. These texts are probably of non-Duodecimal Shi'ite origin, but they fit coherently into the Duodecimal imamology if one adopts a synoptic view of it. Indeed, at this "mythical" stage of doctrinal language where conceptualization is practically non-existent and abstract terminology of a philosophical type is only in its infancy, where the conceptual distinction between the human nature of the Imam (*nāsūt*) and his divine nature (*lāhūt*)^{391} is not yet definitively established in Shi'ite circles, a whole process of doctrinal elaboration seemed necessary for Imamology to reach its ultimate limits in the Figure of the Divine Imam embodied by 'Alī par excellence. It is therefore by adopting a phenomenological point of view that we will try to identify the successive phases of this elaboration.

According to Imamite theology, the Divine Being, in His Essence, absolutely transcends all imagination, intelligence or thought. In His Essence, which constitutes His Absolute Being, God remains the inconceivable Transcendent who can only be described and apprehended by the terms with which He has described Himself through His revelations. At this level, the term "thing" (*shay'*), of maximum neutrality, can be applied to God. According to the words going back to several of the imams, God constitutes the reality of "thingness" (*shay'iyya*), an unintelligible and indefinable reality (*ghayr ma'qūl wa lā maḥdūd*) that places God outside the two boundaries of agnosticism (*ta'tīl*) and assimilationism (*tashbīh*)^{392} . The Essence of God is the Thing about which man can only have a negative discourse, refusing anything that might give a conceivable representation of it. Indeed, throughout the theological traditions,

a whole series of negations mark the statements made by the imams about God: negation of a corporeal or formal conception (*jism/ṣūra*)^{393}, negation of space (*makān*), time (*zamān*), stillness (*sukūn*) and movement (*ḥaraka*), descent (*nuzūl*) and ascent (*ṣu'ūd*), qualification (*tawṣīf*) and representation (*tamthīl*), etc.^{394}. But things could not end there or else God would have remained, forever and absolutely, outside the faith of man, and theology would be mere agnosticism. Thus, God, in His infinite goodness, wanted to make Himself known to creatures and gave Himself a certain number of Names and Attributes. Now these, revealed to mankind by the Most Beautiful Names of God (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*) have Places of Manifestation, Vehicles, Organs to be applied to the whole creation and to mankind in particular. It is through these theophanic Organs that God enters into relationship with mankind and that mankind gains access to what is knowable in Him^{395}. Thus we distinguish two ontological planes of the divine Being: the plane of the Essence, indescribable, inconceivable; it is the plane of the Unknowable, of God in his vertiginous and unmanifested abscondity. Then, the plane of Names and Attributes which is also that of the Acts realized by the Organs of God; it is the plane of God revealed, of the Unknown aspiring to be known^{396}. Now, throughout the corpus of traditions, the imams repeat tirelessly that they are the Vehicles of Attributes, the Organs of God. Using Qur'anic terminology and applying their spiritual hermeneutics (*ta'wīl*) to it, they keep saying that :

we are the Eye (*'ayn*) of God, we are the Hand (*yad*) of God, we are the Face (*wajh*) of God, we are His Side (*janb*), His Heart (*qalb*), His Tongue (*lisān*), His Ear (*udhn*), ...
{397}.

It is to support this aspect that the Imam in general and 'Alī singularly are also referred to by such appellations as "the Proof of God" (*ḥujjat Allāh*), "the Vicar of God" (*khalīfat Allāh*), "the Way of God" (*ṣirāṭ Allāh*), "the Threshold of God" (*bāb Allāh*), or described by Qur'anic expressions such as "the Supreme Sign" (*al-āyat al-kubrā*, Qur'an 79: 20), "the Auguste Symbol" (*al-mathal al-a'lā*, Qur'an 16: 60), "the Most Solid Handle" (*al-'urwat al-wuthqā*, Qur'an 2: 256 or 31: 22)^{398}. Commenting on Qur'an 7:180, "God owns the Most Beautiful

Names, invoke Him by these Names," the sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765) is said to have uttered these words:

By God, we [the Imams] are the Most Beautiful Names; no act of the servants is acceptable to God if it is not accompanied by knowledge of us^{399}.

In this Essence/Names-Organ division one can detect a transposition, at the divine level, of the omnipresent division in the Shi'ite milieu of any reality into *bāṭin* (hidden, esoteric aspect) and *ẓāhir* (manifest, exoteric aspect). The esoteric, the hidden, unmanifested aspect of God would thus be His Essence, forever inaccessible; His Organs, Vehicles of His Names, would constitute His exoteric, revealed aspect. The Imam, the exoteric of God, is thus the true *Deus Revelatus* and the knowledge of his reality is equivalent to the knowledge of what is knowable in God. In a tradition dating back to the third Imam al- I:Jusayn b. 'Alī (61/680) we read: "Men! God created His servants so that they might know Him, for when they know Him, they worship Him and thus free themselves from the worship of any other than Him." Then a man asked the Imam, "What is the knowledge of God?" "It is for the people of every age, the knowledge of the Imam [of that age] to whom they owe obedience^{400} ."

The purpose of creation is therefore the knowledge of the Creator by the creatures; the Imam, the theophanic being par excellence and the "Supreme Symbol" of what can be known of God, is therefore the reason and the purpose of creation.

"He who knows us knows God, and he who disregards us disregards God," repeat the Imams^{401} . "It is because of us that God is known," says a tradition dating back to Ja'far al-Sādiq, "and because of us that He is worshiped^{402} ." "Without God, we would not be known and without us, God would not be known" says another tradition attributed to the same sixth Imam^{403} .

Another similar utterance, again attributed to Ja'far, introduces another stage in the development of the doctrine of the Imam's divinity. This stage is characterized by allusive utterances that can easily be compared to the famous "paradoxical locutions" (*shataḥāt*) of the mystics^{404} :

... God made us His CEil among His worshippers, His Speaking Tongue among His creatures, His Hand of kindness and mercy extended over His servants, His Face through which we are

It is through our act of worship that God is worshipped; without us, God cannot be worshipped^{405}.

The last sentence can also be read as follows:

"it is through the fact that we [imams] are worshipped that God is worshipped; without us, God cannot be worshipped (*bi-'ibādatinā 'ubida'llāh law lā naḥnu mā 'ubida'llāh*). The bold ambiguity seems deliberate, for not only does identification with God even in the physical person of the imam seem the logical if ultimate consequence of the preceding stages of imamology, but also other *shaṭaḥāt* of similar tenor are found quite widely scattered throughout the ancient corpus^{406}. Remarkably, all of these sayings, or at least the ones we have been able to locate, are reported from the same Ja'far al-Sādiq^{407}. Commenting on Qur'an 39:69, "and the earth will be illuminated by the Light of its Lord," Ja'far says, "the Lord of the earth is the Imam of the earth"^{408}. A disciple asked the sixth Imam to explain the meaning of the verse "You did not throw yourself (the dashes) [the phrase is addressed to the Prophet] when you threw them but God threw them" (Qur'an 8:17). Ja'far is said to have replied, "That is because it was 'Alī who gave the dashes to the Messenger of God who threw them"^{409}. Finally, a dialogue between the same Imam and his disciple Abū Baṣīr is, in this regard, highly significant:

The disciple: "Inform me whether on the Day of Resurrection the initiated^{410} could see God." - Ja'far: "Yes, but they have already seen Him long before the advent of that Day. - When?" - "When He asked them, 'Am I not your Lord,' and they answered, 'Yes,'" [Qur'an 7:172]. The disciple reported that his teacher then remained silent for a long time and said: "The initiates see Him in this world before the Day of Resurrection. Do you not see Him yourself at this very moment [before you]?" "May I serve as your ransom, may I report this under your authority?" "No, for a denier, ignorant of the deep meaning of these words, will use it to accuse us of assimilationism and infidelity^{411} ..."

In such an imamological context, it is not surprising to encounter traditions in the early Duodecimal corpus that unequivocally foreshadow the texts of the theo-imamosophical preaches attributed to 'Alī, where his identity constantly toggles between a divine nature (*lāhūt*) and a human nature (*nāsūt*):

From the pulpit of the mosque of Kūfa, 'Alī, Commander of the Initiates, declared: By God, I am the Retributor (*dayyān*) of men on the Day of Retribution; I am the one who divides between the Garden and the Fire, enter no one into it except by my division; I am the Supreme Judge (between good and evil; *al-fārūq al-akbar*)... I hold the Sharp Word (*faṣl al-khiṭāb*); I hold the Penetrating Sight of the Way of the Book... I possess the knowledge of the fortunes and misfortunes and the knowledge of judgments; I am the Completion of Religion; I am the Beneficence of God to His creatures^{412}...

and elsewhere :

I am the Queen Bee (*ya'sūb*) of the initiated; I am the First among the Elders; I am the successor of the Envoy of the Lord of the Worlds; I am the Judge of the Garden and the Fire^{413}....

In a tradition that is traced back to the Prophet Muḥammad, he praises 'Alī in this way:

... Here is the most resplendent Imam, the longest Spear of God, the widest Threshold of God; let him who seeks God enter through this Threshold... Without 'Alī, the true would not be distinguished from the false, nor the believer from the unbeliever; without 'Alī, God could not have been worshipped... No Curtain (*sitr*) hides God from him, no Veil (*ḥijāb*) between God and him. No! 'Alī himself is Curtain and Veil^{414}...

Regarding the verses "About what do they question each other? / About the Solemn Announcement/Object of their dispute" (Qur'an 78:1-3), 'Alī is said to have told his followers:

by God, I am the solemn Announcement... God has no more solemn Announcement nor a more grandiose Sign than me^{415}.

All these quotations without exception are taken from the duodecimal corpus considered "moderate"; as we said before, the distinction between "moderate" and "extremist" Shi'ism, as far as the primitive period and especially the "esoteric non-rational" tradition are concerned, is artificial^{416}. This distinction seems to be a late one and is due in particular to the first heresiographers of the end of the ^{third} and beginning of the ^{fourth} century of the hegira. In "proto-Shi'ism", the borders between the different currents seem to have been more than permeable and the circulation of followers between different sects, or even the simultaneous membership of several of them, would have been common.

3. The preaching of 'Alī

There is great confusion in the titles and texts of the preaches reported by many authors at different times. The great majority of these authors are Shi'ites, others are mystical Sunnis. Sometimes the same title is given to different preaches, sometimes almost identical texts are called by different names; the versions of the same preach are sometimes very divergent, the length of the texts is very variable and, generally speaking, the more one advances in time, the more the texts are expanded and intermingled. It is as if the authors, according to their spiritual or literary preoccupations, add to one or more primitive nuclei, in the same style of assonant prose, more and more numerous affirmations.

Based on the most recurrent data, we could say that we have three theo-imamosophical preaches attributed to 'Alī, which are very related to each other: the Pronoun of the Clear Declaration (*khuṭbat al-bayān*), the Pronoun of Glory (*khuṭbat al-iftikhār*), and the Pronoun of the Gulf (*al-khuṭbat al-taṭanjiyya/ṭatanjiyya/ṭaṭanjiyya*; a cryptic word that in one place the text explains as being synonymous with *khalīj*, in the sense of "gulf")^{417}.

The latter seems to be the oldest since, as we have seen, a rather lengthy version is already reported by the nuṣayrī texts dating from the late ^{third} century^{418}. The Ismā'īlian thinker and propagandist Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077) gives a more developed version in his *Majālis*^{419}. The Duodecimal theosophist and traditionist Rajab al-Bursī (d. 814/1411) reproduces in his *Mashāriq* much the same text as that of al-Shīrāzī, although elements belonging, according to other authors, to the Pronoun of the Clear Declaration are mixed in^{420}. The version of al-Bursī served as well as Mullā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680) in his *Kalimāt maknūna* or al-Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashtī (d. 1259/1843), the great master of the Shaykhiyya theological-mystical school, in his monumental unfinished commentary on the Gulf Prone^{421} that to the contemporary Imamite scholar, who died in the early ^{twentieth} century, 'Alī Yazdī I:Jā'irī in his *Ilzām al-nāṣib*^{422}.

The Pronouncement of Glory is said to be of Duodecimal origin; indeed, it was reported, in its developed form, only by authors belonging to this branch of Shi'ism. This precept is, it seems, first reported under this title by the great scholar Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) in his *Manāqib*^{423}. The mystical thinker I:Jaydar Amolī/

Amulī (d. c. 790/1387-88) quotes from it (which, in other authors, is part of one of the other two of our preaches) in his *Jāmi' al- asrār*^{424}. Rajab al-Bursī, a contemporary of Amolī, reproduces under this same title a substantially different proclamation^{425}. The great scholar Shaykh Aghā Bozorg Tihrānī (d. 1969), an unsurpassed connoisseur of the Duodecimal texts, assumes that the two prônes of the Glory and the Clear Declaration are part of the same original piece, another part of which, this time called the Prôn of the Silhouettes (*khuṭbat al-ashbāḥ*), is reported in the *Nahj al-balāgha*^{426}.

The Pronoun of the Clear Declaration (or more exactly the texts known under this name), also originating from an ancient nucleus, is, among our three pronouns, the most reproduced, the most read, meditated and commented upon among both the Shi'ite theosophists and the Sunni mystics^{427}. Some texts dating from the second half of the ^{third} and more likely the first half of the ^{fourth} century and containing quotations from this preaching have already been mentioned^{428}. A (lost?) commentary on it by the great figure of Iranian ismā'ilism, al-I:Jasan (b.) al-Sabbāḥ (d. 518/1124) is reported^{429}. Among the Sunni mystics, with obvious Shi'ite sympathies all the same, are Muḥammad b. Talḥa al-I:Jalabī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 652/1254) and Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464), who reproduce excerpts from this proclamation and consider it the "paradoxical locution par excellence^{430}". The Duodecimal authors who quoted, commented on, translated into Persian, or put into Arabic or Persian verse the *khuṭbat al-bayān* are too numerous to list here. Let us content ourselves with a few famous names: I:Jaydar Amolī and Rajab al-Bursī already mentioned, al-Qāḍī Sa'id al-Qummī (d. c. 1103/1691-92), Nūr 'Alī Shāh, master of the Ni'matullāhiyya brotherhood (d. 1212/1798), Ja'far Kashfī (d. 1267/1850-51) (we will return to Kashfī's version), Mīrzā Abū l-Qāsim Rāz Shīrāzī, master of the Dhahabiyya brotherhood (d. 1286/1869) up to the already mentioned Yazdī I:Jā'irī who, in his *Ilzām al-nāṣib*, reports three very long versions of this preaching^{431}.

Of these versions, that of the Iranian theosophist Ja'far Kashfī is particularly interesting^{432}. In his large Persian work *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, dedicated to the qājār prince Muḥammad Taqī Mīrzā, son of the ruler Fath 'Alī Shāh (hence the title, which literally means "The Present Offered to the Rulers"), Kashfī reports, with occasional commentary, the Arabic text of a relatively short sermon that he entitles *khuṭbat al-bayān*.

Indeed, much of the text is a kind of florilegium of earlier versions of this preaching, but Kashfī also adds many elements drawn from our other two preachings, namely the *khuṭbat al-taṭanjiyya* and the *khuṭbat al-iftikhār*. Furthermore, he deletes the theological introduction (*dībāja*), enumerating a number of Names and Works of God, as well as the "eschatological prophecy" (*malḥama*) from the beginning of the *khuṭbat al-bayān*, no doubt deeming them far from the main focus of the proclamation, which, according to him, is imamological. Particularly interesting is the fact that Kashfī, a philosopher and astronomy enthusiast, nonetheless deletes from the text assertions of too philosophical a coloring or those having to do with astronomy, assertions that were certainly added belatedly to a possible ancient primitive core. Thus, the Iranian thinker makes a coherent synthesis of the three precepts and presents a text that is likely to be close to one or more ancient theo-imamosophical pieces. For these reasons, Ja'far Kashfī's version seems to me to be particularly representative of the kind of pieces attributed to 'Alī^{433} :

From the pulpit of the mosque of Kūfa, 'Alī, Commander of the Initiates, pronounced this sermon:

"Men! Question me before you lose me^{434}! For I am the Treasurer of Science^{435}; I am the Mountain of Magnanimity^{436}; I hold the Keys of the Unseen; I am the Secret of the Unseen; I am the Secret of Secrets^{437}; I am the Tree of Lights; I am the Guide of the heavens; I am the Confidant of the lauders; I am the intimate friend of Gabriel; I am the Pure Chosen One of Michael; I am the Conductor of the thunder; I am the Witness of the Pact^{438}; I am the Face of God; I am God's Eye; I am God's Hand; I am God's Tongue^{439}; I am God's Light^{440}; I am God's Treasure in the heavens and on earth^{441}; I am the Power ; I am the Manifestation of (or He who manifests) the Power; I am the Retributor (*dayyān*)^{442} on the Day of Retribution; I am the Judge of the Garden and the Fire; I am the Garden and the Fire; I am the Biscornu [Dhū l-qarnayn; cf. Qur'an 18: 83, 86 and 94] mentioned in the ancient books; I am the Primordial Adam; I am the Primordial Noah; I am the Companion of Noah and his savior; I am the Companion of Job the tried and his healer; I am the Companion of Abraham and his secret^{443}; I am the Commander of the Initiates; I am the Source of Certainty; I am the Thunder; I am the Cry of Truth [Qur'an 23: 41 and L : 42]; I am the Hour for the deniers [recurring Qur'anic expression]; I am the Call that awakens the dwellers of the graves; I am the Lord of the Day of Resurrection; I am the Trainer of the heavens; I am the Proof of God on earth and in the heavens; I am the Light of guidance ; I am the Most Beautiful Names by which He is invoked; I am the Arbiter of the deeds of creatures; I am, among them, the Vicar of God the Creator; I am the Lord of the First Creation^{444}; I am the Trigger of the first Flood; I am the Trigger of the second Flood; I am with the Calamus and I was before the Calamus [Qur'an 68: 1 and 96: 4]; I am with the [Well-Guarded] Table and I was before the [Well-Guarded] Table; I am the Lord of the primordial pre-eternity; I am the Ruler (*mudabbir*)^{445} of the primordial Universe when your heaven and earth had not yet come into existence; I am He who in pre-existence made the Pact with the spirits and He who declared to them, by the command of the Lord, "I am the Chief of the Initiates; I am the Standard of the Well-Guided; I am the Guide of the Pious; I am the Certainty; I am the One who speaks by Divine Revelation^{446}; I am the Governor of the Stars and their Ruler by order of my Lord

I am the one who will fill the earth with justice and fairness as before it was overflowing with oppression and injustice [or "darkness"]^{447}; I am the Occulted One, the Expected One for the great Affair; I am the Mountain, the Inscribed Book, the frequented Abode, the elevated Vault, the overflowing Sea [Qur'an 52 : 1-6]; I am the Master of Hermeneutics; I am the Commentator of the Gospels; I am the Scholar of the Torah; I am the Archetype of the Book [Qur'an 3: 7; 13: 39; 43: 41]; I am the Cutting Word [Qur'an 38: 20]; I am *The First*; I am *The Last*; I am *The Hidden*; I am *The Manifest*; I am The Light of the Prophets^{448}; I am The Friendship of the Friends [of God]; I am Adam and Seth; I am Moses and Joshua; I am Jesus and Simon ^{449}; I am I:Janbathā' (?) of the Blacks; I am Bashīr (?) of the Turks; I am Jirjīs (?) of the Franks^{450}; I am the Illuminator of the sun, the moon and the stars; I am the Attendant of the Resurrection; I am the Attendant of the Hour; I am *The Creator*; I am the Created; I am the Contemplator; I am the Contemplated; I am the *Lord of the Ka'ba*; I am the month of Ramaḍān; I am the Night of the Decree [Qur'an 97: 1-3]; I am *the Giver* (*mu'tī*); I am *the Taker* (*qābiḍ*); I am the Innermost of the Sacred Space; I am the Pillar of the Peoples; I am the Light of the Lights; I am the Bearer of the [Divine] Throne with the [angels?] Devotees^{451}; I am the Pearl of Oysters; I am the Mountain of Qāf^{452}; I am the Key of Mysteries; I am the Lamp of Hearts^{453}; I am the Radiance of all beauty [or "intelligence" or else "metallic vessel" [*zurūf*]^{454}]; I am the Secret of the letters; I am the meaning of the *ṭawāsīn*^{455}; I am the esoteric of the *ḥawāmīm*; I am the Lord of *alif-lām-mīm*; I am the *nūn* and the Calamus [Qur'an 68: 1]; I am the Lamp [in] Darkness; I am He who consolidates the high mountains; I am He who causes the springs of waters to flow; I am He who causes the rain to fall; I am He who causes the leaves to grow on the trees; I am He who causes the colors and the fruits to burst forth ; I am the Dispenser of food; I am the Resurrector of the dead; I am the One for whom the sun returned twice on its journey and the One whom the sun greeted twice^{456}; I am the One who prayed with the Messenger of God in both directions of prayer^{457}; I am the Hero [of the battles] of Badr and I:Junayn^{458}; I am He who made Moses cross the sea; I am He who drowned Pharaoh and his armies; I am He who spoke through the mouth of Jesus when he was in the cradle; I am He who speaks all languages^{459}; I am He who crosses the seven heavens and the seven earths in the twinkling of an eye^{460}; I am the *Mahdī* of all moments ; I am the Christ; I am the Second Christ; I am the Jesus of this Time^{461}; I am the Master of the Scales^{462}; I am *The Compassionate*; I am *The Merciful*; I am *the Exalted*; I am *The Most Exalted*; I am the Queen Bee of the Initiates^{463}; I am the Certainty of those who know with certainty; I am the Lion [of the clan] of the Banī Ghālīb; I am 'Aī b. Abī Tālib.

Here is the text of the khuṭbat al-bayān (Ja'far Kashfī's version). *ayyuhā l- nās as'alūnī qabla an tafqidūnī innī khāzin al-'ilm wa anā ṭūr al-ḥilm/"indī mafātīḥ al-ghayb wa anā sirr al-ghayb/anā sirr al-asrār/anā shajarat al-anwār/anā dalīl al-samāwāt/anā anīs al-musabbihāt/anā khalīl jabra'īl/anā ṣafī mīkā'īl/anā sā'iq al-ra'd/anā shāhid al-'ahd/ana wajh allāh/anā 'ayn allāh/anā yad allāh/anā lisān allāh/anā nūr allāh/anā kanz allāh fī l- samāwāt wa fī l-ard/ana l-quḍra/anā maẓhar [muẓhir] al-quḍra fī l-ard/anā dayyān yawm al-dīn/anā qasīm al-janna wa l-nār/anā l-janna wa l-nār/anā dhu l-qarnayn al-madhkūr fī l-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā/anā Adam al-awwal/anā nūḥ al- awwal/anā ṣāhib nūḥ wa munjīhi/anā ṣāhib ayyūb wa shāfīhi/anā ṣāhib ibrahīm wa sirruh/anā amīr al-mu'minīn/anā 'ayn al-yaqīn/anā l-ra'd/anā l-ṣayḥa bi l-ḥaqq/anā l-sā'a li l-mukadhdhibīn/anā l-nidā' al-mukhrij man*

fī l-qubūr/anā ṣāhib yawm al-nushūr/anā aqimtu l-samāwāt/anā ḥujjat allāh fī l-arḍ wa l-samāwāt/anā nūr al-hudā/anā l-asmā' al-ḥusnā allatī yud'a bihā/anā l-nāẓir 'alā a'māl al-khalā'iq/anā fī l-khalā'iq khalīfa al- ilāh al-khāliq/anā ṣāhib al-khalq al-awwal/anā ṣāhib al-tūfān al-awwal/anātūfān al-thānī/anā ma'a l-qalam qabl al-qalam/anā ma'a l-lawḥ qabla l-lawḥ/anā ṣāhib al-azaliyya al-awwaliyya/anā mudabbir al-'ālam ḥīna lā samā'ukum ḥādhihi wa lā ghabrā'ukum/anā ākhidh al-'ahd 'alā l-arwāḥ fī l-azal/wa anā l-munādī lahum 'a lastu bi-rabbikum bi-amri qayyūmi lam yazal/anā sayyid al-mu'minīn/anā 'alam al-muhtadīn/anā imām al-muttaqīn/anā l-yaqīn/anā l-mutakallim bi l-waḥy/anā ṣāhib al-nujūm wa mudabbiruhā bi amri rabbī wa 'ilmī lladhī khaṣṣanī bihi/anā lladhī amla'a l-arḍ 'adlan wa qīṣṭan kamā muli'at jawran wa ḡulman [ḡuluman]/anā l-ghā'ib l-muntaẓar li l-amr al-'azīm/anā l-tūr wa kitāb maṣtūr wa l-bayt al-ma' mūr wa l-saqf al-marfū' wa l-baḥr al-masjūr/anā mu'awwil al-ta'wīl/anā mufassir al-injīl/anā 'ālim al-tawrā/anā umm al-kitāb/anā faṣl al-khiṭāb/anā al-awwal/anā al-ākhir/anā l-bāṭin/anā l-ẓāhir/anā nūr al-anbiyā'/anā walāya al-awliyā'/anā Adam wa shūth/anā mūsā wa yūsha'/anā 'isā wa sham'ūn/anā Ffanbathā' [?] al-zanj/anā bashīr [?] al-turk/anā jirjīs al-faranj/anā munawwir al-shams wa l-qamar wa l-nujūm/anā qayyim al-qiyāma/anā qayyim al-sā'a/anā l-khāliq/anā l-makhlūq/anā l-shāhid/anā l-mashhūd/anā ṣāhib al-ka'ba/anā shahr ramadān/anā laylat al-qadr/anā l-mu'tī/anā l-qābid/anā bāṭin al-ḥaram/anā 'imād al-umam/anā nūr al-anwār/anā ḥāmil al-'arsh ma'a l-abrār/anā lu'lu' al-aṣḍāf/anā jabal qāf/anā miftāḥ al-ghuyūb/anā sirāj al-qulūb/anā nūr al-ẓurūf/anā sirr al-ḥurūf/anā ma'nā l-ṭawāsīn/anā bāṭin al-ḥawāmīm/anā ṣāhib alif-lām-mīm/anā l-nūn wa l-qalam/anā miṣbāḥ al-ẓulam/anā rāsi l-jibāl al-shāmikhāt/anā fājir al-'uyūn al-jāriyāt/anā munzil al-maṭar/anā mūriq al-shajar/anā mukhrij al-lawn wa l-thamar/anā muqaddir al-aqwāt/anā nāshir al-amwāt/anā lladhī raddat lī al-shams marratayn wa sallamat 'alayya karratayn/wa sallaytu ma'a rasūl allāh al-qiblatayn/anā ṣāhib badr wa ḥunayn/anā jāwaztu bi-mūsā fī l-baḥr/wa aghraqtu fir'awn wa junūdahu/anā l-mutakallim 'alā lisān 'īsā fī l-mahd/anā l-mutakallim bi kulli lisān/anā lladhī ajūzu l-samāwāt al-sab'wa l-arḍīn al-sab' fī ṭurfa 'ayn/anā mahdī l-awān/anā l-masīḥ/ anā l-masīḥ al-thānī/anā 'īsā l-zamān/anā ṣāhib al-mīzān/anā l-raḥmān/anā l-raḥīm/anā l-'alī/anā l-a'lā/anā ya'sūb al-mu'minīn/anā yaqīn al-mūqinīn/anā layth banī ghālib/anā 'alī ibn abī ṭālib.

Chapter 5

The five spirits of the divine man

*To Jean-Daniel
Dubois In true
friendship*

Among the sentences most frequently found in 'Alī's preaching are "I am the one who speaks by divine revelation" (*anā al- mutakallim bi l-wahy*); and another that can be considered the result of the former: "I am the Master of hermeneutics" (*anā mu'awwil al-ta'wīl*; in other words, "the one who initiates to the hidden meaning of divine revelation"); this is expressed in the Shi'ite doctrine that makes the Imam the "speaking Qur'an"^{464}. Indeed, 'Alī, and after him the other Imams of his descendants, are manifestations of God on earth, as we have just seen, and one of the most fundamental aspects of this dimension is that the Imam is at the same time the receptacle, the transmitter and the ultimate content of the divine Word. The human nature of the Imam has such properties because of his spiritual constitution. Let us take a closer look at this.

In a brief but highly suggestive 2005 article entitled "The 'Five Limbs' of the Soul: A Manichean Motif in Muslim Garb?", Karim Douglas Crow examines the reminiscences of the ancient theme of the five organs of the soul/mind in three Muslim authors: the Shi'ite Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq, the Sunni mystic al-I:Jakīm al-Tirmidhī, and the Shi'ite ismā'īlian thinker Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. The bulk of the article, which

quickly moves on to the Iranian background, is devoted to these three authors. At the end of his work, the author states, "We refrain from pursuing the matter beyond this point, hoping that the interested reader will take the material presented here to lead [further] reflection on the issues raised^{465} ." I will try to be that "interested reader" mentioned by my colleague to return to his work later. This study has three parts: 1. The Shi'ite traditions;
2. their "prehistory"; 3. their extensions and implications.

1. Shi'a traditions

Let us begin our examination with a few traditions reported by the quintessential authority on early Shi'ite Hadith, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. c. 328/939-40) in the doctrinal section (the *Uṣūl*) of his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (The Sufficient Book)^{466} . First, the chapter devoted to the spirits of the imams within the Book of Proof (*Kitāb al-ḥujja*). It contains three traditions:

1. "Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq: '...God the Most High created the creatures in three groups as He Himself says [Qur'an 56: 7-11]: 'You will be three groups side by side* The companions of the right [or 'auspicious']* What are the companions of the right [/auspicious]?* And the companions of the left [or 'ominous']* What are the companions of the left [or 'ominous']?*' And those who go ahead, those who go ahead* These are the near ones' [end of Qur'anic quote].

^{467} . 'Those who go ahead' are the envoys of God and the elite among His creatures in whom He has placed five spirits: God sustains them [first] by the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-quḍs*; literally the spirit of holiness) through which they have knowledge of things. He sustains them [then] by the spirit of faith (*rūḥ al-īmān*) through which they fear God. He sustains them by the spirit of power (*rūḥ al-quwwa*) through which they can obey God. He sustains them with the spirit of desire (*rūḥ al-shahwa*) through which they desire obedience to God and hate disobedience to Him. [Finally] He places in them the spirit of movement (*rūḥ al-madraj* - literally the spirit of advancement, progression) by which people move [literally: come and go]. And God places in the believers

(*mu' minīn*), [who are] the 'companions of the right', the last four' [in fact the hadith repeats to the letter what has already been said about the last four spirits]^{468} ."

2. A disciple asked Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir what the knowledge of the wise initiator (*'ilm al-'ālim*) is^{469} . The latter replies, "... In [the being] of the prophets and legatees [*awṣiyā'*, pl. of *waṣī*; one of the Imam's titles] are five spirits: the holy spirit, the spirit of faith, the spirit of life [*rūḥ al-ḥayāt*; which here replaces the "spirit of movement" of the previous hadith], the spirit of power, and the spirit of desire. It is through the holy spirit that [these men] know absolutely everything [literally "everything in the world, from below the Divine Throne to what is under the earth]... The last four can undergo changes but not the holy spirit [literally "the holy spirit does not amuse or play"; the couplet is Quranic]^{470} ."

3. A disciple asked Ja'far about the Imam's knowledge of what is happening in the depths of the earth while he is in a closed room. Imam Ja'far replied, "...God placed in the Prophet [i.e. Muḥammad] five spirits: the spirit of life by which he moved and walked, the spirit of power by which he stood up and made efforts, the spirit of desire by which he ate, drank and had lawful sex, the spirit of faith by which he believed and he judged fairly, and finally the holy spirit by which he bore prophecy [*rūḥ al-quds fa-bihī ḥamala l-nubuwwa*]. When the Prophet passed away, the holy spirit was passed on to the imam [*al-imām* with definite article; this refers to 'Alī but probably also to the other imams]. The holy spirit never sleeps, is never careless or distracted, never takes pride; which is the case with the other four spirits. It is through the holy spirit that everything is understood^{471} ."

The five constituent elements of the inner man we find in another form elsewhere in al-Kulaynī: in tradition n° 23 of the Book of Intelligence and Ignorance (*Kitāb al-'aql wa-l-jahl*) of the same part *Uṣūl* of the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* where intelligence and its four components are mentioned: 'Ja'far: 'The pillar of man is intelligence. This is composed of sagacity [*fiṭna*], understanding [*fahm*], attention [*ḥifẓ*] and knowledge [*'ilm*]. It is intelligence that makes man perfect, that is his guide, that gives him insight and is the key to his affairs. When his intelligence is supported by the Light, he becomes wise, attentive, aware, full of sagacity and understanding; he

He will know the how, the why and the where; he will distinguish between what is good for him and what is bad; he will know his direction, his attachments and his detachments. His testimony of the unification of God will be purified as well as his obedience to God. When he becomes so, he will recover what he could not achieve [in the past] and he will master what will happen to him [in the future]. He will be fully aware of the present and will know why he is where he is; where he came from and where he is going. All of this is thanks to the support of intelligence^{472} ."

These traditions, concerning the divine man, and in particular the divine guide, the imam, and his intellectual members, do not seem to have a properly Islamic or Arabic basis. No basis in pre-Islamic Arab culture, such as poetry, or in the Qur'an can be attributed to them. On the other hand, ancient and late antique religious and spiritual traditions can provide us with many striking parallels.

2. "Prehistory

Beyond the Manichaeism to which Karim Douglas Crow alluded and to which we shall return, the most ancient texts that seem to be at the root of our traditions would be Isaiah 11, (1)-2,3 and certain of its exegeses. First, the biblical verses (let us limit ourselves to the transcription from the Semitic languages):

"1. (A branch will come forth from the stump of Jesse, a shoot will spring from his roots)/ 2. Upon it shall rest the Spirit of the Lord [rūha *Yhwh*]: the spirit of wisdom and discernment [rūha *hakemāh ū-bīnāh*], the spirit of counsel and valor [rūha *'eṣāh ū-gebūrāh*], the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord [rūha *da'at* *ve-yireat Yhwh*]^{473} ." The Syriac text of the Peshiṭta has: 'the Spirit of God [rūhā *da-Loḥā*], spirit of wisdom and understanding [rūhā *de-hēkemētā wa de-sūkolā*], spirit of benevolence and power [rūhā *de-tar'īthā wa de-gaborūtā*], spirit of sagacity and fear of God [rūhā *de-yid'atā wa de-dēheletēh de-Moryā*]^{474} . As in our Arabic texts, the qualifiers for spirits, all denoting faculties having to do with religious thought or consciousness, taken in a general sense, are here also susceptible to different translations. Moreover, how should they be counted: is the Spirit of God the first in the list or

Is it the same as the Holy Spirit, the one who embraces and understands the following? Is it identical with the holy spirit? Are the other spirits to be counted one by one or does each group of two count as one spirit comprising two aspects? Is the fear of God also a spirit or a separate virtue? The numerous exegeses of the verses in question, especially by the Greek and Latin Fathers, propose different breakdowns and therefore different counts. We thus arrive at four, five, six and most often seven spirits or as many gifts of the Holy Spirit, most often the following seven gifts: intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, counsel, piety, strength, fear of God (only Origen enumerates ten)^{475}. It is however undeniable that we find the content, sometimes the letter, as well as the description of the five spirits of the Shi'ite traditions. The Hebrew text speaks of the Messiah, the Christ according to the Christian exegetes (Augustine also applies the gifts to the true Christian faithful); our Shi'ite hadiths speak of the elite among creatures, that is to say the prophets and even more particularly the imams (certain Shi'ite texts also apply them to the initiated faithful). A rough correspondence between some elements of Isaiah 11:2-3 and the Shi'i hadiths could be established as follows:

Isaiah 11, 2 -3	Shi'a traditions
Spirit of God/ Spirit of wisdom/ Spirit of knowledge	Holy Spirit
Spirit of the fear of God	Spirit of faith (which makes one fear God)
Spirit of Valor/Power (in Syriac)	Spirit of power
	Spirit of desire
	Spirit of movement/life/body

However, sources more directly related to our Shi'ite texts seem to come from Gnostic and Manichean circles. The latter were well acquainted with Isaiah 11:2-3, as attested by its very rich exegetical tradition among them^{476}. The most remarkable parallels are to be found in the commentaries on *logion* 19 of the *Gospel according to Thomas*, masterfully located, identified and studied by Henri-Charles Puech, in particular in his courses at the Collège de France during the year 1961-62^{477}. Here is the translation of this *logion*: "Jesus said: 'Blessed is he who was before he was. If you become my disciples and listen to my words, these stones will serve you. For you have *five*

Trees in Paradise that do not move in summer or winter and whose leaves do not fall off. Whoever knows them will not taste death'^{478}. According to other passages in the *Gospel according to Thomas*, but also in Gnostic texts such as *Pistis Sophia*, the *Gospel of Eve* quoted by Epiphanius, the *Acts of Thomas* or even in Irenaeus, this *logion* and others speak of

The Gnostics are the "Chosen", the "Unique", the "Living", the "Sons of Man", or in other words, those who have been initiated by Jesus into the secrets of things^{479}. In a number of Coptic Gnostic texts, there is mention of the

This is the case with the "mystery of the five trees", the "five powers" or the "five seals" treated in noetic symbols (anonymous writing of Bruce, *Pistis Sophia*, Papyrus of Deir el-Bala'izah). However, it is two Manichaean writings that present the most similarities with the Shi'ite traditions on the five spirits and the faculties of intelligence: the Coptic *Psalter*^{480} and the Chinese treatise called "Traité Chavannes-Pelliot"^{481}. In the first one,

The "five trees of Paradise" of *logion* 19 are paralleled by the

The first Manichaean scripture, however, is related to the "five wise virgins" of the gospel parable and to several other series of entities, grouped five by five, including the "five gifts" of the holy spirit and the five members of the soul capable of receiving the holy spirit. The second Manichaean writing also sets out a large number of series of five elements in relation to the five trees of *logion* 19, including the five members of the light nature of the initiate, which, according to the translation of Chavannes and Pelliot, are thought, feeling, reflection, intellect and reasoning^{482}. However, a note from Paul Demiéville to Henri-Charles Puech indicates that the Chinese terms designating these five members, namely *siang*, *sin*, *nien*, *sseu* and *yi*, are much more vague. Like the Arabic terms of the Ja'far tradition on the faculties of intelligence (*'aql*), they are all more or less related to thought, taken in general, and would designate notions such as consciousness, imagination, heart, mind, memory, reflection or intention. Puech then brings these texts together with other Manichean sources devoted to the transformation of the "Old Man" into the "New Man" thanks to the We-Light - in this case the fragment of Tourfan M 14, chapter 38 of the Coptic *Kephalaïa* or chapter 10 of the *Acta Archelai*. In this way, he is able to establish the list of the five spiritual faculties in three important languages of the Manichean writings:

- Syriac: *haunā*, *maddeā*, *re'yānā*, *maḥshabtha*, *tar'īthā*.
- Greek *us*, *ennoia*, *enthumêsis*, *phronêsis*, *logismos*.

– Coptic: *we, meeuē, sbô, sadjne, makmek*.

What is worth emphasizing is that in this enumeration, the four elements of the pentad mentioned after the 'we' are in fact only the various aspects, properties or manifestations of the 'we'. This is exactly what we find in the tradition about the faculties of the 'aql. As Schaeder, Nyberg, Reitzenstein and others have established, this system of enumeration is of Iranian origin.

The Manichaeans must have borrowed these exegeses of *logion* 19 from the Gnostics of the second century. In the epiclesis of the *Acts of Thomas*, the Holy Spirit is mentioned as the Envoy or Messenger of the five members, namely *nous*, *ennoia*, *phronêsis*, *enthumêsis* and *logismos*. Summarizing a theological doctrine of Basilides, Irenaeus evokes the supreme God surrounded by five hypostases emanating from him, namely *us*, *logos*, *phronêsis*, *sophia* and *dunamis*^{483}. The same thing in the *Sophia of Jesus-Christ* where five of the six perfect or immortal members of the first man are identical to the Manichean pentad and enumerated in the same order. Tertullian on his side reports in *De anima*, xviii, 4 that the Gnostics, in particular the Valentinians, established a parallel between the "corporal senses" (*corporales sensus*) and the five foolish virgins of the gospel parable, just as between the "intellectual powers" (*intellectuales uires*) and the five wise virgins. The doctrine of the five members or five spiritual senses would thus have existed in the breasts of gnostic currents previous to Manichaeism.

Michel Tardieu adds Latin and Middle Persian terms to Puech's terminological lists concerning the five members of the perfect Manichean man^{484}. He first lists their general titles in the different languages of the Manichaean corpora: the five thoughts (in Parthian), the five aeons, the names of the soul or the splendors (in Greek), the five abodes or the fathers (in Syriac), the five worlds (in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Arabic in the description of the Manichaeans in Ibn al-Nadīm, for example). He then establishes the following table:

[Syriac	Greek	Latin	Middle Persian
1.intelligence	noûs	monthly	bām
2.science	ennoia	sensus	manohmēd
3.thought	phronêsis	prudencia	ūsh
4.Reflection	enthumêsis	intellectus	andeshisn
5.conscience	logismos	cogitatio	parmānag{485}

We have already seen a possible Iranian influence in the enumeration of spiritual faculties. Michel Tardieu's mention of the use of the Middle Persian or Pehlevi language by the Manichaeans brings us back to this point^{486} .

Precisely, one of the most capital Zoroastrian texts in Middle Persia, the *Dēnkart*, contains significant passages on the four or five spiritual faculties of man in relation to the divine world. It is true that this religious text, dating from the ^{ninth} century of our era, is very late, but it is also known that the materials gathered in this kind of Zoroastrian works, composed therefore three centuries after the advent of Islam and most probably in direct reaction to the Arab religion, are often of very ancient origin. It is interesting to recall that the Book of Isaiah, whose verses 11, 2-3 seem to be the primary source of the doctrines we are dealing with, deals with the deportation of the Jews to Babylon, their return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple on the orders of the Achaemenid ruler Cyrus the Second. It is therefore later than the Persian period when, according to many scholars, the Jewish religion underwent some important Mazdean influences^{487} .

As for the *Dēnkart*, especially two of the chapters of its Third Book are devoted, among other things, to the inner components of man. First, Chapter 123 on the correspondences between the spiritual *mēnōg* world and the material *gētī* world in the universe in general and in man in particular. In a complex enumeration, the components

"Mēnōgian," spiritual or celestial, faculties of the soul are the following: *ruvān*, *waxsh*, *čīhr*, and *frawahr* which are the powers of life, *jān*. The most powerful means of enlivening these faculties is *xrad/ashn xrad*, intelligence or knowledge, itself eminently "mēnōgian," since it is often identified with the Good Religion (*wēh dēn*)^{488} . We find the five components of the soul as well as the central role of intelligence in our Shi'i traditions. Then chapter 218, whose title translated by Father John of Menasce is: "On the mēnōgian reality that are in the [person] of man, their agents and operations^{489} ". Here, the agents of spiritual realities in man are four: *ruwān*, *jān*, *frawahr*, and *bōy*. The chapter attempts to define them and articulate them with other faculties such as *waxsh*, *čīhr*, *ahw*, etc. According to Shaul Shaked, who

complements Harold Bailey's studies of the *xwarnah/farrah* ("light of glory" of *mēnōgian* men), the multiplicity of the soul's components and the correspondence of these with celestial powers is a very old Iranian conception. It is precisely this composition, comprising four to seven faculties, and its articulation with the *mēnōg* world that allow for the relationship between divine man and divine entities or with Ahurā Mazdā himself^{490} .

3. Extensions and implications

Let us return to our four Shi'i traditions. One of them goes back to the fifth Imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. c. 119/737), and the other three to the sixth, Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765). This brings us back to the end of the 1 /VII^{ere} and especially the first half of the 2nd /III^{century}. According to Heinz Halm's classic study, complementing those of Israel Friedländer and Marshall Hodgson, this period would indeed correspond to the adoption of Manichaean gnostic and dualist doctrines by Shi'ite circles^{491} . The absence of direct sources in the first two centuries of Islam makes it difficult to study the literary filiation between the Gnostic movements and the different branches of Shi'ism. However, numerous studies, the most comprehensive of which remains the aforementioned monographic work by Heinz Halm, have been able to show that religious currents of the Gnostic type, especially those influenced by or remaining faithful to the followers of Mani (Mānī in Arabic), of Bardesan (Bardaysān) and Marcion (Marqiyūn), had remained active in the land of Islam, until the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, sometimes converting to the new Arab religion, with intellectual and spiritual weapons and baggage^{492} . It should be pointed out that the regions of predilection of these movements were almost all located in Iraq (especially the cities of Kūfa, not far from the important Sassanid city of I:Jīra, and Baṣra), i.e., the homeland of Shi'ism^{493} . From what emerges from Muslim heresiographical works, but also from the Imamite and Ismaili corpus as well as works from the so-called Shi'ite circles "extremist" (books like the *Kitāb al-Haft wa-l-aẓilla* or the *Umm al-kitāb* to which I will return), it is reasonable to deduce that Gnostic-type teachings, being transmitted mostly in a

In addition, some studies devoted to Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq portray him as a great scholar surrounded by a circle of disciples from all walks of life, especially from the gypsy world.^{494} . Moreover, some studies devoted to Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq portray him as a great scholar surrounded by a circle of disciples from all walks of life, including Gnostic, Manichean, Judeo-Christian and Christian circles, not to mention the corpus of sayings attributed to him in all sorts of literary genres, which contains a very large number of teachings rooted in late-antique mystical and spiritual traditions, from Neoplatonic theology to the occult sciences, in particular alchemy, from hermeticism to neopythagoreanism, from esoteric hermeneutics to mystical anthropology^{495} . Finally, our three traditions on the "five spirits" reported by al-Kulaynī are transmitted to the names of those with whom the Shi'ite prosopographical literature is very familiar, namely "the Two Ju'fī": Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī and Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, both disciples of the two Imams mentioned. Their names are also found in the chains of transmitters (*isnād*) of traditions of the same kind reported by al-Saffār al-Qummī which we shall see later. Now, both are known to have transmitted, among other things, teachings of a gnostic, esoteric, and mystical type from their masters, especially those of Ja'far al-Sādiq^{496} .

All of this evidence suggests that our traditions would indeed date from the late 1st/7th or early 2nd/8th centuries. Even their attribution to the two Imams Muḥammad al-Bāqir and even more to Ja'far al-Sādiq seems plausible. In this case, these Shi'ite teachings would indeed be the earliest attestations in Islam of the themes we are concerned with and would testify to the circles through which they passed from earlier religious traditions to this religion.

Al-I:Jakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295 and 310/907-922) is another Muslim thinker to have exploited the theme of the components of the soul at some length. An exact contemporary of al-Saffār al-Qummī and al-Kulaynī, an original mystic of significant importance in the history of esoteric ideas in Islam, it is to him that Karim D. Crow has devoted most of his work^{497} . In several of his works, namely al-Masā'il *al-maknūna*, *'Ilm al-awliyā'*, or *Ghawr al-umūr*, the Sage of Tirmidh speaks of the four, five, or six components of intelligence (*al-'aql*), which he refers to as the "armies of mind, heart, or knowledge" (*junūd al-*

rūḥ/al-qalb/al-ma'rifa). Here, we often find the four elements of intelligence from the Shi'i tradition of al-Kulaynī's *Kitāb al-'aql wa-l-jahl* (our fourth and final tradition presented at the beginning of this study), namely, along with *'aql: al-fiṭna* (sagacity), *al-fahm* (understanding), *al-'ilm* (knowledge), *al-ḥifẓ* (memory/attention; sometimes replaced by *al-dhihn*, ability to learn; variant: *dhukā'*, alertness of mind), always with the same reservations regarding their exact translation. The proximity of al-Tirmidhī to Shi'ite traditions is also perceptible in his use of the expression: the "armies of intelligence," *junūd al-'aql*, which obviously recalls the famous cosmogonic tradition that founds Shi'ite dualism, namely the hadith of the 75 Armies of Cosmic Intelligence and Cosmic Ignorance (*junūd al-'aql wa-l-jahl*)^{498}. Once again we see, as Geneviève Gobillot has already aptly pointed out in many passages of her work, the striking parallelism between al-Tirmidhī and al-Kulaynī.^{499} This seems to show quite clearly that the Transoxian mystic drew from the same Shi'ite sources as the author of the *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, and not only in terms of his doctrine on spiritual intelligence.

The third and final author presented by Douglas K. Crow is the Shi'ite Ismā'īlian propagandist Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. ca. 380/990).^{500} In his *Sarā'ir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqā'*, the latter seems to count four components for intelligence (*al-'aql*), namely *fikr* (thought/meditation), *dhikr* (recall/memory), *dhihn* (ability to learn), and *ḥifẓ* (memory/attention), and establishes, in an admittedly rather confused system, a correspondence between the five intellectual faculties of man (*'aql, nafs, dhikr, dhihn, fikr*) and the five "hypostases" of the Ismā'īlian cosmogonic system, namely *sābiq, tālī, jadd, faṭḥ, and khayāl*. These two authors dealt with intelligence and its components. Many other authors, especially among the Ismā'īlian philosophers and theologians, have also based their noetics on it^{501}.

Other sources concern the multiple spirits of the man of God, for example the famous esoteric Shi'ite text *Umm al-kitāb*. Although considered one of their sacred texts by the Ismā'īlians of Central Asia, this text, of which only an archaic Persian translation made from an Arabic original exists, seems to have come from proto-Ismā'īlian esoteric circles of the Gnostic type, those whom heresiographers label as extremists (*ghuluww*). As for the dating of the Arabic original, its

editor, Wladimir Ivanow, has hesitated, according to his publications spread over several decades, between the ^{second/eighth} and the ^{fifth/tenth} centuries^{502}. However, revising Ivanow's analyses as well as those of Fillipani-Ronconi and Tijdens, Heinz Halm, to date the author of the most complete studies on the text, considers that the oldest parts of the *Umm al-kitāb* would indeed date from the first half of the 2 /VIII^{ce} century^{503}. This brings us to the time of Ja'far al-Sādiq's imamate. However, much more recently, Sean Anthony, in a well-documented study, has gone back on this dating and believes that the oldest parts of the work would date from the period of the Minor Occultation of the twelfth Imam of the Imamites, i.e., the second half of the ^{third/ninth} century^{504}. In this case, the work is the exact contemporary of the *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* of al-Saffār and the *Kāfī* of al-Kulaynī. In any case, we are fully within what I have elsewhere called the pre-Buyid "esoteric original tradition"^{505}.

At the beginning of the *Umm al-kitāb*, during a school session, the young Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir, endowed with a miraculous initiatory science, explains to his teacher 'Abdallāh b. Sabbāḥ, the esoteric meanings of the letters of the alphabet^{506}. It is in the course of these explanations that the various elements of the traditions we have examined in al-Kulaynī that designate the spiritual and intellectual capacities of the man of God are mentioned: the spirit of life (*rūḥ al-ḥayāt*), the spirit of faith (*rūḥ al-īmān*), the spirit of memory/attention (*rūḥ al-ḥifẓ*), the spirit of reflection/meditation (*rūḥ al-fikr*), the spirit of power (*rūḥ al-jabarūt*; cf. *rūḥ al-quwwa* in al-Kulaynī), the spirit of knowledge (*rūḥ al-'ilm*), the spirit of intelligence (*rūḥ al-'aql*), the holy spirit/sanctity (*rūḥ al-quds*) also called the universal spirit (*rūḥ-i kull*, in Persian) or the supreme spirit (*rūḥ al-akbar* and *rūḥ al-a'ẓam* [*sic*, instead of *al-rūḥ al-kubrā* and *al-rūḥ al-uẓmā*]). A little further on, the spirits of the five physical senses are put in correspondence with the "Five of the Cloak" (Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Alī, al-I:Jasan, and al-I:Jusayn) and the five inner spirits crowned, again, by the holy spirit.^{507} Elsewhere, the five "hypostases" of ismā'īlism are mentioned: *'aql*, *nafs*, *fath*, *jadd*, *khayāl* (translated here as Universal Intellect, Universal Soul, Victory, Glory, and Imagination), mapped to the *afrād* (the Secluded) and *yatīm* (the Orphans or Incomparables) whom the nuṣayrī Shi'ites identify with the five companions of 'Alī, i.e., Salmān the Persian, al-Miqdād b. Aswad, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn and 'Ammār b. Yāsir (or according to

Another list: al-Miqdād, Abū Dharr, 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn and Qanbar b. Kādān)^{508} .

Finally, let us mention a text that was unexpected in our investigation: the *Gospel of Barnabas*, in its Muslim rereading of course. An enigmatic apocrypha of Spanish origin, probably written by one or more Moriscos (Spanish Muslims who were forcibly converted to Christianity in the 15th and 16th centuries, i.e. after the *Reconquista*) or, on the contrary, by a Christian monk who converted to Islam, the *Gospel of Barnabas* is a "Life of Jesus" that conforms to a certain Islam's idea of the New Testament and the figure of the Christ. Its earliest mention dates from the 17th century, but its only surviving manuscript, written in Italian and kept in Vienna (Austria), dates from the 16th century^{509} . What is remarkable with regard to our problem is that this text has been judged by certain scholars, for example Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, Luigi Cirillo and Jan Joosten, as belonging to the Gnostic diatessaric movements.

^{510} However, we now know, especially thanks to the recent works of Michael Ebstein and Ehud Krinis, which are a useful addition to the classic study of Shlomo Pines, that the Muslim circles of the gnostic and mystical type in Muslim Spain were profoundly influenced by Shi'ite thought, especially Ismā'īlian.^{511} It is therefore plausible to consider for our text both Christian sources of the Gnostic type and Shi'ite sources, most likely Ismā'īlian.

In chapter XLIV of the *Gospel of Barnabas*, we read: "The messenger of God... is adorned with the spirit of understanding and counsel, the spirit of wisdom and strength, the spirit of fear and love^{512} ..." In this list of spirits, we find both some of the spirits of Isaiah 11:2-3 and those of our Shi'ite texts. Then in chapter CX, the following words are put into the mouth of Jesus: "...Have the desire to be saints...You will not receive what you do not wish to desire. If you desire holiness, God is powerful enough to make you holy in less time than it takes to wink^{513} ." Lonsdale and Laura Ragg translate "if you desire holiness" as "*If you really wish the sanctity by your spiritual desire*^{514} ". It seems to me that we are not far from the enigmatic "spirit of desire" (*rūḥ al-shahwa*) of the first hadith of the "Book of Proof" of al-Kulaynī's *Kāfī* discussed at the very beginning of this study.

What do the texts that have just been examined imply (and the list is not exhaustive^{515})? What they have in common is first of all either their

In the first place, the authors of this book are concerned with the fact that they belong to the Shi'ah doctrines, or their possible dependence on them. Secondly, the ultimate objective of their authors is to prove and explain, through theological, anthropological and noetic elements intimately linked, that the divine man is the one who is in direct relationship with God. Receiving divine inspiration or revelation is the *raison d'être* and function of the holy intelligence (*'aql*), a human reflection of the cosmic Hiero Intelligence, equivalent to the holy spirit or spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-quds*), a Qur'anic expression almost always associated with Jesus Christ in the Qur'an, identified by some Sunni theologians with the angel Gabriel and/or "loyal mind" Qur'anic (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*), and by philosophers to the agent intellect (*al-'aql al-fa''āl*)^{516}. Inherited, then, most likely from Shi'ism, in a process in which al-I:Jakīm al-Tirmidhī, one of the earliest and most decisive theorists of Muslim hagiology, seems to have played a crucial role, this ability to receive divine inspiration becomes one of the characteristics of the saint in Sunni mysticism. However, the Shi'ite doctrine implied by the traditions concerning the inner components of the divine man, of which the imam is the manifestation par excellence, goes much further since it leads to the persistence, the continuity of prophecy. Here again, we are in the prolongation of the gnostic type traditions of late antiquity, with the theory of direct communication with God as a backdrop, so accentuated in the *Enneads* of Plotinus in particular and in the neoplatonic writings more generally. The ancient corpus of Shi'ite Hadith seems to be totally explicit in this respect. However, Shi'ism is thus in contradiction with the dogma "orthodox" that Muḥammad is "the seal of the prophets" (understood as the last of the prophets), and thus Islam the last religion before the end of the world. I will come back to this.

In al-Kulaynī's "Book of Evidence", the chapter on "The "five spirits" of the Imam is preceded by the chapter in which the Imam is said to be a *muḥaddath* (the one to whom the heavenly entities, including the angels, speak) and a *mufahham* (the one to whom the Understanding from On High is given)^{517}. It is likewise followed by a chapter on the fact that the imam is invested with the heavenly entity called the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*) spoken of in the Qur'an (e.g. Q. 16:2, 17:85 or 42:52): 'the Spirit proceeding from the Order of the Lord', and through which the imam is able to receive divine revelations directly^{518}. Al-Saffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902-903), writing most likely a few years before al-Kulaynī, is even bolder

in his *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*^{519} . Thus, the chapter on the five spirits of the imams, contains more than twice as many traditions as in al- Kulaynī^{520} . It is immediately followed by five chapters that heavily emphasize the abilities of the imams in receiving revelation through dozens of traditions: 'chapter on the fact that the holy spirit joins the imams when they need it'^{521} ; 'chapter on the Spirit about which God has proclaimed in His Book: 'Thus, we have revealed to you a Spirit proceeding from Our Order', [Q. 42:52] which is in the Messenger of God (i.i.e. Muḥammad) and in the Imams and who informs, guides and sustains them'^{522} "; "chapter on questions asked to the wise initiator (i.e. the Imam) about the initiatory science to which he has access thanks to the Writings he possesses, which he increases or unveils the secret/interprets and all this through [the intermediary of] the Spirit'^{523} "; "chapter on the Spirit about which God has said: 'You are asked about the Spirit. Say that the Spirit comes from the Command of my Lord' [Q. 17: 85], that it is found in the Messenger of God and in the People of his Family, that it guides them, sustains them and teaches them'^{524} "; "chapter on the Spirit about which God said: 'He sends down the angels by the Spirit that comes from His Command' [Q. 16: 2], that this Spirit is found with the prophets and the legates and about the difference between the Spirit and the angels'^{525} " .

I would like to end my remarks with some particularly significant traditions from these chapters:

1. "Someone asked Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq: 'May I hold you to ransom! Is it possible that you [the Imams] are asked a question and you do not know the answer?' - 'Yes, that can happen. - 'And in that case what do you do?' - 'The holy spirit teaches us (*tatalaqqānā bihī rūḥ al-quds*)'^{526} ."

2. "Someone asked Imam Ja'far: 'How do you [the Imams] judge the affairs [of the faithful]? ' - 'Through the precepts of God, those of David and Muḥammad. And if a case arises that is not in the Book of 'Alī, then it is the holy spirit that teaches us and God graces us with inspiration (*talaqqanā bihī rūḥ al-quds wa-alhamanā Allāh ilhāman*)'^{527} ."

3. "Someone asked Imam Ja'far about the Qur'anic verse: 'Thus, We have revealed to you a Spirit proceeding from Our Command.' He replied, 'Since God sent down to Muḥammad this Spirit,

This one did not ascend to heaven because he remained in us [we, the Imams]^{528} ."

4. "A disciple asked Imam Ja'far: 'The science that you teach us [you imams], did you learn it from other men or do you have at your disposal a writing from the Messenger of God?' [implied: what you teach us is not found in the Qur'an; therefore, it comes from another source] Ja'far: This matter is greater than all this (*al-amr a'ẓam min dhālika*). Have you not heard what God proclaims in His Book: 'So We have revealed to you a Spirit proceeding from Our Command when you did not know what the Book and faith are?'

- If [I know this verse]. - It was through the divine gift of the Spirit that [Muḥammad] received knowledge and this is how a servant of God [i.e. Ja'far himself and by extension all Imams] is initiated into knowledge and understanding (*wa-kadhālika hiya ntahat ilā 'abdin 'āliman bihā l-'ilm wa-l-fahm*)^{529} ."

5. "Imam Ja'far was asked about the Qur'anic verse: 'And you are asked about the Spirit. Say, 'The Spirit comes from the Command of my Lord. The Imam replied, 'It is a greater creature than [the archangels] Gabriel and Michael. He was with the Messenger of God and he is with the Imams. He is from the Kingdom of God (*kāna ma'a rasūli llāhi wa-huwa ma'a l-a'immati wa-huwa mina l-malakūti*)^{530} ."

6. We conclude the examples with a hadith about 'Alī which is particularly significant: "Imam Ja'far was asked about the first Imam 'Alī: '...Some claim that when the Messenger of God sent 'Alī to Yemen to judge the affairs of the people, he said: Some say that when the Messenger of God sent 'Alī to the Yemen to judge the affairs of the people, he said: 'I do not settle a single case except according to the precepts of God and His Messenger'... How could this be possible when the whole Qur'an had not yet been revealed and the Messenger of God was absent?' Ja'far replied, 'It was the holy spirit that taught it' (*tatalaqqāhu bihi rūhu l- qudsi*)^{531} ."

This last tradition declares it, if it were necessary, in the most explicit way: the imam is able, thanks to the holy spirit, celestial entity but also component of celestial origin of his soul, to enter directly in relation with the source of all revelations. He does not need, if need be, either the Prophet or the Koran. This point constitutes, it seems to me, the real center of gravity and at the same time the ultimate scope of the Shi'ite traditions on the internal faculties of the divine man, based on inherited doctrines

of many religious and philosophical traditions of late antiquity, most notably Manichaeism. It makes the imam, indeed any initiate, a prophet in the full sense of the word. Now, the Imamites do not say this explicitly, unlike the various branches of ismā'īlism which more or less openly profess the existence of a prophet and a religion belonging to the seventh and ultimate cycle of humanity, coming therefore after Muḥammad and Islam, which are those of the sixth cycle. This is because such a doctrine is opposed to the dogma of the sealing of prophethood by Muḥammad based on the Qur'anic expression "seal of the prophets" (*khātim/khātam al-nabiyyīn*) of verse 33:40, another borrowing from Manichaeism. This discretion seems directly related to the semantic evolution of this expression, which, during the first two or three centuries of Islam, did not have for all Muslims the meaning that it will later take on exclusively, namely "the last of the prophets". Before the dogmatic fixation of this meaning, in many circles, and more particularly in esoteric Shi'ite circles, there was a firm belief in the perpetual continuity of prophecy, first of all through the imams of course, but also through their faithful initiates^{532}. This will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters.

Chapter 6

"The Night of *Qadr*" (Qur'an, Sura 97) in ancient Shi'ism

1. An enigmatic text

The prophetic abilities of 'Alī and the Imams of his descendants are also illustrated in the traditions concerning the Night of *Qadr* (Fate, Decree, Power) spoken of in the Qur'an:

In the name of God, the Merciful the Compassionate.

1. Yes, We sent him down on the Night of Qadr.
2. And what can make you understand what the Night of Qadr is?
3. The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months!
4. In it, the angels and the Spirit descend with the permission of their Lord for every order.
5. It is peace until the point of dawn^{533}.

This is an "attempt at translation" - to use Jacques Berque's apt phrase - of the enigmatic Sura 97, called al-Qadr (or Innā anzalnāh, in reference to its first words after the *basmala*) and one of the shortest in the Qur'an^{534}. The term *qadr* has many and very different meanings and that is why, like Kasimirski in his translation of the Qur'an, I have preferred to keep the Arabic original^{535}. The sura, as a whole or for some of its elements, has

has been the subject of a fairly large number of monographic studies^{536} . Moreover, according to some research, most recently that of Guillaume Dye, it now seems more and more plausible that the sura may have originated from one or more Christian texts on the Night of the Nativity of Jesus^{537} . My point here is not about Surah al-Qadr itself, nor its "prehistory", but about early Shi'i perceptions of it and the doctrinal uses that Shi'is make of it; a subject that, to my knowledge, has not yet been studied. However, as will be seen at the end of this review, some of these Shi'i representations can be traced back to the probable Christian origins of the Qur'anic text.

Despite the mysterious and terse nature of the Sura, almost all Muslim exegetes of the Qur'an have made it the account of one of the most important events of their religion, namely the advent of the revelation of the Holy Book. To this end, they have linked this surah with two other Qur'anic fragments: the beginning of 2:185 (*The month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'an was revealed as a guide for mankind...*)^{538} and the beginning of 44:3 (*Surely, We revealed it [the illuminating scripture of the previous verse] on a blessed night...*)^{539} . The result of these Qur'anic exegeses combined with some hadith-s have led, with some groping, to the traditional conclusion that Sura 97 is the allusive account of the advent of the reception of the Divine Word by Muḥammad, through the intermediary of the Holy Spirit identified with the angel Gabriel, during a (usually odd) night in the last decade of the month of Ramadan. There is disagreement about the exact manner and content of this first revelation as well as the precise date of that night. Nevertheless, Muslims are advised to hold vigils during the last decade of the month of Ramadan in order not to miss this "blessed night" when the gates of heaven seem open, communication with God easier, the answering of prayers more plausible and the forgiveness of faults more certain. For mystics, the Night of Qadr is gradually becoming a "number" to designate the spiritual experience of transcendence which, of course, can occur at any time of the year.

2. Shi'ite perceptions

However, it seems that, for the Alids who would eventually be called Shi'ites, the importance of this surah was not limited to this. It seems that early on, a literary genre of monographic hadiths dedicated to the benefits of this chapter of the Qur'an emerged in Shi'ite circles. In an article devoted to the subject, Hassan Ansari cites three early examples: the *Faḍl sūrat innā anzalnāh* or *Thawāb innā anzalnāh* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kathīr al-Hāshimī, disciple of Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq (first half of the 2nd/8th century), the *Faḍl innā anzalnāh* of Abū Yaḥyā 'Umar b. Tawba al-San'ānī (early 3rd/9th century) or the *Kitāb thawāb innā anzalnāh* of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. I:Jassān al-Rāzī al-Zaynabī (second half of 3rd/9th century)^{540}. However, these works, all apparently lost, would not have addressed the content of the surah but rather the virtues of its reading as is the case with writings belonging to the more general genre known as "the virtues or rewards [of reading] the Qur'an" (*faḍā'il /thawāb al-Qur'ān*). In contrast, the work that constitutes the main subject of Ansari's article (which, however, does not elaborate on its contents), is that of a certain Abū 'Alī al-I:Jasan b. al-'Abbās said to be Ibn al-I:Jarīsh al-Rāzī (probably early 3rd/9th century) and is said to have been devoted to the content of the surah and its theological and imamological implications. Possessing, according to Shi'ite bibliographical and prosopographical works, a title more or less similar to those just cited, this work is also lost, but several of these traditions have been transmitted by the great later compilations of hadith-s, among others by al-Saffār al-Qummī in his *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* or Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī in the "Kitāb al-I:Jujja" of his monumental *Kitāb al-Kāfi*^{541}. Indeed, the center of gravity of the Shi'ite doctrine of the Night of Qadr lies in imamology. This Qur'anic chapter even constitutes one of the strongest proofs of the Shi'ite theory of imamat.

A disciple asked Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765) about the Night of Qadr during which the angels and the Spirit descend. He answers with another question: "These heavenly beings come from whom, to whom and what do they carry (*mimman wa ilā man wa mā yanzilu?*)

^{542} ? " The answer is provided by a great many other traditions.

According to one of them, Ibn al-I:Jarīsh (whom we have already met) reports from his master, the ninth Imam Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād (d. 220/835), the following teaching: "God created the Night of Qadr at the origin of the creation of the world and He created during this night the first prophet (*nabī*) as well as the first legatee [*waṣī*, i.e. imam] and He decreed that during such a night the knowledge of the affairs of the coming year should descend from the sky. Whoever denies this night, denies the Science of God, for the proof of the truthfulness of the prophets, the envoys and the inspired men (*muḥaddathūn*), is indeed what the angel Gabriel brings to them during this night... And this is from the first day of the creation of the earth until the disappearance of the world... Thus, it was during this night that the Spirit and the angels brought the Order to Adam and then at the death of the latter, it passed to his legatee imam [i.e.g. Seth/Shīth] and so on the Order was passed on from the time of Adam to Muḥammad who passed it on to his own legatee [e.g. 'Alī]^{543} ..."

According to another tradition, the same Ibn al-I:Jarīsh shows his collection of hadith-s to the same ninth Imam, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād. The latter approves the authenticity of the book and reports a statement of the sixth imam, Ja'far, quoting the first imam 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (d. 40/661): "On the morning of the first Night of Qadr after the death of the Messenger of God [Muḥammad], 'Alī said [to his followers]: 'Question me and I will inform you of what will happen during three hundred and sixty days [i.e. the events of the coming year], from the [spiritual] World of Particles (*al-dharr*) to what is above and below it [i.e. in the whole universe]. And this without any difficulty, personal opinion or pretension, for all this has been taught to me by God...'^{544} ."

Elsewhere, the same 'Alī is said to have often stated (in a hadith of Ja'far al-Sādiq), "Once the man from the tribe of al-Taym and his companion [i.e. Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the two future first caliphs]^{545} were at the house of the Messenger of God; the latter recited Surah al-Qadr in a state of extreme humility and sadness. They asked him, "Why do you feel so strongly about this Surah? The Prophet replied, 'Because of what my eyes have seen [during the Night of Qadr] and my heart has grasped and also because of what the heart of the one - that is, 'Alī - will perceive [during this night].' They said, 'What have you seen and what will he see?' The Prophet replied, 'Hasn't God declared [in this Sura] that *on this Night, the angels and the Spirit descend with*

...to whom do they descend to entrust the Command (*al-amr*) of all things to him?' '-To thee, O Messenger of God.' '-But after my death, there will be other Nights of Qadr when the Command will descend to earth, will there not?' '-Certes...and who will it be on after you?' The Prophet then put his hand on my head [this is 'Alī speaking] and said, 'After me it will be this man'^{546} ."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kathīr, again, reports from Imam Ja'far al- Sādiq (was this tradition part of the collection attributed to the former and which we have already pointed out above?): 'When the Envoy of God passed away, the angel Gabriel descended to the earth in the company of the angels who descend during the Night of Qadr. Then the inner eye of the Commander of the believers [i.e. 'Alī] was opened (*fa-futiḥa li amīr al-mu'minīn baṣaruhu*) and he saw them in the confines of heaven and earth... And when the Envoy of God was laid in his grave, the [inner] hearing of the Commander of the Believers was opened (*futiḥa li amīr al-mu'minīn sam'ahu*) and he heard that the Envoy commended him [to the heavenly beings] while weeping and they replied: They said, 'Do not be afraid! They will not reach him [i.e. the opponents of 'Alī]! After you, he is indeed our companion. And when 'Alī left this world, al- I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn witnessed the same event in which the Prophet and 'Alī came to commend them to the heavenly beings [and the hadith repeats the same account about the following Imams: 'Alī b. al-I:Jusayn, Muḥammad b. 'Alī to finally arrive at the speaker, i.e. Ja'far b. Muḥammad] ...and Mūsā (my son, the Seventh Imam] will see the same thing at the time of my death and it will be so until the last one among us (*hā kadhā yajrī ilā ākhirinā*)^{547} ."

To the question of a disciple asking him whether the Night of Qadr could exist after Muḥammad, Imam Ja'far is said to have replied, "If the Night of Qadr is suppressed it would mean that the Qur'an is suppressed (*law rufi'at laylat al-qadr la rufi'a l-Qur'ān*)^{548} ."

According to these traditions, the Night of Qadr is a cosmic event, decided by God at the dawn of creation to last until the end of time. As the Qur'an clearly states, it is during this night, unique in the year, that God sends to the prophets and after them to their imams, through His celestial messengers, the knowledge of the decrees that will govern the universe during the year to come. This "Order," inaugurated with Adam, obviously continues with Muḥammad and his only legitimate successors, i.e., 'Alī and the Imams of his descent^{549} . The conclusion is that

'Alī and the Imams are the sole and true successors of Muḥammad in all aspects of his mission, including prophethood, i.e., the ability to communicate with God through the heavenly entities. I will come back to this.

The argument seems unassailable, at least in the eyes of the Shi'ites but also, if one believes certain traditions, of other Muslims, provided that the latter are impartial, so obvious is the superiority in knowledge and moral integrity of 'Alī and his descendants over the other Companions of the Prophet. For example, a long hadith, reported by al-Kulaynī at the head of his chapter on our subject, features in Mecca and during the pilgrimage, the fifth Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 115 or 119/732 or 737) and a mysterious figure who puts the Imam's knowledge to the test. After the latter's several successes, the examiner reveals his identity: he is the prophet Elijah (Ilyās), who descended from heaven to help the imam and his followers in their difficult mission in an environment dominated by their enemies. In the middle of the narrative, Elijah asks al-Bāqir if he wishes to learn a decisive and irrefutable argument to convince his opponents. The Imam replies that he himself knows this argument, which is none other than the inevitable conclusions to be drawn from Surah al-Qadr and which we have just outlined^{550}. Moreover, for the followers of the thesis of the falsification of the official version of the Koran, the original complete version of the Holy Book explicitly mentions the fact. Here is this version, supposedly the true revelation made to Muḥammad, reported by al-Sayyārī (3rd/9th century) in his *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt* ("Book of Variant Qur'anic Readings"), also known as *al-Tanzīl wa l-tahrīf* ("Revelation and Falsification"). Parts not included in the canonical version of the Qur'an are italicized here:

- "(1) Yes, We sent it down on the Night of Qadr.
2. And what can make you understand what the Night of Qadr is?
3. The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months *not containing the Night of Qadr* (*laysa fīhā laylatu l-qadr*)^{551} !
4. In it, the angels and the Spirit descend with the permission of their Lord *with* (*bi kull* instead of 'for' *min kull*) any order *to Muḥammad and the descendants of Muḥammad* ('*alā Muḥammadin wa āl Muḥammad*'/ variant: *to the legateses* [*'alā l-awṣiyā'*]).
5. It is peace until the tip of the dawn^{552} .

3. The Master of the Order

It seems that for the Shi'ites, the Night of Qadr is the 21st or 23rd of the month of Ramaḍān. Several traditions point in this direction^{553}. Indeed, as has already been pointed out, this date is not certain. Ja'far al-Sādiq is even reported to have said, "the night of the 19th [of Ramaḍān] is the night of decision (*taqdīr*; i.e., God's decision regarding the decrees of the coming year; *taqdīr* is of the same root as *qadr*), the night of the 21st is the night of confirmation (*ibrām*), and the night of the 23rd is the night of execution (*imḍā*)^{554} ." What is to be understood regarding the Night of Qadr itself? In reality, the point seems quite secondary to the other issues involved in the Night of Qadr. Two other elements, a priori important, are also conspicuous by their almost total absence, especially in the early Shi'ite corpus: the fact that the Qur'an was revealed on this night and the coincidence of the days of 'Alī's fatal wound and death with the presumed dates of the Night of Qadr^{555} .

Indeed, it is two other events that give this Night a capital importance on the doctrinal level: first, it is during the Night of Qadr that God decides the great events of the coming year, decrees them and sends them down by His Order (*al-amr*). Secondly, the Order is received on earth by a divine man rightly called the Master of the Order (*ṣāhib al-amr*) whose presence in the world constitutes a cosmic spiritual necessity.

"It is during the Night of Qadr, Imam Ja'far is said to have said, that what concerns good and evil, death or life, rain or even the caravans of pilgrims from Mecca are written (*yuktab*) for the whole year and then it descends to the earth. The disciple: "To whom on earth?" Imam: "To the one who is in front of you [i.e. myself, the present Imam]^{556} ."

A disciple asks the same Imam for an explanation of Surah al-Qadr. "During this night," Ja'far replies, "while people are performing canonical prayers [*ṣalāt*], invocations [*du'ā*] and supplications [*mas'ala*], the Master of this Order [*ṣāhib hādha l-amr*; i.e. the Order descended during the current night] engages in his own occupation [*fī shughlin*]; [the Imam purposely maintains mystery about the nature of this occupation]) and then the angels descend upon him from the sunset

until the dawn, entrusting to him all that concerns the year [to come]. This Night is Peace for him^{557} .

A worshipper asks the same Ja'far for an explanation of the Qur'anic verse 44:4 (which classical exegesis relates to our Surah al-Qadr, as we have seen): "During this night stands out every wise order" [*fīhā yufraqu kullu amrin ḥakīm*]. Ja'far is said to have replied: 'It is the Night of Qadr during which success and failure, piety or fault, death or life and whatever God decides to accomplish during the night and day and then He makes all this known to the Master of the earth [*ṣāhib al-arḍ*]' . The disciple: "And who is this one?" The Imam: "Your master [i.e. myself]^{558} . "

Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād is reported to have said, "God has said concerning the Night of Qadr: 'During this night every wise order stands out' [Qur'an 44:4]... Indeed, during the Night of Qadr descends to the Holder of the Order [*walī al-amr*] the detailed explanation [*tafsīr*]" of the things that will take place during the year as well as the Order that he should execute concerning himself and others in this or that case^{559} ..."

Imam Ja'far is said to have transmitted from his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir the following hadith: "Alī b. Abī Tālib was reciting Surah al-Qadr in the presence of his two sons, al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn. The latter then said to him, 'Father, it seems to me that this surah produces a special sweetness in you!' 'Alī: 'Yes, son of the Messenger of God and my son, for I know something about it that you do not know. When this Surah was revealed, your grandfather, the Messenger of God, summoned me and recited it to me. Then he struck my right shoulder and said to me, "Alī, my brother, my heir, the patron (*walī*) of my community after me, the fighter of my enemies until the Day of Resurrection! After me, this Sura is only for you and your descendants. The angel Gabriel who is my brother has informed me of the events of the year that will follow the revelation of this surah and it will be so for you and yours as is the case with prophecy [*ka iḥdāth al-nubuwwa*]. This surah is a shining light in your heart and the hearts of your legates [i.e. the imams of your descendants] until the "dawn's tip" of the Resurrector Imam [*al-qā'im*; i.e. until the end of time]^{560} . "

In such a context, the Night of Qadr can be understood as the Night of Destiny or even better as the Night of the Decree or decrees decided by God. However, the notions contained in the Shi'a hermeneutics

of this Night are more complex and make it problematic to translate the word by a single term. Indeed, what makes the man of God the Master of the Order, the one who is worthy of receiving the Divine Decree during the blessed Night, is his knowledge, his initiatory science, his *'ilm*^{561} : "God offers the imam, Ja'far al-Sādiq is reported to have said, the First Science and the Last Science (*al-'ilm al-awwal wa l-'ilm al-ākhir*); he thus becomes worthy of the visitation of the Spirit during the Night of Qadr [*istahaqqa ziyārat al-rūḥ fī laylat al-qadr*]^{562} . "

The knowledge, received by the imam on this Night through the heavenly revelations, has three aspects: the events that will take place during the coming year from one Night of Qadr to the next, the deep meanings (*ma'ānin*) and detailed explanations (*tafāsīr*) of what the imam already knows in a condensed form (*mujmal*), and finally "another science" which the imam has been ordered to keep secret^{563} .

A tradition of the sixth Imam Ja'far, reported by Ibn al- I:Jarīsh from the ninth Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād Abū Ja'far the Second reads:

"Ja'far al-Sādiq: 'The heart that has the vision of what descends during the Night of Qadr is of a sublime rank.' The disciple: 'How does this happen, O Abū 'Abdallāh [the *kunya* of Ja'far al-Sādiq]?' The Imam: 'By God, the person's belly is split open, his heart is seized and on it is inscribed the totality of knowledge through an ink made of light. The heart then becomes a book for the inner eye and the tongue an interpreter for the ear. If the person wishes to know something, he looks at his heart through his inner eye, and [he sees in it] as if he were reading from a book^{564} ... "

Such a person, we have seen, is graced by the descent of the Spirit/Holy Spirit/Angel Gabriel. The greatness of his spiritual rank is emphasized by this other hadith of Ja'far's father, the fifth Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir: "...We [Imams] cannot miss the Night of Qadr [literally: the Night of Qadr cannot remain hidden from us] because [during this Night] the angels come to circle around us^{565} . "

This Night is therefore the moment when the divine power is transmitted in the form of knowledge to the divine man allowing him to exercise his spiritual power. In this context, the Night of Qadr can very legitimately be translated as "the Night of Power". However, this Night, despite all the peace and blessing that accompanies it, as the Qur'an seems to emphasize, is not the only "moment" when the Imam receives his knowledge from the heavenly forces: "...The Holder of the Order (*walī al-*

amr), just as it is during the Night of Qadr, can be attained by the Science of God the Most High at all times [literally: every day, *kull yawm*]: the special, hidden, wonderful, sealed divine Science (*'ilm allāh al-khāṣṣ al-maknūn al-'ajīb al-makhzūn*)^{566} ."

As seen in the previous chapter, al-Kulaynī devotes an entire chapter in the same *Book of Proof* (K. al-I:Jujja) of his *Uṣūl min al-Kāfī* to the frequent visits that angels make to the imams. The title could not be more explicit: "the angels enter the imams' homes, tread their carpets and bring them information" (*inna l-a'imma tadkhulu l-malā'ika buyūtahum wa taṭa'u busuṭahum wa ta'tīhim bi l- akhbār*)^{567} . Thus, the sky descends to the imam. Conversely, the latter is capable, like Muḥammad, of celestial ascent to renew and increase his knowledge and this, more particularly, every Friday night. This is the "acquired knowledge of Friday night" (*al-'ilm al-mustafād fī laylat al-jumu'a*) which the Imam collects, from the Divine Throne, in the company of the spirits of the prophets, imams and sages of the past^{568} .

The communications of the angelic entities and the initiation received during the ascent to the Divine Throne constitute the heavenly sources of the Imam's Sacred Science. But they are not the only ones. He also benefits from a number of sources that could be called occult (the pillar of light, the force that marks his heart or the one that pierces his eardrum, occult sciences of all kinds), written sources (the Holy Scriptures of the previous religions, the original unabridged version of the Qur'an, secret books containing all kinds of information about the past, the present and the future, etc.), and finally oral sources, i.e., the teachings that each Imam receives from his predecessor^{569} .

Contrary to what the great majority of classical Sunni exegesis professes, for the Shi'ites it is by no means the Qur'an that constitutes the center of gravity of the 97^e sura. For them, especially if one relies on their ancient corpus of hadith, the Qur'anic text alludes to a privileged moment of the reception of the inspired science of the imam, holder par excellence of gnosis in the ancient sense of the term, that is to say, saving and transforming knowledge. This sura does not only relate the circumstances of the revelation of the Qur'an to Muḥammad, but above all those of the revelations received by the successive Imams "Masters of

'Order' (*awliyā' al-amr*), perpetually, from the dawn of creation until the end of time. At the end of the long dialogue between Prophet Elijah and Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (whom we have already mentioned), the former tells the latter that, according to the opponents of the Imams and their followers, what is meant by Surah al-Qadr is the Proof of God (*ḥujjat allāh*) and the Proof of God is nothing but the Qur'an. The Imam then replies, "I would tell them [these opponents] that the Qur'ān cannot speak in order to command and forbid [*inna l-Qur'ān laysa bi nāṭiq ya'mur wa yanhā*]; on the other hand, the Qur'ān has [speaking] men who can command and forbid [*wa lākin li l-Qur'ān ahlun ya'murūn wa yanhawn*]. And I would say to them again that calamities may befall men [literally: the inhabitants of the earth] about which the Qur'an, Tradition, or a consensual decree have not provided, yet God's knowledge and His justice cannot tolerate such a calamity befalling men and there is no one to put a stop to it and deliver them from it^{570} ."

It is precisely in this sense that the ancient Shi'ite exegesis of the Sura can be compared to its probable "subtext", namely a text about Jesus Christ (see above the related text in note 5). The Sura is not about the Word of God in the form of revelation or Book but in the form of human manifestation, i.e., the *logos*, the Word incarnate in the case of Christ, "the speaking Qur'an" in the case of the Imam. The parallel can also be seen through another ancient Shi'ite exegesis of the Night of Qadr, much less frequent in Imamism it is true, where this Night is said to be the symbol of Fāṭima; in the latter case, we have a "subtext" on the night of the Nativity of Jesus on the one hand, a text on "the Mother of the Imams", constantly compared to the figure of Mary in Shi'ism, on the other. However, the symbolism remains enigmatic and has been subjected to various hermeneutics by both Shi'ite esotericists and modern scholars^{571} .

Ja'far al-Sādiq, again he is reported to have said^{572} : "*Yes, We have sent it down on the Night of Qadr* [quotes from Qur'an 97 are in italics]: the Night is Fāṭima and al-Qadr is God. Whoever comes to know the reality of Fāṭima grasps [that of] the Night of Qadr. It is called Fāṭima because the creatures are satiated by its knowledge^{573} . *And what can make you understand what the Night of Qadr is? / The Night of Qadr is better than a thousand months!* That is to say.

better than a thousand initiates (*mu'min*) because she is the Mother of initiates [see above note 15]. *In her the angels and the Spirit descend*: the angels, here, are the initiates who possess the initiatory science [*'ilm*; see above note 29 and related text] of the descendants of Muḥammad [i.e. the imams]. The Spirit, that is, the Holy Spirit, is Fāṭima. *With the permission of their Lord for every order/ It is peace until the tip of the dawn*: that is, until the rising of the Resurrector^{574} ."

The Shi'ite perception, especially pre-Buyid, of Surah al-Qadr is one of the strongest illustrations of what lies at the center of the doctrinal divergence that separates the Shi'ites from their opponents, especially those who would eventually be called Sunnis: the fundamental question of the highest religious and spiritual authority. In Sunnism, this is represented, after the inaugural time of Muḥammad, by the Quran. In Shi'ism, which regards the Qur'an as a "silent, mute guide," only the Friend or Ally of God (*walī*), the Master of the Order (*ṣāhib/walī al-amr*), the wise initiator (*'ālim*), represented in particular by the figure of the imam, "the speaking book," can legitimately fulfill this sacred role. In communication with the angels and with the Holy Spirit/Spirit, the Wise Guide (*al-imām al-'ālim*) thus extends prophecy through his theophanic reality, his nature (the fivefold constitution of his spirit) and his initiatory function. All these aspects are designated in Shi'ism by the particularly meaningful term *walāya*, of which the figure of 'Alī is the supreme symbol. Here lies, it seems to me, the main issue of the Shi'i doctrine of the Night of Qadr^{575} . Let us conclude this examination with a tradition that synthesizes almost everything that has just been outlined:

Ibn al-I:Jarīsh reports from Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād Abū Ja'far (the Second):

"O Shi'ite people [*yā ma'shar al-shī'a*]! Confront your opponents with Surah al-Qadr and you will disarm them. By God, this Surah is the strongest Proof offered by God to mankind after the time of the Messenger. It is the best part of your doctrine and it is the scope of our science [we Imams]. O Shi'ite people! Confront your opponents with the verses [from the beginning of Qur'an 44]: *Ff M/ By the Enlightening Scripture/We sent it down on a blessed night, we are indeed warners* [see above note 26] for they concern exclusively the Masters of the Order after the Messenger of God. O Shi'ite people! Has not God said: *There has not been a single community where*

there was no warner [Qur'an 35:24: wa inna min ummatin illā khalā fihā nadhīr]'.

Someone then retorted to him, 'But, Abū Ja'far, the Prophet Muḥammad was the warner of our community.

The Imam replied, 'You say true, but did not the Envoy during his lifetime send other warners to different parts of the earth?' So there were warners sent by Muḥammad as he himself was a warner sent by God.'

– Of course, you are right.

– Then Muḥammad must also have warners after his death and if you deny this it is as if you are condemning the coming generations of this community to misguidance.'

– But isn't the Koran enough for them?

– Yes, provided that someone interprets it [*mufassir*].'

– Did not the Messenger of God interpret it?'

– Yes, but he initiated only one person into this interpretation and he exposed the rank of that person to his community and that person is 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.'

– O Abū Ja'far, this matter is reserved for the elite and the masses cannot bear it'.

– 'God wants to be worshipped in secret until His religion is manifested in the open^{576} ... "

Chapter 7

Tactical concealment and sealing of the prophecy

1. Keeping the secret

Taqiyya, which could be translated as "tactical concealment", consists of "hiding a truth pertaining to the faith from those who are not worthy of it" (*al-taqiyya kitmān ḥaqīqa īmāniyya min ghayr ahlihā*)^{577}. In this sense, it is almost synonymous with two other technical terms: *kitmān* and *khab'*. It is the action noun of the 8^e form of the root *WaQaYa/WaQä* which evokes guarding, preserving, protecting or fearing something for the sake of preservation. This 8^e form, reflected, means to protect oneself against something, to avoid something that one fears. In theological language, the word has taken on the meaning of hiding one's religious affiliation, or even denying it, in case of a serious threat to one's physical integrity or life. Based on three Qur'anic verses (3:28; 16:106 and 40:28), *taqiyya*, apparently first practiced in this sense by the Khārijites, is considered lawful by all branches of Islam if necessary^{578}. Legally, it involves applying the notions of *ḍarūra* - vital necessity - and *rukḥṣa* - temporary permission - as explained, for example, by the ḥanafī scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090) in his

Mabsūt^{579} . Yet *taqiyya* has historically become one of the most prominent characteristics, as a kind of symbol or emblem, of Shi'ite Islam. It is even considered, by the opponents of the Shi'ites, as proof of the latter's falsehood, hypocrisy and contradictory opinions. From al-Malaṭī in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa l- radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā' wa l-bida'* ("The Book of Awakening and the Refutation of the Proponents of Passionate Opinions and Blamable Innovations") to contemporary Wahhābite ideologues through the rigorist neo- ḥanbalite Ibn Taymiyya in the ^{eighth/fourteenth} century in his *Minhāj al-sunna al- nabawiyya fī naqḍ kalām al-shī'a* ("Path indicated by the Prophetic Sunna to refute Shi'a theology"), Sunni heresiographers and polemicists all present Shi'ism as a deceptive sect mainly because of the practice of *taqiyya*^{580} . Curiously, some orientalists and Islamologists have adopted the same attitude. In 1906, in his monograph on *taqiyya*, Ignaz Goldziher described the notion as a "futile imposture" while denouncing the absence of morality among the Shi'ites; or the authors of the article "taqiyya" in the 2^e edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Rudolph Strothmann and Moktar Djebli, warned of "the great moral dangers" of the "tactical concealment"^{581} .

However, more than a century and a half ago, the complexity of the notion was already quite finely presented by the wise traveler Count Arthur de Gobineau. In his famous work *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie centrale*, published in Paris in 1865, Gobineau, while emphasizing the importance of *taqiyya* and its practice among the Shi'ites, insists on its massive existence among three other religious communities: the Nuṣayris-Alaouis in Syria, the Christians in the regions of Trebizond and Erzurum in Anatolia, and the Zoroastrians in Iran. Thus, for him, *taqiyya* is an essential element of survival for minority communities in an environment that sometimes proves hostile: physical survival but also spiritual survival insofar as *taqiyya* makes it possible to safeguard religious doctrines specific to the group^{582} .

Indeed, for more than fifty years, the complexity of the notion has been examined from several angles in numerous studies devoted to Islam, to the different currents of Shi'ism in general and to the Imamite duodecimal Shi'ism in particular^{583} . Among the authors of these studies, some, notably Asaf A. Fyzee, Henry Corbin, Etan

Kohlberg, Hans G. Kippenberg, Josef van Ess, Maria Dakake, Daniel De Smet, Orkhan Mir-Kasimov and the author of these lines, based on a large number of ancient and recent sources, have been able to show that, beyond a tactical concealment, *taqiyya* fulfills a highly religious and spiritual role, since it is fully part of Shi'a piety. It is precisely for this reason, because it is not merely a temporary ploy prompted by a passing situation, that Sunni heresiographers have so violently denounced it. Following Hans Kippenberg, Josef van Ess sees in the sanctity of *taqiyya* an influence of the Christian *disciplina arcani* based on Matthew 7:6:

"Do not offer to the dogs what is holy, do not cast your pearls before the swine; they may well trample them, and then turn against you to tear you apart"; a gospel passage quoted almost verbatim by the Ismaili thinker I:Jamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 412/1021) to justify the religious practice of *taqiyya* consisting of hiding the secret doctrines of the community from those who are not worthy of it^{584} .

It is in this context that I have rendered the word as "the keeping of the secret," a literal translation of the Arabic phrase *ḥifẓ al-sirr*. Countless traditions attributed to the holy imams of Shi'ism, reported as early as the earliest compilations of hadith-s, insistently emphasize the esoteric character of certain Shi'i teachings and the canonical duty of the initiated believer to keep them hidden^{585} . Most of these traditions date back to the 5^e and 6^e imams, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 115/733) and Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765): 'Our teaching is difficult, arduous; it is secret, made secret, protected by secrecy^{586} '; 'Nine-tenths of religion consists of secrecy keeping; he who does not practice it has no religion^{587} '; 'Secrecy keeping is part of our (the Imams') religion ... he who does not practice it is devoid of faith^{588} ';

"The rule of God is to keep the secret^{589} "; "Whoever discloses our teachings is like the one who denies them^{590} "; "To support our cause (to us Imams) is not only to know it and admit it, but also to protect it and keep it hidden from those who are not worthy of it^{591} ".

Schematically, one could say that *taqiyya* has a double dimension: an external "political" dimension, called by Etan Kohlberg "prudential *taqiyya*" (made necessary by the fear of a minority community living in a hostile environment), and then an internal "initiator" dimension that the same scholar calls "non-prudential

taqiyya" (prompted by the duty to keep certain doctrines secret from the uninitiated in order to protect them)^{592} . Daniel De Smet has convincingly shown that the two dimensions are not always dissociable and often articulate with each other^{593} . They are moreover presented as firmly linked in the mentioned passage from the Gospel of Matthew.

2. Prophetic abilities of the Imam

But to what does the keeping of the secret apply? What are the teachings that need to be protected in order to protect at the same time the faithful initiates from the ignorance often accompanied by violence of the uninitiated? It is true that Shi'ite works, whether they are the corpus of Hadith, theological and exegetical writings or legal treatises, almost all contain a specific chapter of varying length on the duty of secrecy, on the various terms that designate it (*taqiyya*, *kitmān*, *khab'*, etc. as we have already seen), on its doctrinal necessity, its sacred character, its conditions of application. There are even monographic treatises in Shi'ism devoted to *taqiyya*. But it is also true that it is not necessarily in these chapters nor in these treatises that one will find the objects to which this duty applies. They are scattered, often in a fragmentary way, in the immense corpus of doctrinal writings according to a technique which is itself part of *taqiyya* and which has been called the technique of "dispersion of information" (*tabdīd al-'ilm*)

^{594} . They can be recognized by their esoteric and initiatory character, by the allusive formulas that sometimes accompany them, inviting the faithful to be discreet about them, by their distance, or even their rupture with the so-called "orthodox" Sunni data. This confirms once again, if it were necessary, the theories of specialists in the "cult of secrecy" in religious traditions, from Georg Simmel to Paul Christopher Johnson, including Antoine Faivre and others, that "secrecy" is often a kind of figure of speech, a rhetorical element whose purpose is to pique the curiosity of the listener or reader and to draw his attention to the nature and importance of a given teaching; but "secrecy" itself never remains totally hidden. Thus, in Shi'ism, it is known that

of these "secret" teachings are messianic data, information concerning the history of the writing of the Qur'an and the thesis of the falsification of the official Qur'an, the perception of the history of the early days of Islam and the attitude towards the Companions of the Prophet, the hidden meanings of the Qur'an, certain spiritual exercises, and above all the imamological doctrines concerning the nature, the status and the functions of the saints par excellence of Shi'ism, that is to say, the Imams^{595}. Among these imamological beliefs to which *taqiyya applies*, one, to my knowledge, has not received the attention it deserves, given its immense religious and political significance: the prophetic abilities of the imams.

The earliest reports of these abilities are to be found in the ancient corpus of Imamite Hadith, whose earliest surviving sources were compiled *roughly* between 850 and 950 CE. These include the works of traditionists such as al-Sayyārī, Abū Ja'far al-Barqī, al-Saffār al-Qummī, al-Kulaynī, Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq, or early Qur'anic commentaries such as the one attributed to the eleventh Imam al-I:Jasan al-'Askarī, or those compiled by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, al-'Ayyāshī or Furāt al-Kūfī^{596}. The traditions whose contents are about to be discussed thus come from these and some other similar works and in particular from the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* ("the Sufficient Book") of al-Kulaynī (d. c. 329/940-41), arguably the most systematic compilation of the period^{597}.

The hadiths concerning the prophetic qualities of the imams seem to comprise several groups that probably correspond to several layers, several doctrinal phases. In the first group, all prophetic qualities are radically dismissed from the imams. They keep saying in this kind of tradition that their status is similar to that of the imams of the previous prophets and that their competences are only related to the lawful and the unlawful, i.e. a legal science that could not be more

"Orthodox". The purpose of such traditions seems to be the consideration of the dogma that Muḥammad is the last prophet and Islam the last religion. Al-Kulaynī has grouped these traditions in a chapter aptly titled "the repugnant nature of the belief in the prophethood of the imams" (*karāhiyat al-qawl fīhim* [i.e. *fī l-a'imma*] *bi l-nubuwwa* - which clearly means that, as is otherwise known, some professed such doctrines in Shi'i circles)^{598}. However, on closer inspection, one gets the impression that the traditionist

applied a form of *taqiyya* to it. The chapter consists of only seven very short hadith-s where a certain evolution is clearly perceptible: while the first hadith-s seem to want to emphasize the fact that Muḥammad is the last of the prophets, the Qur'an the last of the revealed Books, and the imams only guarantors of the proper legal functioning of Islam, the last ones attribute to the imams an increasingly heavy weight in the economy of the sacred^{599}. In the penultimate hadith of the chapter, while disassociating himself from those who believe in the divine or prophetic nature of the imams, Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq describes the imams as the treasurers of God's knowledge (*khuzzān 'ilm allāh*), the interpreters of God's cause (*tarājimat amr allāh*), or the shining evidence of God (*al-ḥujjat al-bāligha*). Then in the very last hadith, the same Ja'far is said to have stated that the only difference between the Imams and the Prophet Muḥammad is about the legally allowed number of wives to marry! The following chapters in al-Kulaynī, with a much larger number of traditions, seem to aim at strongly nuancing, not to say contradicting, the first group of "orthodox" hadith-s just mentioned. Indeed, as early as the chapter that follows, the imams are referred to by the two particularly strong technical terms *muḥaddath* and *mufahham*, meaning respectively "the one to whom the celestial entities speak" and "the one to whom the understanding of celestial things is given"^{600}. The following chapters report anthropogonic data according to which the imam is created from the same heavenly substance as the Prophet Muḥammad, namely a clay taken from the divine Throne; as seen in the previous chapter, he possesses five spirits, the most noble of which is called the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of Holiness (*rūḥ al-quds*), a name as is well known for the entity or faculty that enables the reception of the revelation^{601}. The imam is invested with the celestial entity called the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*) of which the Qur'an speaks (e.g. Q. 16:2, 17:85 or 42:52): "the Spirit proceeding from the Order of the Lord"; thanks to this celestial being, superior to the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the imam is able to receive divine revelations directly^{602}.

It is interesting to note that in certain traditions, when the imam enumerates his own prophetic capacities, his interlocutor, although often an intimate disciple, seems petrified by the enormity of the statements of his master. Then, this one assures him of his sincerity and asks him at the same time to remain discrete^{603}. Obviously, what seems to be at stake

it is the Islamic dogma of the absolute end, of the definitive interruption of prophecy after Muḥammad. I will come back to this.

In other traditions certain nuances are introduced, no doubt to safeguard the "orthodox" dogma of the superiority of the Prophet Muḥammad over any human being in general and over imams in particular. Differences are thus established between a prophet-messenger (*rasūl*), a simple prophet (*nabī*), and an *imam-muḥaddath* ("To whom the angels speak"): the prophet-messenger sees and hears the angel both in dreams and in the waking state, the simple prophet sees and hears the angel only in dreams, and finally the *imam-muḥaddath* hears but does not see the angel^{604}. But even these nuances seem to be circumstantial and appear to have been introduced *a posteriori* because they seem to be contradicted by other traditions that are as allusive as they are tasty. According to one of them, Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq shows a close disciple "the downs of the angels" (*zaghāb al-malā'ika*), which fell in his house and which he treasures^{605}. According to another hadith, when confronted with a follower's clear question, "Do the angels manifest themselves to you?" the same imam avoids answering and merely strokes the head of one of his sons and says, "The angels are towards our children kinder than ourselves." In the same hadith, the Imam seems to allusively state that the angels come down to his abode to shake his hand (*muṣāfaha*)^{606}. All of this would indicate that, like the greatest prophets, the Imam is able to not only hear but also see the angel and that while wide awake. Al-Kulaynī, again, has grouped these traditions in a chapter entitled "angels enter the imams' homes, tread their carpets and bring them information" (*inna l-a'imma tadkhulu l-malā'ika buyūtahum wa taṭa'u busuṭahum wa ta'tīhim bi l- akhbār*)^{607}.

Moreover, like Muḥammad, the ancient prophets and sages, the Imam is capable of celestial ascension; he ascends to the Divine Throne to increase his knowledge or even meet the spirits of the holy figures of the past^{608}. He possesses the holy scriptures of the previous religions which he can read in their original language; he knows the events of heaven and earth, those of the past and the future and he possesses miraculous supernatural powers and thaumaturgical faculties^{609}.

A contemporary of al-Kulaynī, al-Saffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902-903) devotes chapters 14-19 of the ninth section of his *Kitāb Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* to the five spirits of the imams and their support of them, to

Like the prophets, the Holy Spirit and the Spirit-Procuder-of-the-Lord's-Order (see ch. 5 and 6 above)^{610}. Of these dozens of traditions (a number of which we have examined in the previous chapter), I will limit myself to mentioning only one here, which is particularly representative and concerns 'Alī. A disciple tells Imam Ja'far that 'Alī, the first Imam, claimed that in Yemen, where he was sent by the Prophet, he proceeded only according to the precepts of God and Muḥammad; yet, how could he claim such a thing when the Qur'an was not yet fully revealed and the Prophet was absent. Ja'far replies, "He was informed by the Holy Spirit^{611}." In other words, through his Holy Spirit, an individual correspondent of the celestial entity of the same name and often equivalent to the angel Gabriel, the angel of revelation, the Imam, in this case 'Alī, has the ability to receive revelation directly, without depending on the person of Muḥammad or the Qur'an.

3. Seal of the prophets

All of these abilities are part of what is referred to as "knowledge of the invisible world" (*'ilm al-ghayb*), which later Islamic orthodoxy would reserve exclusively for prophets, or even for God alone. But there is more. Numerous reports seem to indicate that particularly initiated followers of the imams are also capable of prophetic feats. First, it is said that they were created of the same substance as the prophets, from the raw material of the heavenly world of 'Iliyyūn^{612}. Second, the initiated adept, referred to by the technical expression "the tried and tested devotee" (*mu'min mumtaḥan*), is constantly placed on an equal footing with the angel of nearness (*malak muqarrab*) and the sent prophet (*nabī mursal*)^{613}. Then, in fact, if we rely on heresiographic and historical works, the great heresiarchs of the early days of Islam, almost all of them coming from the secret Shi'ite circles, would have claimed to be the place of God's manifestation and/or to be God's Envoy with miraculous prophetic and messianic abilities, qualifiers of the imams of course but also of the previous prophets, Jesus Christ in particular. Let us think of the heresiarchs like Abū Maṣṣūr al-'Ijlī, Bayān b. Sam'ān, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb or even the supplicated mystic al-

I:Jallāj^{614} . Hence the massive use in Shi'i circles of two prophetic traditions: 'the Sages are the heirs of the prophets' (*al-'ulamā' warathat al-anbiyā'*) and 'the Sages of my community are similar to the prophets of Israel' (*'ulamā' ummatī ka-anbiyā' banī isrā'īl*)^{615} .

In this regard, the case of the tradition called the "hadith of rank" (*ḥadīth al-manzila*) seems symptomatic. "You occupy in relation to me the rank that Aaron occupied in relation to Moses, except that after me there is no prophet" (*anta minnī bi manzilat Hārūn min Mūsā illā annahu lā nabiyya ba'dī*), Muḥammad is said to have told 'Alī. This version of the tradition, known as the

The "long version" is reported by all sorts of sources, both Sunni and Shi'ite. And for good reason: it highlights the considerable religious "rank" of 'Alī - put on the same level as the great biblical figure Aaron - while respecting the "orthodox" dogma that Muḥammad is the last of the prophets. However, there is a "short version" in which the last sentence is missing: "except that after me there is no prophet", which underlines this dogma. Paradoxically, this last version is also reported by the most orthodox Sunni sources^{616} . Y. Friedmann, author of two now classic works on the end or continuity of prophecy in Islam, believes that this shorter, older version dates from the time when the dogma in question had not yet been definitively established. On the other hand, U. Rubin, corroborating the view of Muslim orthodoxy, argues that this version was handed down by impeccable Sunni authorities because it was unproblematic since the orthodox dogma was long and firmly accepted by all^{617} . Now, the great Imamite scholar Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq (d. 381/991) analyzes this hadith at length in his work *Ma'ānī l-akhbār* ("Meaning of Traditions"). It is true that he reports only the long version there, but his discussion focuses mainly on the famous last sentence, insisting that without it, some Shi'ite circles might have believed in the prophethood of 'Alī after Muḥammad. This shows that, on the one hand, our scholar was aware of the existence of the short version, and that, on the other hand, at least until the ^{fourth/tenth} century, the dogma we are dealing with was not yet universally accepted, especially in Shi'ite circles^{618} . This kind of ambiguity is also palpable, for example, in sermon no.° 234 of the *Nahj al-balāgha*, compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (406/1015) at the confines of the ^{fourth} and ^{fifth/tenth} centuries, where 'Alī states, "I too see the light of the

Revelation and the mission of an apostle and I smell the fragrance of prophethood" and Muḥammad replied, "Alī! You hear what I hear and you see what I see except that you are not a prophet^{619} ."

Thus, the existence of different groups of contradictory traditions may show reports from different times or teachings given to disciples at different degrees of advancement, but their simultaneous presence, for example, in such an important author as al- Kulaynī, the allusive tone of many of them, and the invitation of the Imams to the utmost discretion about them, all undoubtedly fall under the duty of keeping the secret. And for good reason! What is at stake is the questioning of the article of faith that Muḥammad is the last of the prophets and therefore Islam the last of the revealed religions before the End of Time.

But what about the history of this article of faith? Were the Shi'a Imamological doctrines the only ones, during the first centuries of the Hegira, to question it? Let's look at it a little more closely. The dogma crystallized around the interpretation of the phrase "seal of the prophets" in Qur'anic verse 33:40: "Muḥammad is not the father of any man among you but he is the Envoy of God and Seal of the Prophets" [*mā kāna muḥammadun abā aḥadin min rijālikum wa lākin rasūla llāhi wa khātama* [or *khātima*] *an-nabiyyina...*]^{620} . The expression *khātam/khātīm al- nabiyyin* is a hapax in the Qur'ānic Vulgate and, like other such words and expressions, it has given much trouble first to Muslim scholars and, following them, to Orientalists and Islamologists. It would be of Manichean origin. The ancient historians of Muslim religions almost unanimously declare that it was Mani who bore the title of "Seal of the Prophets"; this is the case of al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn al-Murtaḍā, or even Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Balkhī^{621} . Without entering into the scholarly discussions of either, it seems to me that most modern scholars are moving in the same direction. From H.-Ch. Puech to J. Ries, via M. Tardieu, G. Stroumsa or the great monograph of C. Colpe *Das Siegel der Propheten*, all these scholars link the expression to Manichaeism and to the person of Mani^{622} . They are equally unanimous in maintaining that, in Manichaean texts, "the Seal of the Prophets" would not necessarily mean the last of the prophets. It is true that Mani saw himself as the equivalent of the Paraclete promised by Jesus, but he also practiced

the *imitatio Christi* and the expression "Seal of the prophets", although versatile, seems to mean in his mouth "He who comes to confirm" the mission of Christ but also those of Zoroaster and Buddha, as a seal confirms the content of an official letter. Guy Stroumsa has analyzed an excerpt from the Manichaean text *Xuāstvānīft* in Uyghur translation where it is the Manichaean initiates, the Chosen, who are called "the prophets". Mani, himself designated by the title of apostle, and considered superior to the "prophets," confirms the mission of the Elect. Here, the prophets are not the predecessors but the successors, the disciples of Mani^{623}. We are very close to the Shi'ite conception of Muḥammad's initiated successors, the imams and other sages, whom the Prophet would have confirmed. These metaphors belong in their substance, as Michel Tardieu has pointed out, to Judeo-Christianity in the strict sense^{624}. We also know the importance and the richness of the symbolism of the "seal" among the Gnostics. In this respect, it is sufficient to see the dozens of occurrences of the term in the index of *Gnostic writings. The Nag Hammadi Library*^{625}. Recently, Hartmut Bobzin has supported the hypothesis that the expression designates, in a number of Judeo-Christian and Christian texts, the person of Jesus who comes to confirm and fulfill the prophecy of Moses^{626}; which is also often the case of Muḥammad as the Qur'anic messenger who comes to confirm and complete the prophetic missions of Jesus and Moses.

Let us return to Islam and to Sunni Islam this time. The confirmation of the doctrine that Muḥammad is the last of the prophets seems so absolute that it tends to make one forget that this dogma had a history. Yet, both the complexity of the data in Islamic sources (beginning with the exact meaning of the term *khātām/khātim* in the Qur'anic expression) and that of the critical studies devoted to the question (from H. Hirschfeld, I. Goldziher, J. Horowitz, A. Jeffery, J. Wansbrough to the two studies mentioned by Y. Friedmann, to that of D. Powers or U. Rubin) highlight this history and its still problematic character in many ways^{627}.

It is true that if one consults the literature of Qur'anic exegesis, even in ancient times, one realizes that practically the only interpretation given therein of the Qur'anic expression *khātām* or *khātim al-nabiyyin* is that there will be no more prophet after Muḥammad. But when examining other sources, especially the corpus of Hadith, even the

more "orthodox", other definitions seem to surface. For example, al-Bukhārī and Muslim, undisputed authorities on Sunni Hadith, report a tradition in which the phrase has the meaning of the prophet who completes the mission of earlier prophets^{628} .

In a large number of hadith-s, reported for example by Ibn I:Janbal, Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabarī or Ibn Kathīr, the expression means the prophet who manifests himself just before the end of time and not specifically the last of the prophets^{629} .

In a tradition dating back to 'A'isha, the Prophet's wife, and reported by Ibn Abī Shayba and many others, she states:

"Say (about Muḥammad) that he is the Seal of Prophets but do not say that there will be no prophet after him"^{630} . Other Companions thought the same thing. In fact, the chapter is entitled in Ibn Abī Shayba: "All those who refused to profess that there will be no prophet after the Prophet" (*man kariha an yaqūl lā nabī ba'd al-nabī*)^{631} .

On the other hand, according to a large number of traditional reports concerning Ibrāhīm, the son whom the Prophet had with Mary the Coptic and who died at a very young age, it is said that Muḥammad, while mourning the death of his child, declared: "By God, he was a prophet, son of a prophet" or "... If he had remained alive, he would have been a truthful man and a prophet (*ṣiddīqan nabiyyan*)"^{632} .

Among the reports devoted to the "Life of the Prophet" and transmitted by the famous Ibn Hishām in his no less famous *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, in the episode concerning the recognition of Muḥammad's prophetic nature by the Christian monk Baḥīra/Baḥīrā, the expression "seal of prophethood" means mainly a bodily mark, probably a freckle, proof of the prophethood of the bearer. The information would be repeated by many other "biographers" of the Prophet^{633} .

The assertion that prophecy would end at the death of Muḥammad was thus apparently not self-evident, at least during the first two centuries of Islam. Early Arabic poetry of the very first centuries would also have kept traces of hesitation concerning this question. The *Dīwān* of the Prophet's contemporary poet, Umayya Ibn Abī al-Salt (or attributed to him), contains a line in which it is stated that Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets, those who came before him and those who will come after him^{634} . Y. Friedmann also refers to other ancient poets for

Point out the ambiguous meaning of the term "seal"^{635} ". In Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*, the term is put in the plural and Muḥammad is called *khayr al-khawātim*, "the best of seals"^{636} . Similarly, in his commentary on the *Hāshimiyyāt* poems of al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, Abū Riyāsh al-Qaysī, writing as late as the beginning of the ^{fourth/tenth} century, argues that "the Seal of the Prophets" means "the best (literally the beauty) of the prophets" (*khātam al-anbiyā' fa huwa jamāl al-anbiyā'*)^{637} .

Of course, texts and traditions of this kind will later be interpreted more or less subtly to save the dogma of "Muḥammad, the last of the prophets," but the problematic nature of both the Qur'anic verse on which it is based and the phrase "Seal of the prophets" that the verse contains seems undeniable. David Powers' recent monograph on this verse, appropriately titled *Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men. The making of the last Prophet*^{638} , is an attempt, based on impressive scholarship and sophisticated argumentation, to demonstrate that verse 33:40 is a late addition whose main purpose was to establish precisely the dogma of the last prophet. Without necessarily sharing the methods and conclusions of this book, one can see through it the magnitude of the problems posed by expression in early Islam. This study, as well as many others since the end of the ^{nineteenth} century, as we have just seen, all show the extreme complexity of the subject as well as its eventful history^{639} . Their information, based on a very large number of often very old Islamic sources, attests that the Shi'ites were far from alone, during the first centuries of the hegira, in professing the possibility of continuity of prophethood after the death of Muḥammad.

4. Epilogue

What can we conclude? Finally, the question of the end of prophethood after Islam, posed probably as early as the death of Muḥammad, would be accepted by all Muslims, the Shi'ites included (with the notable exception of certain ismā'īlian currents)^{640} , perhaps around the ^{second} and ^{third} centuries of the hegira. This near-unanimity would have been the result of repression

This is the result of several centuries of bloody conflicts. Indeed, the history of early Islam is marked by a secular violence manifested especially by incessant civil wars that necessarily had a decisive influence on the genesis and development of scriptural texts and doctrines^{641}. Y. Friedmann insists on the weight of the numerous "false prophets" ("false" of course for the Muslim authorities) and the wars waged against them by the central power in the elaboration of the dogmatic definition of *khatm al-nubuwwa* as "end of prophecy"^{642}. Let us think of the figures of the prophetess Sajāh or the prophets Musaylima, al-Aswad al-'Ansī or Tulayḥa b. Khuwaylid against whom the first caliph Abū Bakr unleashed, just after the death of the Prophet, the bloody "wars of sedition" (*ḥurūb al-ridda*). Later, this was the case with rebels declaring themselves prophets and envoys of God such as al-I:Jārith b. Sa'īd under the Umayyads, and those of Muḥammad b. Sa'īd known as "the crucified" (*al-maṣlūb*), Hāshim b. al-I:Jakīm known as "the veiled one" (*al-muqanna'*), or Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj under the Abbasids. However, in this register, the number of rebels belonging to one of the multiple 'alid/shi'ite sects and claiming to be prophets is by far the highest among the various theological-political currents. We have already mentioned the names of some of them (above note 38 and the related text). Let us add, among many others, those of al- Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd, of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya, of Mughīra b. Sa'īd, or of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, grandson of Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq, considered a prophet by many of the Septiman Shi'ites, especially the Qarmātes. The history of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates overflows with accounts of their rebellions, the declaration of their prophetic status-by themselves or by their followers-and their fierce suppression by caliphal forces^{643}.

It is reasonable to think that the dogma of "the end of prophecy" would have had its first gestations as early as "the wars of sedition", in the circles of the caliphal power of Medina, in order to delegitimize the claims of the latter's opponents. However, the ambiguity and even vagueness surrounding the meaning of the term *khātam/khātim* in the Qur'anic expression we are dealing with, and this for several centuries, clearly show that the official definition met with a certain amount of resistance and took a very long time to be finally accepted by all believers. The physical and doctrinal repression of the Shi'ites in

Wasserstrom calls them "revolutionary thaumaturgists", was certainly a factor in establishing this unanimity^{644} .

The stakes were immense. At stake was the religious and political authority leading the community and the criteria of its legitimacy. For the caliphal power and the jurist-theologians who supported it and who ended up representing Sunnism, prophethood was over because the totality of the words and directives, both divine and prophetic, were henceforth contained in the Koran and in the so-called "authentic" Hadith. For the Shi'ites, and certain other less important movements, the spiritual and temporal direction of the faithful could not be assured solely by texts whose authenticity was moreover problematic, but rather by inspired men, divine sages at the head of whom was the infallible person of the imam. However, for the authorities and their theologians, managing the scriptures (elaborated under their control), imposing their authority and presenting themselves as their only guarantors were easier than mastering men claiming to be in direct relation with the source of these scriptures and having a real social influence. It was therefore necessary to repress, on the political level, the claim to prophecy of certain opponents, inspired most often by the Shi'ite imamology, and, on the religious level, to impose the doctrine of the end of prophecy on all.

This was thus accepted by Shi'ism too, at least in its main branches and at least in appearance. It is indeed significant that all the Shi'ite exegeses of the verse 33:40 (containing the famous expression "Seal of the Prophets"), whether they are pre or post-Buyid sources, seem to have scrupulously respected this doctrine. But isn't it precisely a practice of *taqiyya*, especially in the pre-Buyid exegeses^{645} ? Indeed, the idea of a definitive break in communication between Heaven and the Sage was apparently unbearable for the imams and their followers. Heirs to a good number of doctrines of Judeo-Christianity, Manichaeism and the Gnostic movements of late antiquity, identifying themselves as divine initiates representing a religion of knowledge, they would have introduced nuances into the prophetic data to safeguard the possibility of such communication while at the same time applying the rules of *taqiyya*, the guarding of secrecy^{646} . The prophet sees and hears the angel, while the imam- *muḥaddath* - never called "prophet" - can only hear the messenger

celestial; the prophet receives revelation (*wahy*) while the imam is capable of receiving inspiration (*ilhām*); the prophet is the messenger of the letter of the divine Word (*tanzīl*), its exoteric aspect (*ẓāhir*), while the imam is the inspired messenger of its spirit, connoisseur of its esoteric dimension (*bāṭin*), its spiritual exegesis (*ta'wīl*); the prophet is the lawgiver and institutor of the outer religion for the majority of the faithful (*al-'āmma*, *al-akthar*), while the imam is the Master of hermeneutics, the initiator of the inner religion for a minority of elites (*al-khāṣṣa*, *al-aqall*)^{647}. At the same time, as we have seen, the imam fully possesses the prophetic abilities (and teaches them to his initiates, according to the

The term "heresiarchs" is used to describe his status as a prophet: celestial ascension, communication with celestial entities, knowledge of the future, all sorts of miraculous and thaumaturgical powers, etc. However, in order to distinguish his status from that of the prophet, the term used to qualify his nature is that of *walāya* (divine covenant or friendship), an extension, on the esoteric level, of the *nubuwwa* but distinct from it and transmitted from generation to generation by the Sacred Legacy, the *waṣiyya*^{648}.

Shi'ism will thus progressively distinguish between a legislating prophecy (*nubuwwa tashrī'iyya*) and a non-legislating ontological prophecy (*nubuwwa takwīniyya*) designated by the term *walāya*^{649}. He thus seems to take up, in his own way, the old Jewish division, which arose according to E.E. Urbach after the advent of Christianity, between legislating prophecy that founds religion and non-legislating prophecy that prohibits innovation^{650}. The Sunni orthodoxy will reject categorically and often aggressively these doctrines^{651}. The followers of the imams, victims for several centuries of bloody repression, marginalized and ostracized by an increasingly rigid official majority religion, seem to have been forced to apply *taqiyya* to many of their most important doctrines. The continuity of prophecy, a key religious notion inherited from several spiritual traditions of late antiquity, would have been central to these doctrines. Let us conclude our discussion with a tradition featuring the first Imam and Imam par excellence, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and a Greek convert, claiming to be a philosopher and a physician (*raḥul min al-yūnāniyīn al-mudda'īn li l-falsafa wa l-ṭibb*), a tradition that illustrates well various aspects of our problematic. It is a long dialogue between the two men, reported by one of the oldest Shi'a Qur'anic commentaries, the *Tafsīr* attributed to the eleventh Imam of the Duodecimans, al-I:Jasan

al-'Askarī (d. 260/874). I reproduce here, in Daniel de Smet's beautiful translation, only the part concerning 'Alī's instructions on the observance of the duty of "keeping the secret":

"I command you to practice *taqiyya* in your religion, for God, the Most High, has said: 'Let not the believers take for friends unbelievers in preference to believers. He who does so has nothing to look forward to from God unless you fear some dreadful deed from them (Qur'an 3:28). So I allow you to prefer our enemies to us, if fear leads you to do so, to disassociate yourself openly from us, if fear leads you to do so, to forsake the prescribed prayers, if you fear threats and dangers to your welfare. The preference which you thus show outwardly to our enemies over us, because of your fear, is of no use to them, nor does it involve any harm to us. For the fact that you openly disassociate yourself from us by practicing *taqiyya* does not imply any offense against us and is not harmful to us. If thou distanciate thyself from us temporarily with thy tongue, while thou remainest faithful to us in thy heart, thou dost act better than if thou expose thyself to destruction, for then thou canst no longer work for the religion and prosperity of thy brethren, the believers. So beware, I repeat, beware of neglecting *taqiyya*, which I command you to observe, for you would needlessly shed your blood and the blood of your brothers, and expose your welfare and theirs to perdition, by putting them in the hands of the enemies of God's religion^{652} ."

Third part

Spiritual Horizons

Chapter 8

***The Precious Pearl* attributed to Rajab al-Bursī** **The 500 Quranic verses about 'Alī**

Devotion to 'Alī, as imam par excellence, sacred figure, and theophanic man, permeates all Shi'a spirituality. Even long centuries after the end of the period of the historical imams and the dominance of the rationalist tradition in which the authority of the jurist-theologian tends to replace the *walāya* of the imams, 'Alī continues to occupy the heart of the inner life of the faithful. Some major authors have played a central role in the presentation and transmission of what might be called the mysticism of 'Alī. Rajab al-Bursī, the great architect of the convergence between Shi'ism, Sufism and philosophy, is undoubtedly one of them.

1. Brief notes on al-Bursī and his major work

Mashāriq ai-anwār

In the ^{eighth} and ^{ninth} centuries of the hegira / ^{fourteenth} and ^{fifteenth} centuries of the Christian era, esoteric Shi'ite thought underwent a considerable enrichment. Indeed, this period includes, among the great figures who marked it, Sayyid I:Jaydar Amolī (d. *circa* 790/1388), craftsman of a great synthesis between the

Shi'ism and a Sufism deeply marked by Ibn 'Arabī, or Faḍlallāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), founder of the I:Jurūfiyya School, or Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (838-906/1434-1501), master of the synthesis between Sufism, Avicenna philosophy, and Shi'ite theosophy^{653}. This late Middle Ages was also the time of our author al-I:Jāfīz Rajab al-Bursī (living 813/1410-1411). An important mystical thinker, al-Bursī was introduced into Western academic research - for once - by Henry Corbin, notably through the latter's seminars during the years 1968 to 1970 at the École Pratique des Hautes Études en Sorbonne^{654}. The partial translation of al-Bursī's *magnum opus*, the *Mashāriq al-anwār*, made on the occasion of these seminars, was published posthumously in 1996, excellently edited and introduced by Pierre Lory^{655}. In the meantime, Todd Lawson devoted to this important work a first monographic article containing very good pages on the life and work of al-Bursī^{656}. More recently, Pierre Lory, again, published a short but very profound study on some aspects of the esoteric thought of our author^{657}. Outside of Western languages, the most substantial studies on our author and his work remain those, in Arabic, by Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī in his two fundamental works, unjustly neglected though now somewhat outdated, on the relationship between Sufism and Shi'ism^{658}.

Despite the importance and scope of his thought, Rajab al-Bursī's life remains almost unknown; almost all information about him must be conjugated in the conditional tense, and this despite the relatively large number of entries devoted to him and his writings in various kinds of prosopographical, bibliographical or doctrinal works^{659}.

Raḍī al-Dīn Rajab b. Muḥammad b. Rajab al-I:Jillī al-Bursī is best known for his famous work already mentioned, *Mashāriq al-anwār* or, more precisely, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fī ḥaqā'iq asrār amīr al-mu'minīn* ("The Orientals of the Lights of Certainty Concerning the Truths of the Secrets of the Commander of the Believers," i.e., 'Alī b. Abī Tālib) which, as its title indicates, is a work devoted to the figure of 'Alī, considered here as the Perfect Man (particularly in accordance with the thought of Ibn 'Arabī) and the highest place of manifestation of God^{660}. It is in this book that the author calls himself "Rajab al-I:Jāfīz" (i.e. "Rajab the traditionist," "Rajab, expert in Hadith"), "al-I:Jāfīz al-Bursī" or "al-I:Jāfīz"^{661}. He is said to have been born in the village of Burs in

He was born in the heart of the Shi'ite lands of Iraq, between I:Jilla and Kūfa, around the year 743/1342, perhaps into a family of Iranian origin according to al-Shaybī. He is said to have been educated in I:Jilla before emigrating to Iran, around 780/1378, probably fed up with the pressures of his too "exoteric" co-religionists, to take refuge in Khurāsān, with the short-lived "heterodox" Shi'ite state of the Sarbedārs. He is said to have then settled in Tūs/Mashhad not far from the mausoleum of the eighth Imam of the Duodecimans, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), to devote himself completely to a life of piety, meditation and writing. According to al-I:Jurr al-'Amilī, al-Bursī wrote a first version of his *Mashāriq* in 773/1371-72 and a second and final version, according to Afandī/Efendī, in 813/1410-11^{662}. He would therefore have died after this date, of natural causes. The report of his assassination does not seem at all credible. His tomb is said to be in Tūs, according to most of his biographers, but, according to al-Kh^w ānsārī, the mausoleum supposedly belonging to a certain I:Jāfiḡ Rajab in Ardestān north of Isfahan in central Iran is in fact that of our author^{663}.

Rajab al-Bursī is counted by Henry Corbin among the greatest representatives of the duodeciman Shi'ite metaphysical gnosis. His *Mashāriq* indeed contains profound theological, philosophical, and numerological speculations on the most ancient Imamological doctrines, by a fine connoisseur of the Islamic occult sciences (especially the science of letters) and of various Sufī currents ranging from the School of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in the Muslim East to the works of Ibn 'Arabī in the West on the one hand, and from the Islamic neoplatonism of al-Fārābī and Avicenna to al-Suhrawardī on the other. Presenting himself as being as far removed from the exoteric Shi'ites (*ahl al-tafrīt*, literally: "the people of reduction") as from the extremist esotericists (*ahl al-ifrāt*, lit.: "the people of excess," i.e. the *ghulāt*), al-Bursī ranks himself among the Duodecimal faithful belonging to "the middle way" (*al-namṭ al-awsaṭ*), which he identifies with the People of Knowledge, the saving gnosis (*al-'ārifūn*)^{664}. Yet, he is fully aware that his thought will not be tolerated by many Muslims, including Shi'ites, and that he will be labeled, because of his writings, with some form of heresy^{665}. His doctrinal position explains the ambiguous attitude of a number of Imamite authors towards him. For example, his *Mashāriq* is quoted and exploited, already a few decades after his death, by such an important author as the traditionist and theologian Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Kaf'amī around the years 890/1484-85 or even later by the

traditionalist philosopher al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī in the ^{eleventh/seventeenth} century^{666}. Yet, it is not until three centuries after his death that a bio- bibliographical record is devoted to him, in this case by al-I:Jurr al-'Amilī (d.1104/1693) and Afandī/Efendī al-Jīrānī (d. 1130/1718). Al-I:Jurr, precisely, quotes al-Bursī and his writings quite frequently and admiringly in his *Jawāhir al-saniyya* and his *Ithbāt al-hudāt* but does not hesitate to point out, in his *Amal al-'āmil* and his *Wasā'il*, that some have perceived in the *Mashāriq* doctrines pertaining to Shi'i extremism, *al- ghuluww*, and that al-Bursī cannot be considered a trustworthy transmitter of hadith^{667}. Al-Majlisī presents the same attitude in his *Biḥār*^{668}. Others, on the other hand, have defended the Shi'ite "orthodoxy" of our author while pointing out a certain originality in him^{669}. Finally, an authority like al-Kh^w ānsārī vehemently takes issue with those who abuse the charge of extremism by rejecting doctrines that are part of the indispensable articles of faith of Shi'ism and describes Rajab al-Bursī with the most gratifying titles of the greatest spiritual masters^{670}. In fact, the technical arguments of Hadith experts against al-Bursī's credibility as a transmitter of traditions, mostly concern certain hadith reported by him, especially in the *Mashāriq*, which are not found anywhere else in the authoritative compilations of Shi'i traditions; this is especially the case with several sermons attributed to 'Alī, such as the *khuṭbat al-iftikhār* or the *khuṭbat al-taṭanjiyya*, in which the latter declares his theophanic identity with God^{671}. All this seems to prove once again, if any proof were needed, that as far as fundamental imamological doctrines are concerned, the distinction between a "moderate" and an "extremist" Shi'ism proves artificial^{672}. The large number of editions of the *Mashāriq* has already been noted (above note 8). The work indeed had a great and rapid popularity especially in mystical and philosophical circles in Shi'ite Iran. There is a monumental Persian commented paraphrase of it entitled *Maṭāli' al-asrār* and composed by a certain al- I:Jasan al-Khaṭīb al-Kirmānī (also known as al-Sabziwārī or al- Mashhadī), written in 1090/1680 by order of the Safavid ruler Shāh Sulaymān^{673}. There is also an unpublished summary of it in Persian written in 1286/1869 by a certain Muḥammad Zamān 'Arif known as "Sāqī," apparently otherwise unknown^{674}. Finally, it should be noted that some manuscripts of the *Mashāriq* seem to bear other titles such as *Asrār al-*

a'imma ("Secrets of the Imams"), *Asrār al-ḥurūf* ("Secrets of Letters") or *Khafī/Akhfā al-asrār* ("The (most) hidden of secrets")^{675} .

2. Other works and the Quranic commentary "The Precious Pearl" (*ai-Durr ai-thamīn*)

The book *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn* is the only work whose attribution to Rajab al-Bursī does not seem to be a problem. The other writings attributed to him have not yet been dutifully identified or even found for some of them. Moreover, it should be noted that those that are known to be more or less certainly his are all in Arabic^{676} . In this respect, the information, provided both by the manuscript tradition and by prosopographical and bibliographical notes, is most confusing: different titles can designate the same book and different writings sometimes have almost identical titles. Even the name of the author is indicated with large variations on the manuscripts^{677} . Cross-referencing the various lists compiled in manuscript catalogs or by various al-Bursī bio-bibliographers leads to the following, probably provisional, result (in alphabetical order):

- (*Kitāb*) *al-Alfayn fī waṣf sādāt al-kawnayn*, of which there is reportedly at least one manuscript^{678} .
- *Al-Durr al-thamīn*: this Qur'anic commentary centered on the figure of 'Alī is the subject of the present study. I will return to it later.
- *Lawāmi' anwār al-tamjīd wa jawāmi' asrār al-tawḥīd (fī uṣūl al-'aqā'id)*; presented by its author as an introduction to the *Mashāriq*, this writing appears in almost all editions of the latter work. It contains a compendium of the author's theological and mystical doctrines^{679} .
- *Mashāriq al-amān wa lubāb ḥaqā'iq al-īmān*, whose content is quite similar to that of the *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*. It consists of more or less lengthy esoteric developments on a kind of miscellany of important Shi'ism topics, ranging from the science of letters to commentaries on the Qur'an and hadith-s, to all sorts of eschatological, theological, and magical subjects. A recent edition of the book was published in Lebanon^{680} .

– *Tafsīr sūrat al-ikhlās/al-tawhīd*, a philosophical commentary on Sura 112 of the Qur'an, with no Shi'ite specificity. It has been edited twice in Iran^{681} .

– (*Risāla fī*) *Ziyārat (li-) amīr al-mu'minīn*, evidently a treatise on the visit to the tomb of 'Alī and the prayers that should be recited there (according to the two meanings of the term *ziyāra*: visit to the tomb of a saint and the prayers performed during that visit). Afandī/Efendī al-Jīrānī, who apparently had it in his hands, says of it that it is very long and very famous for its beauty and subtleties^{682} .

– A number of poems are attributed to our author. They are all about various aspects of the sanctity of the different members of the Prophet's Family (*ahl al-bayt*), especially 'Alī, and reflect our author's true worship of them. They have been published at the end of most editions of the *Mashāriq*^{683} .

– Other writings of which nothing is known are mentioned by the sources; it is not even known whether there are any manuscripts of them (the multiple variants of the titles are not indicated here): *Asrār al-nabī wa Fāṭima wa l-a'imma*, *Faḍā'il amīr al-mu'minīn*, *Mawlid al-nabī wa 'Alī wa Fāṭima*, *Risāla fī kayfiyyat al-tawhīd wa l-ṣalāt 'alā l-rasūl wa l-a'imma*, *Risāla fī l-ṣalawāt 'alā l-nabī wa ālihi l-ma'sūmīn*, *al-Risālat al-mukhtaṣara fī l-tawhīd* (are these last three identical?)^{684} .

Let us now return to the Qur'anic commentary attributed to Rajab al-Bursī and mainly known by the following title: *al-Durr al-thamīn fī khams mi'a āyat nazalat fī amīr al-mu'minīn*, "The Precious Pearl on the 500 Qur'anic Verses Revealed about the Commander of the Believers [i.e. 'Alī]^{685} ". It was edited, uncritically, by 'Alī 'Ashūr in Beirut in 1424/2003^{686} . Is it a stand-alone work as the latter seems to claim following several early bio-bibliographers? Or are we dealing, as 'Abdallāh Afandī/Efendī al-Jīrānī and Aghā Bozorg al-Tīhrānī state, with a summary of al-Bursī's Qur'anic commentaries in his *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, made by one Taqī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-I:Jalabī? It is true that the edited text, far from being identical to the corresponding parts of the *Mashāriq*, nevertheless bears obvious similarities to them. But the same kind of remarks can be made about the parallels and similarities between the *Mashāriq al-amān* and the *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*. It is reasonable to assume that from the same materials, our author (or

someone claiming to follow his ideas?) has written several more or less similar works.

The number 500 in the title seems symbolic because by no count of the verses discussed does one arrive at this total. The chapters of the book are devoted to 35 surahs out of the 114 of the Qur'an, with the repetition of three of them, namely al-Kahf (Surah 18), al-Nūr (Surah 24) and al-Furqān (Surah 25). However, within each chapter, many other verses belonging to other surahs, are used to corroborate the author's statements. The purpose of the book is to reveal what he considers to be explicit mentions, presumed allusions, or secret meanings of these verses concerning 'Alī, his relations with Muḥammad, his family members, his followers, or his enemies.

Despite its appearance, which is somewhat reminiscent of a notebook, *al-Durr al-thamīn* belongs fully to a particularly important exegetical genre in Shi'ism that I have called elsewhere "personalized commentaries"^{687}. Before translating some excerpts from the book and commenting briefly on them, let us try to see what literary genre it is.

The genesis and development of this kind of Qur'anic commentary in Shi'ism seem to be intimately linked to the ancient Shi'ite doctrines concerning the succession of the Prophet and one of the major consequences of it, namely the falsification (*tahrīf*) of the official version of the Qur'an that is called the 'uthmānian Vulgate. According to these doctrines, upon the death of the Prophet (in the year 11/632 according to tradition) and as a result of a long-prepared plot, his enemies took power. The latter, mainly led by the Umayyad clan, had switched to Islam under duress and out of cynical opportunism, especially after their bitter defeat at the battle of Badr (2/624). Immediately after Muḥammad's death, they imposed on his succession, in a veritable "coup d'état," the caliphate of Abū Bakr and then that of 'Umar, violently removing from power the Prophet's only legitimate successor, 'Alī, and suppressing the Holy Prophetic Family (*ahl al-bayt*), especially Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Alī. One of the first implications of this power grab was the development of a falsified version of the Qur'an and the attempt to impose it on the entire community of the faithful. This is because the original unabridged version of the Qur'an, three times as large as the official state Qur'an, mentioned, explicitly or allusively, 'Alī first,

as the divinely appointed successor of Muḥammad, and then other members of the Prophetic Family, their real friends and their real enemies. Now, these enemies were in power and one of their first tasks could only be to delete or alter the compromising passages of the Holy Book. This they did, making many passages of the holy text difficult to understand^{688} .

"The Qur'an is revealed in four parts (*arba'at arbā'*): one quarter is about us [the people of the Prophetic Family], another quarter is about our opponents, a third is about the lawful and unlawful, and a last one is about duties and precepts^{689}."

"No one equals 'Alī in the Book of God as to what has been revealed in his honor^{690}."

"Seventy verses have been revealed exclusively about 'Alī with whom no one else can be associated^{691}."

According to several traditions, the original Quran explicitly contained the names of several dozen of the prominent members of the Quraysh tribe, as well as the names of their fathers, presented as the enemies of Muḥammad^{692} .

It is precisely these verses, or what constituted their center of gravity, i.e., the names of the specific historical figures about whom they were revealed, that were censored by the caliphs and their men, giving the Qur'an this fragmentary, often difficult-to-understand aspect: "If the Qur'an had been left as it was revealed," Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765), we would have found in it our names [we, the people of the Prophetic Family] as those who came before us [i.e. the holy figures of the earlier religions] are named in it^{693} ." The same Imam is also quoted as saying, "If the Qur'an could be read as it was revealed, not even two people would have differed about it^{694} ."

The Shi'ite works, especially the Duodecimal ones, especially the ancient compilations of hadith-s, starting with the monograph of al- Sayyārī (first half of the 3rd/9th c.) on the question of falsification, contain indeed a great number of traditions in which passages of the Qur'an containing names of historical figures contemporary with the Prophet, including 'Alī (passages which are therefore not in the Qur'an known to all) are quoted^{695} .

The articulation between the Prophetic Family and the Qur'an is clearly expressed in the famous tradition of the "Two Precious Objects" (*ḥadīth*

al-thaqalayn) attributed to Muḥammad in which he says in essence that he leaves behind for his community two inseparable "precious objects," namely his Family and the Book of God^{696}. For the Shi'ites, the treachery of Muḥammad's opponents, who usurped the rights of 'Alī, Fāṭima and their descendants, consisted precisely in breaking the link uniting these two elements, thus disfiguring the Prophet's mission. They indeed violated the Prophetic Family and falsified the Divine Book. In a tradition dating back to the Prophet and transmitted by the Shi'ah, the Prophet warns his community: "...You will be called to account for what you have done to the Two Precious Things that I leave behind for you, namely the Book of God and my Family. Beware, as for the Book, do not say that we have altered and falsified it (*ghayyarnā wa ḥarrafnā*) and as for my Family, do not go and say that we have abandoned and killed them^{697} ." In a letter attributed to Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799) and addressed to a disciple, we read, "Do not seek to embrace the faith of those who do not follow us [literally: those who are not our Shi'ites], do not love their religion for they are traitors who betrayed God and His Messenger by betraying their Deposits (*amānāt*). Do you know how they betrayed these holy Deposits? The Book of God was entrusted to them and they falsified and altered it. Their true rulers [i.e. 'Alī and his descendants] were appointed to them but they turned away from them^{698} ." As has been said, according to the early Shi'i writings, the main censored elements of the Qur'an were mostly names of people, especially those of the members of the Prophet's Family and their enemies; a censorship that made the Qur'an difficult to understand. Hence the need for exegesis, hermeneutics. Falsification has made the Qur'an a mute, silent book or guide (*kitāb/imām ṣāmit*). Its Word, its meaning, is returned to it by the imam and his teaching, called for this reason the speaking Qur'ān (*kitāb/Qur'ān nātiq*)^{699}. From its earliest sources, Shi'ism defines itself as a hermeneutical religion whose goal is to reveal the hidden meaning of the Qur'an. The imam thus bears the title of the "master" or the "fighter of spiritual exegesis" (*ṣāhib/muqātil/mujāhid al-ta'wīl*)^{700}. For this reason, one of the oldest forms of Qur'anic exegesis in Shi'ism consists in the identification of these persons^{701}. Thus, "personalized commentary", probably the oldest modality of Shi'ah esoteric exegesis, consists in revealing the hidden meaning of the Qur'an - because it has been lost through falsification -, its true spirit covered

by the altered letter, identifying the persons about whom the Word was revealed. For various Shi'ite currents, especially in the tradition that would lead to Duodecimal Imamism, the importance of people and their roles in history constitute the center of gravity of the faith; this could not therefore not be explicitly included in the text of Revelation. In a letter attributed to the sixth Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq to his intimate disciple al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fī, the Imam insists heavily that the true faith, the true religion consists in the knowledge of persons (*inna al-dīn huwa ma'rifat al-rijāl*), that the knowledge of people is the religion of God (*ma'rifat al-rijāl dīn allāh*) and that these people are the Friends of God, including the Prophet, 'Alī, the Imams of his progeny and their followers on the one hand, and the Enemies of God, i.e., the opponents of the Imams and their followers, on the other. The basis of faith is therefore to recognize the Allies of God and their opponents, i.e. the opponents of God^{702}. Among the characters thus identified, 'Alī has by far the lion's share. I will come back to this.

The "personalized commentary" is also found among non-Shi'ite authors, admittedly in much smaller proportions, and especially in the context of the "circumstances of revelation" (*asbāb al- nuzūl*). But it very soon became a real literary genre particularly prized in Shi'ism. Let us cite some examples in chronological order:

In the 3rd/9th century: *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī (d. 283/896), author of the famous *Kitāb al-ghārāt*^{703}; the *Tafsīr* of al-I:Jusayn b. al-I:Jakam al-I:Jibārī (d. 286/899)^{704}.

In the 4th/Xth century: the *Tafsīr* of Furāt al-Kūfī (d. ca. 300/912), disciple of al-I:Jibārī^{705}; *Kitāb al-tanzīl fī l-naṣṣ 'alā amīr al-mu'minīn* (also known by other titles) of Ibn Abī al-Thalj (d. 322/934 or 325/936- 937)^{706}; *Asmā' amīr al-mu'minīn min al-Qur'ān* by Ibn Shammūn Abū 'Abdallāh al-Kātib (d. ca. 330/941-942)^{707}; *Mā nazala fī l-khamṣa* ("That which was revealed concerning the Five" - i.e. the Five of the Cloak: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-I:Jasan, and al-I:Jusayn) and *Mā nazala fī 'Alī min al-Qur'ān* by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jalūdī al-Baṣrī (d. 332/944)^{708}; *Ta'wīl mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ahl al-bayt* (with variations in this title) by Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Bazzāz said Ibn al-Juḥām (lived 328/939- 940)^{709}; *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ṣāhib al-zamān* ("What has been revealed

in the Qur'an about the Master of Time - i.e. the Mahdi; title with variants) by Ibn 'Ayyāsh al-Jawharī (d. 401/1010), author of *Muqtaḍab al- athar*^{710} .

In the 5th/11th century: *Ay al-Qur'ān al-munazzala fī amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib* by al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)^{711} ; two books by al-I:Jākim al-I:Jaskānī (d. after 470/1077-1078), namely *Khaṣā'iṣ amīr al-mu'minīn fī l-Qur'ān*^{712} and *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*^{713} .

In the 6th/XII century: *Nuzūl al-Qur'ān fī sha'n amīr al-mu'minīn* by Muḥammad b. Mu'min al-Shīrāzī (exact dates unknown)^{714} ; *Khaṣā'iṣ al-wahy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn* by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-I:Jillī (d.600/1203-1204)^{715} .

In the 8th/14th century: the work we are examining here: *al-Durr al- thamīn fī khams mi'a āya nazalat fī amīr al-mu'minīn* by al-Bursī.

In the 10th/16th century: *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira fī faḍā'il al-'itra al-ṭāhira* by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Astarābādī^{716} .

On the borders of the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries: two works by Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī, *al-Lawāmi' al-nūrāniyya fī asmā' amīr al-mu'minīn al-qur'āniyya*^{717} and *al-Maḥajja fī mā nazala fī l-qā'im l-ḥujja* ("Broad path to what has been revealed about the Qā'im the Proof - i.e. the eschatological Savior)^{718} .

In the thirteenth/nineteenth century: *al-Ayāt al-nāzila fī dhamm al-jā'irīn 'alā ahl al-bayt* ("The verses revealed to denounce the unjust against the Prophetic Family") by I:Jaydar 'Alī al-Shīrwānī^{719} , or *al-Naṣṣ al-jalī fī arba'īn āya fī sha'n 'Alī* by al-I:Jusayn b. Bāqir al-Burūjirdī^{720} . Finally, it should be noted that the writing of such works continues to this day in Shi'ite circles, especially the Duodeciman^{721} .

3. Annotated extracts from *ai-Durr ai-thamīn*

As will be seen in the examples below, the author of *al-Durr al- thamīn*, true to the long tradition of "personalized commentaries", populates the Qur'anic text with various characters, often supposed to have been suppressed by the falsifiers of the text of Revelation, who completely altered its narrative, and thus its meaning.

Qur'an I (al-Fātiḥa): the *Basmala* (i.e. the formula: *In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate*):

"... It is the Reminder (*dhikr*) of God the One which consists of 19 letters, that is, the total of the letters of the Five Silhouettes (*al-ashbāḥ al-khamsa*) which God inscribed with light, by His dexterity of power, in the World of Light before the creation of the years and centuries... They constitute the origin of creation and its end; the secret of being and its deepest meaning^{722}."

The "Five Silhouettes" are the pre-existential metaphysical entities of the Five Impeccables (*ma'sūm*), the People of the Cloak (*ahl al-kisā'*), i.e., Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-I:Jasan, and al-I:Jusayn, whose total letters (i.e. consonants) of the names is 19 (M, I:J, M,D, ', L,Y, F,Alif, T,M,H, I:J,S,N, I:J, S,Y,N), as is the number of letters/consonants in the *basmala*, the formula *bi 'smi llāhi (al-)raḥmāni (al-)raḥīm*. According to the science of letters, particularly prized by al-Bursī, the letters composing a name (*ism*) contain the essence of the reality of the named (*musammā*). That is, just as the *basmala* opens up "the world" that is the Qur'an, it is through the Five Impeccable Ones that Being opens up. They are the alpha and omega and the ultimate meaning of creation. The chapter continues with hadith-s about the pre-existence of the luminous entities of Muḥammad and 'Alī, who are "human outwardly and divine inwardly" (*ẓāhiruhumā bashariyya wa bāṭinuhumā lāhūtiyya*). They have been manifested in human bodies/temples (*hayākil nāsūtiyya*) so that men may bear their vision because they occupy the rank of the Lord of the Two Worlds (*fa-humā maqāmay rabb al-'ālamayn*) and they are the veils of the Creator of beings (*ḥijābay khāliq al-khalā'iq*). Thus, the Impeccables, more singularly Muḥammad and 'Alī, are the sites of God's manifestations, the former representing the exoteric dimension and the latter the esoteric dimension of the divine theophany^{723} .

Qur'an I (al-Fātiḥa), verse 6: *Guide us to the Straight Path*. "God made 'Alī the Straight Path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) about which people fell into divergence. 'Alī is the explicit Book (*al-kitāb al-mubīn*; a recurring Qur'anic expression) and the Religion of God (*dīn allāh*) outside of which nothing is accepted by the servants^{724} ."

Qur'an I (al-Fātiḥa), verse 7: *The Way of those whom You have graced*: that is, the descendants of Muḥammad. *Not the one who suffer Your wrath and the one of the misguided*: This wise sentence has two meanings. According to the exoteric meaning [reported by the exegetes], the

The former refers to the Jews and the latter to the Christians; but the esoteric meaning refers to those who had the walk of the Jews and Christians [in our community] ... As the Messenger of God said about 'Alī: 'You are going to be the center of the conflicts because there is something similar to Jesus in you. The Jews hated Jesus to the point of slandering his mother, and the Christians exaggerated in his regard to the point of taking him for God...'. The targets of God's wrath in this community are those who turn away from the love (*ḥubb*) of 'Alī; they are the 'metamorphosed' of this community (*musūkh hādhi l-umma*) and the misguided are those who exaggerate in their love of 'Alī (*al-mufriṭūn*)^{725} ."

The author provides readers with a real exegetical key to the passages in the Qur'an that speak negatively about Jews and Christians. The latter terms are merely symbols, in the etymological sense of the term, i.e., signs of recognition of particular groups of Muslims: fiercely hostile "Sunnis" to 'Alī and his family, the *nāṣibī*, pl. *nawāṣib*, and exaggerating, extremist Shi'ites, the *ghālin*, pl. *ghulāt*.

Qur'an II (al-Baqara), verses 1-4: "...*This Scripture which no doubt taints: The Scripture (kitāb) is 'Alī, exoterically and esoterically*^{726} *is a guidance for the pious: that is, for the people of walāya and truthful piety which is the love of 'Alī*^{727} ... *those who believe in the Unseen: the Unseen refers to three things: the advent of the Resurrector (al-qā'im), the Day of Resurrection and the Day of Return (yawm al-raj'a)*

^{728} ...*and perform the prayer: the true prayer is the love of the Impeccable ones; the rest is only metaphor. For a prayer performed in the absence of their love and remembrance is neither recorded nor accepted. The prayer is their love*^{729} ... *and offer of what We have bestowed upon them: the true gift is the teaching of the initiates about the virtues of the Descendants of Muḥammad, [i.e.the Imams] (ta'līm al-mu'minīn faḍā'il āl Muḥammad) and the presentation of their qualities*^{730} ...*and those who believe in what has been revealed to you and what has been revealed to those who came before you: that is, what has been revealed about 'Alī and the meaning of 'Alī (fī 'Alī wa fī ma'nāhu)*^{731} .

This whole sequence strongly emphasizes that without the love of God's Friends or Allies, men and women who manifest on earth the Names and Attributes of God and fulfill the divine will, without their *walāya* therefore, no true religion. Moreover, as

supreme symbol of the *walāya*, the divine man, the deification of the Perfect Man, or the humanization of God, 'Alī constitutes the center of gravity, the meaning and the ultimate objective of all revelations.

Qur'an II (al-Baqara), verses 138 and 22: *An anointing from God. Who can anoint better than God?* Abū 'Abdallāh [i.e. Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq] said, '(anointing) refers to our *walāya* and love for us [i.e. us Impeccables]. This is the light of the initiate in this world and in the Hereafter'^{732} ... God has considered those who love 'Alī as true monotheists since He has said, '*Do not give partners to God*. Associate means similar. Whoever gives 'Alī an associate is in fact giving an equal to God. God has no equal, and 'Alī, as an ally of God, has no similar. Woe to those who compare him to Zurayq and Ghudar [i.e. 'Umar and Abū Bakr]; woe to those who, instead of the Guide of Truth, chose Pharaoh and Hāmān [i.e. Abū Bakr and 'Umar]^{733} ."

'Alī, the Theophanic Ally of God, cannot be compared to anyone else. He is the Chosen One of God and Muḥammad. Those who usurped his place and their followers have in fact broken with the true religion of Divine Unity, by removing from the leadership of the community the only true initiate of Muḥammad's religion and thus his only legitimate successor^{734} .

Qur'an III (Al 'Imrān), verse 2: "*There is no God but He, the Living, the Subsistent* : This surah is about 'Alī who is the Book and Veil of God, His supreme Name leading to Him, mysterious, His effective Order, His noblest Symbol, His solemn Announcement, His grandest Word^{735} ."

'Alī is here clearly presented in its divine theophanic dimension (*lāhūt*), as the place of manifestation of the Names of God (*mazhar, majlā*). It is the Book of God, the divine work that guides to the Author, the Veil that conceals and reveals at the same time, the supreme Name with unlimited powers leading to the Named, the divine Order that governs the universe^{736} . He is qualified, as in almost all Shi'ite commentaries, by Qur'anic expressions *al-mathal al-a'lā* ("the august symbol," Qur'an 16/al-Nahl:60), *al-naba' al-'azīm* ("the solemn proclamation," Qur'an 78/al-Naba':2), and finally *al-kalima* ("the Word," numerous occurrences), which very often is associated with Jesus there. These bold assertions are illustrated in particular by a number of sermons attributed to 'Alī in which he declares, in a long succession of affirmations, his identity with God, sermons which are not unlike the "paradoxical statements" of

(*shataḥāt*) of the mystics and which are particularly valued by al-Bursī in his *Mashāriq*^{737} .

Qur'an III (Al 'Imrān), verse 61: ...*Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, our persons and your persons, and let us engage in an ordination [literally a mutual imprecation]...* The sons are al-I:Jasan and al-I:Jusayn; by "the wives" is meant Fāṭima and by "person" 'Alī. It was through them that the Prophet challenged his enemies by ordination. Now, the sons are the sons of 'Alī, the wife is the wife of 'Alī and the person, 'Alī himself. It is he who embraces the entire verse of the ordination (*āyat al-mubāhala*). It is through him that God challenges His enemies, that He proves the truthfulness of His Word, that He rectifies what is deviated in His religion^{738} ."

For the author, the verse of the Ordination is not so much about all the Five of the Cloak, as is the case in almost all Muslim exegetical tradition, both Shi'a and Sunni, but rather about 'Alī. In other words, it is the latter who concentrates in himself the sacredness of the whole holy prophetic family.

Qur'an III (Al 'Imrān), verse 106: *The Day when some faces will become bright and some will become dark. As for those whose faces will be blackened: 'You denied after believing'...* You denied 'Alī after believing in his *walāya* on the Day of Ghadīr and after swearing allegiance to him...The Prophet said about this verse: 'On the Day of Resurrection, my community will come back to life and will advance under five banners. A first group will advance under the banner of the Calf (*'ijl*; allusion to the Biblical Golden Calf taken up, with important deviations, by the Qur'an) of this community [i.e. Abū Bakr or 'Umar]. I will ask him: what have you done with the Two Precious Things (*al-thaqalayn*) that I had entrusted to you? [They will say: 'As for the greater Precious Object [i.e. the Qur'an], we have torn it to pieces and falsified it (*mazzaqnāhu wa ḥarrafnāhu*) and the lesser one [i.e. the Prophetic Family], we have hated it and taken it as an enemy' [see above note 45 and the related text]. I will then retort to them: 'Depart, go away thirsty [allusion to thirst which is the characteristic test of the Day of Resurrection] and with dark faces'."

The dialogue thus continues with the group of supporters of the "Pharaoh of this community," i.e., either Abū Bakr or 'Umar, those of the Samaritan (Sāmīrī; the corrupter of the Sons of Israel in Qur'an 20/Tāhā: 85 *ff.*) of the community, i.e., either 'Uthmān or Mu'āwiya, and lastly those of the Khārijites. They all say that they betrayed the Qur'an, hated and murdered the members of Muḥammad's Family and they are sent away by the latter, overcome with thirst and blackened faces. The Prophetic hadith ends thus: "Then the people of the banner of the guide of the pious, the seal of the Legatees [i.e. the Imams of all times], the lord of the inities [*imām al-muttaqīn wa khātim al-waṣiyyīn wa sayyid al-mu'minīn* i.e. 'Alī] and I will ask them, 'What have you done with the Two Precious Objects that I left you after me?' They will answer, 'The greater one [the Qur'an] we obeyed and followed; as for the lesser one [the Prophetic Family], we cherished and defended it until we died.' Then I will say to them, 'Drink in peace, with faces bright with white'^{739} ."

Qur'an IV (al-Nisā'), verses 167, 168 and 170: *Those who deny and put obstacles in the way of God...According to Ibn 'Abbās, the Way is 'Alī...Those who deny and are unjust to the rights of the descendants of Muḥammad...According to Ibn 'Abbās, this is how the verse was revealed*^{740} . Then [God] identifies the *walāya* of 'Alī with the Truth [of the following verse]: *Men! The Messenger brings you the Truth from your Lord. Believe in it, better for you and if you deny...that is, believe in the walāya of 'Alī*^{741} ."

Qur'an VI (al-An'ām), verse 160: *Whoever brings a good deed will gain ten times as much...*The good deed (*al-ḥasana*) is the profession of faith 'no god but God', faith in Muḥammad and love for the Prophetic Family (*ḥubb ahl al-bayt*). And the evil deed (*al-sayyi'a*) is denying their *walāya*...Hence the Prophet's hadith: 'love of 'Alī is a good deed that no evil can alter and hatred of 'Alī is an evil deed that no good can redeem'^{742} ."

Qur'an VII (al-A'rāf), verse 181: *Among those whom We have created, there is a community that guides in the true and proves itself righteous through the true...*

"The Messenger of God said: 'My community is divided into seventy-three branches, of which seventy-two are condemned to the Fire [of Hell]. Only one of these branches is heading for the Garden [of Paradise] and that is

the one formed by you, O 'Alī, and your followers [literally "your Shi'ites", *shī'atuka*], for you are never separated from the true and your followers never separated from you. Therefore, they are in the true^{743} ."

Qur'an VII (al-A'rāf), verses 143: [*And when Moses came to our meeting place and his Lord spoke to him, he said:*] '*My Lord, make me see, that I may behold you*' [*God replied: 'You will not see me, but look at the mountain, if it remains in place, then you may behold me.'*] *Then his Lord manifested Himself [on the mountain and He shattered it]...* The Qur'an thus declares that the Holy Essence of God (*dhātih al-muqaddasa*) cannot be an object of ocular vision nor within the reach of thoughts; at the same time the Book speaks of manifestation. Now, there is manifestation when there is form (*hay'a*) and aspect (*mathāl*). So how can one speak of the vision of that which cannot be the object of vision? The solution to the riddle is found in the use of the word "Lord" (*rabb*) which can refer to different entities and whose qualifiers are here under-understood: what was manifested [to Moses on the mountain] was the Light (*nūr*) of his Lord, the Greatness (*'aẓama*) and the Radiance (*jalāl*) of his Lord. Now, Muḥammad and 'Alī represent the Greatness and the Radiance. It is for this reason that the Commander of the Initiates said, 'I am the one who spoke to Moses from the midst of the bush [literally "the tree", *al-shajara*]. I am that Light which manifested itself to him...' ^{744} ."

What Moses perceives in the mountain and through the burning bush is not God in his transcendental Essence but his immanent Face manifested through the divine Man whose symbols par excellence are the metaphysical Muḥammad and 'Alī. Here we are at the heart of the Shi'ite theology of the figure of the Imam balanced between agnosticism (*ta'ṭīl*) and assimilationism (*tashbīh*)^{745} . The Essence of God (*dhāt*) can only be the object of an apophatic theology because it is, absolutely, beyond all understanding, all intelligence, all perception. A forever hidden dimension of God, it is the Unknowable. But if things remained there, no relation, no re-cognition would have been possible between God, entrenched in his unfathomable abscondity, and the creatures abandoned in front of a metaphysical gap. Theology would then only be an agnosticism and faith only a vacancy. But God has another ontological level, that of his Names and Attributes (*asmā' wa ṣifāt*) which, in order to intervene effectively in Being, are manifested in theophanic Organs, Hand, Face, Side, Tongue of

God, as mentioned in the Koran. It is no longer a question here of an unknowable but unknown God who aspires to be known. Now, it is precisely for this reason that, far from any assimilationism making God a man-like existent, these Organs are said to be metaphors of that which manifests in the most vivid way, that which can be revealed in God, namely the Imam in its cosmic sense, the spiritual Perfect Man, the Guide of Light of which Muḥammad and still more often 'Alī are the names, both in the spiritual universe and in the sensible world. This Guidance of Light, the vehicle of the revealed God and called, among other things, the *walāya*, is always present on earth and traverses the ages by incarnating in or manifesting itself to the Allies or Friends of God (*walī*, pl. *awliyā'*), enabling them to know and make known what can be known in God. Imams, or more generally Friends of God, are men and women who, by their existence and actions, concretely prove the existence and intervention of God in the universe. Hence their title "Proof of God" (*ḥujja*, pl. *ḥujaj allāh*). Without them, God is only an abstraction, an object of pure intellectual speculation or theoretical spiritualities.

Hence the presence of 'Alī, lord of the *walāya* and the Imam of Imams, in an infinite number of Shi'i texts, as the locus of manifestation par excellence of divine attributes. He thus constitutes the pivot around which gravitates a theology of theophany that presents itself as an antidote to what Corbin calls "arithmetic monotheism", the religion of an abstract, purely speculative god, whose worship can only be an illusion^{746}. Shi'ism wants to be the religion of a living, concrete God; a God who intervenes effectively in everyday life to bring transformation and salvation for those who seek to know Him. In order to be so close to His followers, this God manifests Himself in His Friend, in the Imam, with His dual divine spiritual (*lāhūt*) and human material (*nāsūt*) dimensions.

Someone asked 'Alī if he could see God whom he was praying to. He replied:

"I would not worship a God whom I would not see (*mā kuntu a'bud rabban lam arahu*)" and then add, "Yet the eyes of the flesh cannot reach Him by their gaze. It is the hearts that see Him through the realities of faith^{747}." It is now known that this Face of God, the one who manifested Himself to Moses, is the Imam, the 'Alī of Light, who is incarnated in

the divine earthly Friend to transform him into a spiritual model and mystical horizon of the faithful.

A disciple said to Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq, "Inform me whether on the Day of Resurrection the faithful initiates (*mu'minūn*) would be able to see God." Ja'far replied, "Yes, but they have already seen Him long before the advent of that Day... when God asked them, 'Am I not your Lord and they answered certainly [Qur'an 7/al-A'rāf:172]'" The disciple reported that his teacher then remained silent for a long time and then said: "The faithful initiates see Him already in this world before the Day of Resurrection. Do you not see Him yourself at this very moment [before you, in my person] (*a lasta tarāhu fī waqtika hādhā*)?" The disciple: "May I serve as your ransom, may I report this teaching under your authority?" Ja'far: "No, because a denier, ignorant of the deep meaning of these words, will use it to accuse us of assimilationism and infidelity; the vision through the heart is not similar to the ocular vision^{748} ."

4. The "personalized comments" message

Is there a secret teaching contained in "personalized commentaries" in general and in the *Durr al-thamīn* attributed to al-Bursī more singularly? Is there a "subliminal message" that the authors of this literary genre would try to insinuate to the faithful?

It is obvious that the characters, positive or negative, directly referred to, or even explicitly cited by the divine Word (according to the supporters of the thesis of falsification) acquire, in the eyes of the faithful, a paradigmatic, emblematic dimension, polarized respectively in a positive or negative way. When God deigns to speak of the members of the Holy Family of the Prophet, of their friends or their adversaries, all these people become the protagonists of a holy History of universal scope: the actors of the cosmic combat between Good and Evil. The historical characters thus rise to the level of symbols marking this battlefield that is History. They repeat and update, as the Qur'an constantly reminds us, the fight that all the prophets and saints of the past had to wage against the injustice and ignorance of their

opponents. However, the letter of the Qur'an (*tanzīl*), at least in its version known to all, does not allow for the full understanding of this fundamental truth. It is the hermeneutics (*ta'wīl*) of the Imam that allows its perception. Forces of Good and Forces of Evil on the one hand, the letter and the spirit of the Book on the other, these two doctrinal conceptions founding the literature of "personalized exegesis" seem to mark the passage towards a capital religious evolution: the first, still elementary, draft of what I have elsewhere called the double vision of the world characteristic of Shi'ism: the dualistic vision and the dual vision, distinct and nevertheless indissociable and complementary^{749} .

At this stage, the first vision seems to boil down to a dualistic conception of humanity. According to this view, the universe is a vast battlefield where, throughout creation, the people of Good and Evil confront each other, in other words, the various Allies of God (*walī*, plural *awliyā'*, i.e. prophets, imams, saints of all times) and their followers on the one hand, and their adversaries and supporters on the other. Adam and Iblīs, Abraham and Nimrod, Moses and Pharaoh, Muḥammad/'Alī and Abū Bakr/'Umar are the protagonists in the long history of this struggle. This dualism develops around a "theory of opposites" (*ḍidd*, pl. *aḍḍād*) illustrated by Basic "pairs" such as imam/enemy of the imam (*'aduww al- imām*), people of the right/people of the left (*aṣḥāb al-yamīn/ aṣḥāb al- shimāl*), guides of light/guides of darkness (*a'immat al-nūr/ a'immat al-ḡalām*) or *walāya/barā'a*, i.e., sacred love towards God's Allies and sacred disassociation towards their enemies^{750} . The opponents of the *walāya*, the dark powers targeted by the *barā'a*, are not necessarily pagans and unbelievers. The Israelites who betrayed Moses by devoting themselves to the worship of the Golden Calf, or the Companions of the Prophet who betrayed him by rejecting 'Alī, the latter's only designated successor, are not non-Israelites or non-Muslims but those who reject the essential message of the religion's founder, what Shi'ism calls the *walāya*, the love and authority of God's Ally as a theophanic being. These ignorant people thus empty religion of its deepest essence and turn it into an instrument of power and violence. Indeed, in the Islamic period, the adversaries, the Enemies (*'aduww*, pl. *a'dā'*), are those who rejected the *walāya* of 'Alī and, subsequently, that of the Imams of his descent. In this case, **t h e y** are almost all the Companions of the Prophet, in

In particular the first three caliphs, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and generally those whom the Shi'ites call "the majority" (*al- akthar*) or "the mass" (*al-'āmma*), i.e., those who will eventually be called "the Sunnis"^{751} ."

This dualistic conception, which is very old in the alid circles, progressively called the Shi'ites, is of course conveyed by the "Personalized commentaries," that of al-Bursī, among others, heir to a long textual tradition whose doctrinal consistency and narrative procedures across the centuries are remarkably consistent. As we have seen, negative sentences and concepts in the Qur'anic text are almost systematically linked to the opponents, real or ideologically assumed, of Muḥammad and 'Alī, just as positive discourses and notions are associated, in almost all cases, with 'Alī, members of his family or his followers.

One of the esoteric layers of this kind of Qur'anic commentary is thus to justify and maintain the dualistic conception of humanity in the minds of the faithful by embedding it in the very fabric of the Holy Book.

However, another layer seems to play exactly the same role with regard to the second conception: the dual conception of the Word of God. According to this conception, Revelation is composed of two levels: the letter, its obvie, literal, exoteric dimension, and the spirit, its hidden, secret, esoteric dimension. The lawgiver prophets, the Envoys (*nabī*, pl. *anbiyā'* or more often *rasūl*, pl. *rusul*), are the bearers of the letter of the divine Word intended for a majority of the faithful, while their imams are the messengers of the spirit of the same Word taught to a minority of initiates. This dialectic, based on the complementary pairs of prophet and imam, *nubuwwa* (status of prophecy) and *walāya* (status of the Divine Covenant, of the imamate), of the letter of revelation and its spiritual hermeneutics (*tanzīl* / *ta'wīl*), lies at the center of a dual vision of Holy Scripture according to which every divine Word has at least two levels: a manifest, exoteric level (*ẓāhir*) which conceals a secret, esoteric level (*bāṭin*), the hidden giving meaning to the apparent. As we have just seen, from the earliest Shi'ite exegetical works, the personalized *Tafsīr-s* - and the work attributed to al-Bursī belongs to this tradition - the essence of the esoteric of the Qur'an lies in the identification of the historical figures to whom the revealed text explicitly or implicitly alludes.

In this respect, another hypothesis could be put forward: it is possible that this dual conception of the divine Word was a consequence of the belief in the falsification and censorship of the Koran. The original, integral text of the Qur'an, containing the names of all the protagonists preserved in the original places of the Revelation, was clear enough not to need commentary. Let us recall the already quoted tradition of Ja'far al-Sādiq: "If the Qur'an could be read as it was revealed, not even two people would have differed about it^{752} ." At this stage, the letter and the spirit were not separated and therefore did not exist as such: the letter was the spirit and the spirit the letter. The clarity of the letter and the brilliance of the spirit constituted the same and unique light, perceptible by all. It is falsification that breaks this unity of the text and makes commentary necessary. The dual conception of Scripture, making the Hadith the commentary of the Koran, would thus be consecutive to the thesis of falsification. It is reasonable to assume that both views - the Qur'an made unintelligible by falsification (probably an older view) and therefore in need of hermeneutics and the intrinsic enigmatic character of the Qur'an organically requiring hermeneutics - were circulating both and to a large extent in Shi'a circles of the ^{third/ninth} century; it is even reasonable to assume that the popularity of these views was a result of their antiquity. However, with the passage of time and the gradual marginalization of the falsification thesis from the Byzantine period onwards, the first view was gradually discarded and became a minority^{753} . It is noteworthy that in this doctrinal context, the figure of 'Alī, emerging in an impressive number of verses, goes beyond the historical figure to symbolize both the figure of the Imam par excellence, sovereignly representing all the guides of all times, and the nature and function of these, namely the Divine Covenant (*walāya*).

We have already seen what organic relationship links Revelation to the figure of the imam who, as a messenger of the spirit, is the language of the Book without which it remains "mute". Without the explanation of the imam, the Holy Scripture remains a closed letter, since it is unintelligible and therefore inapplicable. 'Alī is the symbol of this "master of hermeneutics" (*ṣāhib al-ta'wīl*) that the *walī* / imam is, a conception that is illustrated by countless traditions. Moreover, the first imam of the Shi'ites is also the supreme symbol and personification of the *walāya*, a notion

which, with time, will take on more and more density^{754} . Thus, the Imam is both the subject and the object of hermeneutics, the subject as the master initiator of the hidden meaning of the Word, and the object as the ultimate secret of the Word, i.e., the divine Man.

The two conceptions are thus intimately linked. Scripture has a hidden level. The revelation of this level highlights the struggle between Good and Evil by identifying the antagonistic characters, the Allies of God and their enemies. Thus, a new relationship is established between Quranic exegesis, Hadith, ethics and theology. Here it is useful to recall the obvious. Islam was born and developed in violence, in a multisecular atmosphere of civil wars. The first theological reflections in Islam were therefore born in these conflicts. The endless discussions between Shi'ites, Murji'ites, Qadarites, Mu'tazilites, Jabrites... mainly revolve around such vital questions as: Why do we keep fighting each other? What is at the origin of this violence: divine will or human actions? What is a legitimate authority? Does it originate from God's will or from human choice? In other words: determinism or free will? Who is the just guide or the unjust ruler? Who is a believer and who is an unbeliever? What are the criteria for true faith, apostasy, and unbelief? What are the solutions to these problems^{755} ? Shi'ite doctrinal thought takes shape in the same conflicting situation and its answers to these kinds of questions are based in its perception of the historical events of the beginnings of Islam and its implications: betrayal of the prophet Muḥammad and his message, conspiracy against his successor 'Alī, disfigurement of his religion and falsification of his Book thus rendered elusive in its letter, necessity of hermeneutics as a means of attaining the spirit, thus the intelligibility of the revealed text.

Chapter 9

Icon and contemplation

'Alī, face of God and support of meditation

1. Portable icons

As is the case in any religious culture, Shi'ism has a rich folk art^{756}. The following discussion attempts to show that in addition to its richness, this art sometimes exhibits remarkable complexity in areas that often fall exclusively within the scholarly aspects of the religion.

In the composite panoply of Shi'ite pictorial art, the portable icon (*shamā'il-i jībī* literally "the pocket pious image" in Persian) seems to occupy a special place. It bears the name *shamā'il*, which is also the name of the large wall portraits of saints in so-called 'coffee house' painting or on the painted cloths (literally 'screens' or 'veils', *parda*) of itinerant storytellers of epic and religious tales (*naqqāl, parda dār*)^{757}. The earliest known specimens of portable *shamā'il* are thought to date from the ^{eighteenth} century CE. The object is believed to have originated in Iran or India, where it is more easily found than elsewhere, but it also exists in other regions acquired to Shi'ism^{758}.

The portable *shamā'il* is a devotional object meant to provide blessing and protection to its owner. It is a rectangular wooden board,

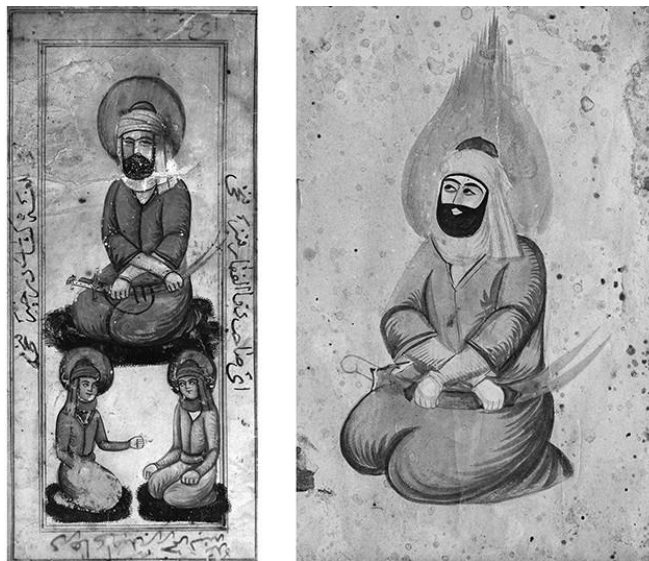
covered with painted papier-mâché, which measures about 15 to 20 centimeters by 10. The object also comes in the form of an altarpiece composed of two or more boards, sometimes concealing a mirror. It always bears the presumed polychrome image (*shamā'il*) of the holy figures of Shi'ism. It is usually that of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib^{759}. All the plates I was given to examine bore the image of 'Alī, most often alone or accompanied by one or more other figures: the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Alī's two sons, I:Jasan and I:Jusayn, his wife Fāṭima, with her face veiled, his servant Qanbar. Sometimes a lion is seen (a manifestation of 'Alī's legendary courage signified by his nicknames *Asad allāh*, lion of God, or *Ffaydar*, lion). The faces of the male figures are often unveiled and clearly painted. Sometimes they are also veiled, thus invisible to the eye^{760}. Very often, 'Alī is seated, his head surrounded by a halo, carrying his sword, the famous Dhu l-faqār^{761}, on his knees.

Figure 1, showing 'Alī and his two sons, and Figure 2, are typical examples of these *shamā'il*. On the first board, the image is surrounded by mystical poems: at the top: *ey shīr-e khodā [...]* ("O lion of God [...]"-i.e. 'Alī-the rest is erased). Below: *dar hā-ye omīd bar rokham baste shodeh* ("The doors of hope have closed before me"). Right: *ey šāḥeb-e dho l-faqār-e* (instead of *dho l-faqār o*) *qanbar fathī* ("O Master of Dhu l-faqār and Qanbar, [grant me] an opening/inspiration"). Left: (the beginning is deleted) [...] *goshā-ye dar-e Khaybar fathī* ("O you who opened the gate of Khaybar - famous battle of 'Alī - [grant me] an opening/inspiration"). This is actually a quatrain attributed to the famous Khurāsānian mystic, Abū Sa'īd Abū l-Khayr (d. 440/1048):

Ey shīr-e khodā amīr-e ḥaydar fathī / Vey ḥalqe goshā-ye dar-e Khaybar fathī
Dar hā-ye omīd bar rokham baste shodeh / Ey šāḥeb-e dho l-faqār o qanbar fathī
(O Lion of God, Prince Lion (nickname of 'Alī) [grant me] an opening/inspiration,
O you who conquered the fortress of Khaybar by opening its gate, [grant me] an opening/inspiration,
The doors of hope closed before me,
O Master of Dhu l-faqār and Qanbar, [grant me] an opening/inspiration)^{762}.

The reading of the poem begins at the top of the board and continues counter-clockwise. Note that

the halo surrounding the heads of the saints on the first plate is circular, whereas it is in the form of a flame on the second^{763} .



To my knowledge, the portable *shamā'il*, a popular devotional object, is unknown to critical studies. Reference works such as *Shi'ism and Late Iranian Arts* by Samuel R. Peterson, *Iconografia dell'Ahl al-bayt: Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo* by Maria Vittoria Fontana, *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch* edited by Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtiyar or *Imageries populaires en Islam* by Pierre and Micheline Centlivres or even monographs like those by Peter Chelkowski or 'Alī Bolūkbāshī ignore it^{764} . Without claiming to fully fill this gap, I will here consider some probable functions of the object in question.

2. "The vision through the heart

In the summer of 1983, in Shiraz, a dervish belonging to the Dhahabiyya Sufi brotherhood presented me with one of these boards, referring to it as a "pocket *shamā'il*." It was the first time I had seen one. The dervish explained to me that it was part of the spiritual objects that certain followers must possess (a set of objects commonly referred to as the *waṣṣla* of the dervishes), and that it served as a support

to a secret contemplative practice called, in his brotherhood, the exercise of *vejhe* (from *wijha* in Arabic, see below). The exercise consists of staring at the image of 'Alī while concentrating on one's own heart and practicing *dhikr-e 'Alī*, i.e. repeating tirelessly the name of 'Alī, which is also one of the Names of God. The goal is to attain the contemplation of the "inner imam," that of the heart of the initiated individual, in the form of light (*imām-e nūrānī* - literally "imam of light," or *nūrāniyyat-e imām*, "the luminous radiance of the imam"). The mystic told me again that this practice is mainly that of the novice dervishes, those who are forbidden to concentrate on the mental image of the face of the living master of the order, because they risk falling into "idolatry" and "master worship," but also because they are unable to visualize without a physical medium "the face of Light" of the imam. These portraits of 'Alī, the Imam par excellence, are given to them to use for a while as a visualization aid until they become able to do without it^{765} .

The revelations of the Shirazi dervish about the *shamā'il* were of great interest to me. The posture of 'Alī holding his sword is striking. He is sitting on his knees with his front arms crossed so that each hand rests on the opposite thigh. This is one of the characteristic attitudes of Sufi *dhikr* practice. After much research, I have not been able to find any written or oral confirmation of this initiatory use of portable *shamā'il*. Other members of the same Dhahabiyya brotherhood that I knew refused to say anything about their *vejhe* practice and possible supports for it.

Several years after this encounter, in the course of my research work in Paris, I came to realize that the exercise of *vejhe* has very distant origins in the spiritual practice of "seeing through the heart" (*al-ru'ya bi l-qalb*). It is a practice whose theological, anthropological, and eschatological content was allusively expounded by such ancient Shi'i hadith-s compilers as al-Saffār al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, or Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq, during the 3rd/9th and 4th/Xth centuries. This prompted me to pursue my research beyond the ancient corpus and to study the extensions of the

The research is based on the concept of "vision through the heart" in Shi'ite mysticism, more specifically in the literature of the Imamite Sufi brotherhoods in the modern and contemporary periods. The results of this research are now published

in several works that may be useful to consult to better understand what follows^{766} .

In many of the passages on the practice of "seeing through the heart" in the dhahabi works I consulted, I found no explicit mention of the *vejhe* exercise or the portable *shamā'il* as a medium for contemplation. However, two findings from the 2000s allowed me to link my work on doctrinal texts to the revelations of the Shiraz dervish.

First, thanks to the kindness of some old Dhahabi acquaintances, I was given an internal document of the brotherhood entitled precisely "What is the *vejhe*?" The copy offered to me covers pages 150-160 of what appears to be a manual of Dhahabi practices and beliefs, apparently written by the penultimate master of the Dhahabiyya Aḥmadiyya, Dr. Ganjaviyān, or perhaps written under his dictation.

The second find is a set of fourteen portable *shamā'il* acquired at a market in Tehran by my Iranian colleague at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Madame Ziva Vesel, who kindly allowed me to study them in the early 2000s^{767} . The reader is already familiar with two of the *shamā'il* in this set (fig. 1 and 2). A third piece in this set seems to me to contain elements that are particularly significant for the problematic of *vejhe* practice. They corroborate, it seems to me, the statements of the Iranian dervish.

By way of introduction, I would like to return briefly to the Shi'ite contemplative practice of "seeing through the heart" and the role of 'Alī as an object of contemplation, which have been analyzed in previous works^{768} .

The couple *ẓāhir/bāṭin* (manifest/hidden or exoteric/esoteric), omnipresent in Shi'ism, is naturally at work in theology as well^{769} . God Himself possesses two ontological levels: that of Essence (*dhāt*) which constitutes His hidden, unmanifest level, His unknowable Face, and that of Names and Attributes (*asmā' wa ṣifāt*) which corresponds to the revealed Face of God. This last level is manifested through its locus of theophany (*mazhar, majlā*) par excellence, i.e., the Imam in its cosmic and metaphysical sense^{770} . With regard to the question of vision, The Unfathomable Essence of God can in no way be an object of vision. On the other hand, the Names of God, revealed through

the Imam, can be perceived, not by the physical eye, but through the discovery of the Light of the Imam "in" or "through" the heart (these are the two meanings of the preposition *bi* in the expression *al-ru'ya bi l-qalb*)^{771}. In this secret spiritual practice, making the worshipper who is initiated into it "the worshipper whose heart has been tested by God for faith" (*al-mu'min qad imtaḥana llāhu qalbahu li l-īmān*), the vision of the luminous Face of the Imam in the heart is equivalent to the contemplation of God's revealed face. Now, everywhere in Shi'ite esoteric literature, 'Alī is presented as the vehicle par excellence of the cosmic Imam, the highest place of God's manifestation^{772}. With such a mystical Imamology, it is natural that 'Alī plays the central role in contemplative practices. In this regard, it suffices to cite two hadith-s that are constantly mentioned in mystical works when they address the issue of seeing God through the vision of the Imam. First, there is this tradition attributed to the Prophet, reported by the authoritative compilations of hadith-s: "Looking at the face of 'Alī is a cultic act of worship; remembering him is a cultic act of worship" (*al-naẓar ilā wajh 'Alī 'ibāda wa dhikruhu 'ibāda*)^{773}. Then there is this saying that goes back to 'Alī himself and appears only in the body of properly mystical writings "To know me as light is to know God and to know God is to know me as light. He who knows me as light is a faithful believer whose heart God has tested for faith" (*ma'rifātī bi l-nūrāniyya ma'rifatu llāh wa ma'rifatu llāh ma'rifātī bi l-nūrāniyya man 'arafanī bi l-nūrāniyya kāna mu'minan imtaḥana llāhu qalbahu li l-īmān*)^{774}. The light "seen" in or through the heart is thus identified with the face of 'Alī, theophanic being par excellence. These initiatory data on the role of looking at a sacred figure, based on a complex and subtle theology of the Imam, have also reached the religiosity "popular". As examples, there are several Qajar-era portraits of 'Alī, sometimes accompanied by his two sons, which can be found in the museum of the mausoleum of the holy Ma'sūma in Qumm, or in the museum of Imam 'Alī in Tehran, where there are Persian inscriptions of this kind, presented as sayings of the first Imam: "Whoever looks at and kisses my portrait (*shamā'il*), every day after the dawn prayer, it is as if he performs the pilgrimage to Mecca sixty times" or "Whoever constantly looks at my portrait will remain free from evils of all kinds and whoever doubts it is a disbeliever".

3. "What is *vejhe*?"

Commented translation of the anonymous dhahabi treatise (the notes and texts in square brackets were written by me; the digressions, having little or no connection with our subject as well as the eulogistic formulas were removed) :

Salvation on the Face of God who brings peace and security to the one who adds faith to it^{775} [in Arabic followed by a free translation into Persian. The text continues in Persian]. There is no doubt that the ultimate Prophet as well as each of the other Impeccables [i.e. Fāṭima and the twelve Imams] are all the noblest Face of God as well as His most shining proof, His hand of power, His all-seeing eye and His all-hearing ear. With all that has been written before, based on the book of the *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*^{776} and other reliable sources, what has just been said needs no further proof. However, in order to draw blessings from it, a tradition will be quoted; it is from the book of the *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* of Shaykh Sadūq [Ibn Bābūya, d. 381/991], one of the surest sources of Hadith [see below]. Then, concerning the meaning of *vejhe*^{777} (one of the most difficult questions about the initiatory path and mystical knowledge) a saying of Imam [Alī] Commander of the Believers, constituting a decisive proof, will be reported. And now, the hadith reported by Shaykh Sadūq in the *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, about the nature of the Master of the *walāya* [i.e. 'Alī]^{778} and that he is the Face of God: [follows the Arabic text of the hadith and its Persian translation. The beginning of the long chain of transmitters that does not concern our purpose is omitted] 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā [the eighth imam] reports from his father Mūsā b. Ja'far [the seventh Imam...the chain goes up the line of Imams] [...] who reports from his father 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, from the Prophet, from the angels Gabriel, Michael, Seraphim who reports from God who declares, "I am God. There is no god but Me. I have created the creatures by my power. I have chosen my envoys from among them and from among them I have chosen Muḥammad as my friend, intimate confidant and chosen one, charging him with mission as envoy to my creatures. And I elected 'Alī to [complete the mission of] Muḥammad, I elected him as his brother, his legatee, his lieutenant, the messenger of his work after him. I have elected 'Alī as my vicar to my servants that he may make clear for them my Book, that he may judge among them according to my justice. I have established 'Alī as the knowledge that guides one out of error, as my threshold, as my dwelling place where he who enters it is saved from my fire, as my fortress where I protect him who takes refuge in it from every evil thing of this world and the next. I have made 'Alī my face; I will never turn my face away from him who directs his to 'Alī. I have made 'Alī my proof in the heavens and on earth for the totality of my creatures so that I do not accept anything of their deeds if they do not add faith to the *walāya* of 'Alī along with the prophetic mission of Muḥammad, my Messenger. 'Alī is my hand extended over my servants; he is the blessing I bestow upon those I love. Those servants whom I love and have taken under my benevolence, I bestow upon them the *walāya* and knowledge of 'Alī while those who suffer my wrath, suffer it because of the fact that they have ignored 'Alī, his *walāya* and knowledge. I swear by my glory and greatness that he who loves 'Alī will be protected from the Fire and I will bring him into my Garden, that he who turns away from the love of 'Alī will know my wrath and I will cast him into the Fire, what an ugly destiny^{779}!"

[Text continues in Persian] In the Qur'anic commentary *Burhān*, in glossing verse 88 of Surah 28 "Everything is perishable except its face," it is reported from Imam Sādiq [the sixth Imam]: "We, the people of the

Family of the Prophet, we are that imperishable face^{780}. The main reason for quoting such traditions is to show that the Infallible Proof [i.e. the Imam or more generally the Impeccables, i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima and the Imams] is the eternal face of God. Whoever wants to go towards God must go towards this face.

The people of mystical gnosis have called *vejhe* the fact of moving towards the divine face^{781}. What does this mean? By saying that the imam is the divine face, do we mean his face and physical appearance? As mentioned earlier, one of the most difficult theological and philosophical notions in the words of the initiates and sages is the cultic practice of *vejhe* and the contemplation of the presence of the worshipped being through this practice. Technically, it is also called meditation (*tafakkur*) or mental form [or "face," "face"] (*ṣūrat i fikriyya*), as chanted by Mawlavī [Jalāl al-Dīn Balkhī Rūmī, d. 672/1273]. The verse comes from his *Mathnavī*; it is a variant of verse n° 3207,

"History of the Bedouin and the Philosopher", Daftar 2]^{782} :

Through the practice of *dhikr* [rhythmic repetition of a sacred word], a way is opened
Through the practice of *fikr* [meditation], the form of the king appears
(*dhekr ān bāshad ke bogshāyad rahī / fekr ān bāshad ke pīsh āyad shahī*).

Or Shaykh Shabistarī [Sa'd al-Dīn Maḥmūd, d. 720/1320]. The verse comes from his *Golshan-e rāz*, Answer to the First Question, verse 2]^{783} :

Meditation is to go from the illusory to the real,
It is to see the absolute universal in the particular
(*tafakkor raftan az bāṭel sū-ye ḥaq / be jozv andar bedīdan koll-e moṭlaq*).

The understanding of this matter is made difficult by the fact that the people of God have only spoken about it symbolically, as in the verses quoted above. The reason for this is that the vast majority of people are unable to go beyond the limits of the sense organs and their understanding is tainted. However, these divine matters go far beyond not only the senses, but also the reason. That is why subtleties like the *vejhe* can only be spoken of by allusion. In order to demonstrate the truth of the fact that the worship of the people of knowledge and perfection is only possible through the *vejhe*, let it suffice to report a

About the treasurer of the secrets of Revelation after Muḥammad, the Master of the *walāya*, ['Alī] the Commander of the believers. Thus, we will not need any reasoned argument.

In the book *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, Shaykh Mufīd [d.413/1022] reports from al-Aṣḥab b. Nubāta [famous disciple of 'Alī], mentioning his chain of transmitters:

[...] From the pulpit of the mosque of Kūfa, 'Alī addressed the people thus: 'Question me before you lose me! This is the abode of knowledge. I have in my mouth the saliva of the Prophet; question me for I hold the knowledge of origins and ends.^{784}' At that moment, a man named Dhi'lib, who was known for his eloquence, knowledge and courage, stood up and said, [...]

"Commander of the believers! Have you seen your Lord?" 'Alī replied, "Beware Dhi'lib! I would not worship a Lord whom I have not seen. "He said, "Then describe Him. "Woe to you! The eyes cannot reach Him by looking; it is the hearts that see Him by the realities of faith^{785}."

The purpose of quoting this excerpt from the sermon [of 'Alī] from the *Ikhtiṣāṣ* is to demonstrate that, according to the saying of the Commander of the Believers, seeing God is possible through vision through the heart. He who has attained the "realities of faith" can see Him and he knows the modalities of this vision. So, the beginner in the affairs of faith has no right to deny this and he must know that the veils of unjustified denial are among the thickest and darkest between God and creatures. Let him also know that believing in the reality of this vision is a necessary condition for the perfection of his faith... Let him pass through the obstacles that veil God from him by spiritual journey and asceticism, under the guidance of the divine instructors who have themselves passed through these veils, as the Master Rāz [Abū l- Qāsim Sharīfī Shīrāzī, one of the great masters of the Dhahabiyya order, so aptly said, m. 1286/1869] :

Because of his love, I have reached a point/ where I see nothing but the eternal Witness
The universes and everything in them faded away/ when I reached the eternal Face of God In
those spaces of immensity beyond space/ I flew, without wings, for thousands of years And I
saw only the Face of the Real/ All that I say and hear is because of Him.

From all that has just been written, we can draw the following conclusions:

a - The infallible Imam is the Face of God.

b - Through the Imam, the vision of the divine beauty is possible, not with the eyes of the flesh but through the eye of the heart and through the realities of faith. Since the Imam himself is the totality of the realities of faith, he constitutes the direction of prayer in the heart in the act of worship of God^{786} . He

However, it is not about his physical body; it is about fading away into his *walāya* to be reborn there eternally in order to have his holy vision through the heart and to be able to declare: 'I would not worship a Lord whom I would not see' [follows a long section devoted to the fact that the vision of the Impeccables can only be true since no evil creature, in this case Satan, has the power to take their forms]" (end of quotation from the treatise Dhahabī).

4. Analysis of a planchette from the Vesel collection

This is the *shamā'il* depicted in figure 3^{787}. 'Alī, with his head surrounded by a circular halo, is seated on his knees with his forearms crossed holding the Dhu l-faqār on his thighs. We have seen that this position resembles one of the characteristic positions of Sufi *dhikr* practice. Indeed, *dhikr* formulas surround the portrait on the planchette. At the top we read the formula *yā 'Alī*. Then from top to bottom and from right to left: *yā Bāqī* (erased beginning), *yā Qayyūm* (erased end), *yā Dayyān*, *yā Burhān*, *yā Ghufrān*, *yā Subhān*, *yā Samī'* (erased beginning), *yā Baṣīr* (erased end)^{788}. Finally, two distichs, whose hemistiches are clearly isolated, are written horizontally at the top and bottom, and vertically on the left and right, top to bottom and bottom to top. Their symbolic allusions now seem to be decoded in the light of the ancient texts and our treatise on the practice of *vejhe*.



First verse:

As long as the love of 'Alī is reflected in the mirror of the heart
 We can say that my heart is the place of manifestation of divine graces
 (*tā dar āyīne-ye del mehr-e 'Alī jelve namāst / mītavān goft delam maẓhar-e alḡāf-e khodāst*).

Second line:

The Lion of God ['Alī] came to be,
 Thus was revealed every hidden secret
 (*asadallāh dar vojūd āmad / dar pas-e parde har ʕe būd āmad*).

The position of 'Alī, the *dhikr* formulas, the poems chanting the theophanic secrets of 'Alī, and the beatific vision of his love reflected as light in the heart, all establish close connections between our *shamā'il* and the practice of heart vision in general and the exercise of *vejhe* in particular. This cluster of concordant data seems to support well the Shiraz dervish's claims about the portable *shamā'il* as a medium of mystical contemplation.

A painting executed on the papier-mâché case of a small mirror preserved in the Historical Museum of Bern depicts a *shamā'il* of 'Alī which, in this respect, compares very well with our piece. Indeed, on the margins of the portrait of 'Alī, surrounded by his two sons, his companions and angels, several verses are traced in beautiful calligraphy. Here are the first three:

This is the portrait of the Lion of Truth, the Friend of
God, or is it the mirror reflecting God?

(*ṣūrat-e shīr -e ḥaq valī-ye khodāst / yā ke ā'īne-ye khodāy namāst?*)

When wisdom perceived the image of 'Alī's face,
She says that it is the mirror of God's beauty.

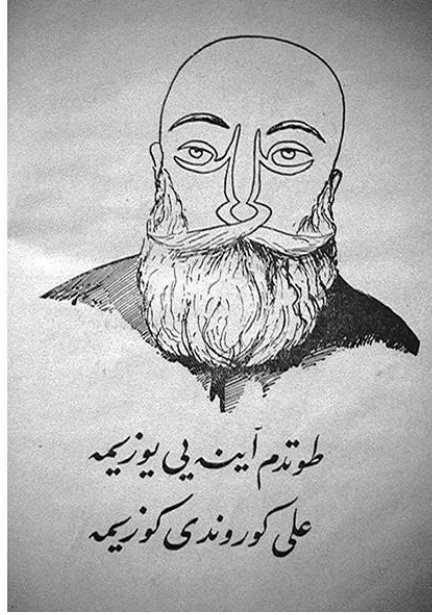
(*dīd čon 'aql naqsh-e rūy-e 'Alī/ goft ā'īne-ye jamāl-e khodāst*)

The place of manifestation of the Divine Light is the beauty of 'Alī, in it
appears the secret of God's creation.

(*mazhar-e nūr-e ḥaq jamāl-e 'alī-st / va ndarū serr-e ṣon'-e ḥaq peydāst*)^{789}.

The fact that the initiatory use of the *shamā'il*, particularly that of 'Alī, extends beyond the Dhahabiyya Order further supports this hypothesis. Indeed, it is also part of the *waṣla* (on this term see above, beginning of Part 2) of the Khāksār dervishes and perhaps those of the Ni'matullāhiyya order as well^{790}. Among the Baktāshiyya, heirs to the doctrines of the I:Jurūfiyya on the sacredness of the human face and its theophanic character, the portrait as well as the calligraphic name of 'Alī constitute powerful media for meditation and contemplation^{791}. The form of God is inscribed on the face of the baktāshi man through the name of 'Alī: the '*ayn* is figured by the brow bone, the *lām* is formed by the line of the nose, and the *yā'* by the curve of the mustache. Thus, on both sides of the virtual vertical median line of the face, two 'Alī "mirrors" cover the face. In this way, it could be said that an identity is iconographically established between the self of the initiated individual (represented by his own face), 'Alī and God^{792}. This spiritual doctrine is abundantly attested. These famous lines of the baktāshi poet I:Jilmī Dede Bābā (d. 1907) clearly illustrate it:

I held a mirror in front of my face / 'Alī appeared to my eyes I
looked at myself / 'Alī appeared to my face (*tutdum aynayi yüzüme*
/ *Ali göründü gözüme*
nazar eyledim özüme / Ali göründü gözüme)^{793}.



In this context, the fact that some portable *shamā'il-s* also contain a mirror is worth noting. In some of the objects collected by Madame Vesel, the surface bearing the portrait of 'Alī slides out like a drawer to reveal a mirror. Thus, the person contemplating the planchette can quickly switch from the image of 'Alī to the reflection of his own face and back again.

5. Contemplation of icons: between interpretations and applications

The theoretical doctrines that support the practice of "seeing through the heart," that is, as we have seen, the contemplation of the luminous spiritual form of the imam at the level of the heart, appear to be interpretations of two distinct sets of traditions. First, in the ancient Hadith corpus, an interpretive adoption-adaptation of the Aristotelian theory of visual perception, learned no doubt through some elementary translated summaries, according to which vision is only possible when the subject and object of vision are of the same nature. According to a tradition attributed to the tenth Imam 'Alī al-Hādī: "Visibility (literally "vision" *al-ru'ya*) is only possible when there is air

transparent between the seeing subject and the seen object. Without this air and without a light between the subject and the object, there can be no visibility. Now, the existence of common factors of the act between the subject and the object entails the similarity of nature between them both^{794}. In accordance with this theory, the consubstantiality between the "spiritual body" of the imam and the heart of the initiated worshipper, thus allowing vision between them, is underlined by a whole series of cosmo-anthropogonic hadiths on the creation of the bodies, hearts and minds of men. Indeed, according to these traditions, the pre-existential body of the imam as well as the heart (seat of the spirit) of his follower are created from the same "raw material" of the celestial substance called 'Illiyīn^{795}. This identity of nature allows the "eye of the heart" of the worshipper to have the vision of the "body of light" of the imam. Finally, the practice of contemplation through *shamā'il*, as just discussed, can be seen as a practical interpretation and instrumental application of these theoretical doctrines.

While it is true that the term "icon" is used with a precise technical meaning in Christianity in general and in Orthodox Christianity in particular, it is permissible to apply it to the portable *shamā'il* subject to granting it the more general meaning of the sacred art object as proposed by Plotinus, a definition which is the basis of that of the Christian icon^{796}. This definition finds its foundation in the gaze of the seer rather than in the form of the object seen^{797}. In the *Enneads*, for example, Plotinus speaks of the gaze that is not that of "the eyes of the body", but that which is mysteriously performed by "the inner eye"^{798}. This exercise of concentration transforms the subject looking: "[In order for the sacred object of art to fulfill its role] the seeing eye must make itself like the object seen, in order to apply itself to contemplating it. An eye would never see the sun without becoming like the sun, nor would a soul see the beautiful without being beautiful. Moreover, an inscription of an Eastern church of the Xth century on the subject of the icon seems even more relevant for our subject: "Small is the image which you have under the eyes; immense is the one who carries in himself the image of the Infinite. Worship the prototype of which you have here only the image"^{799}. This iconic function of the *shamā'il* is also evident in another planchette acquired by Madame Vesel. Executed in India, the portrait of 'Alī is here surrounded by a kind of Mandala, a medium of meditation and contemplation in several Indian religions (fig. 5)^{800}.



The portable icon, the "pocket *shamā'il*," as our dervish puts it, would thus constitute a powerful link between Shi'ite pictorial art and the mysticism of the brotherhoods or between popular beliefs and Sufi tendencies. It is not the only one. Other characteristic connections can be pointed out: The screens where scenes from the holy history of Shi'ism are painted are called, throughout Iran and Afghanistan, "dervish screens" (*parda-ye darvīshī*), and the stories told in front of these screens by the storytellers are said, especially in Khorassan, "dervish tales" or even "truthful tales" (*ḥikāyāt-e darvīshī / ḥikāyāt-e ḥaqīqī*)^{801}. Many of these itinerant storytellers are known to have belonged and still belong to the Khāksāriyya brotherhood^{802}. Popular expressions in Iran concerning 'Alī apparently all come from circles belonging to Sufism or circles connected with the "chivalric" *futuwwa* movement: "May the hand of 'Alī protect you" (*dast-e 'Alī negahdārat*), "May the shadow of Morteḍā 'Alī be upon your head" (*sāye-ye Murtaḍā 'Alī bar sarat*), "May 'Alī be your support and protector" (*'Alī posht o panāhat*), "O 'Alī, help" (*yā 'Alī madad*), "'Alī the king of men, the man of the battlefield" (*'Alī shāh-e mardān, mard-e meydān*), etc^{803}. At the same time, the spiritual practice of the icon of Shi'a saints, and singularly that of 'Alī, shows in perhaps the most significant way how porous the boundaries can be between scholarly and popular religion, between ancient doctrines and living beliefs and practices. Here again, as

In many other cases, the combination of art and mysticism is the strongest bridge between the two shores.

Epilogue

"People! I am the Christ; I who heal the blind and the lepers...I am the Christ and he is me...Jesus son of Mary is part of me and I am part of him; he who is the greatest Word of God."

"...I am The First; I am The Last. I am The Hidden One; I am The Manifest. I am the Giver; I am the Taker. I am the Resurrector of the dead... I am He who spoke by the mouth of Jesus... I am the Savior of this age. I am the Christ. I am the Second Christ. I am the Jesus of this time... I am the Compassionate One; I am the Merciful One. I am the Elevated One; I am the Most Elevated..."

In such proclamations, 'Alī identifies himself with Jesus as "This is a Christological and eschatological expression referring to the parousia of Jesus at the end of time as Savior. Thus, 'Alī is presented as the Messiah, the divine man par excellence in biblical spirituality, possessing a dual human and divine nature, a man of the pulpit sharing the attributes of God. These sermons attributed to 'Alī (presented and analyzed above in chapters 2 and 4) have been reported by innumerable Shi'i sources, the earliest of which date from the ^{third} and ^{fourth/ninth} and ^{tenth} centuries. However, they are likely to be very

One wonders what interest the faithful would have had in forging these words and putting them in the mouth of their first Imam, to present him as the divine man par excellence and the Savior of the End of the World, since the world has not ended and he died long ago, assassinated, sadly failing in his governmental projects. This forgery would have completely discredited their first Master. Precisely, as we have seen, after the assassination of 'Alī (which some of his followers did not accept, applying the so-called Docetist Christian doctrine to his case), after the apocalyptic threats contained in the message of Muḥammad, with the civil wars and at the same time the conquests and the formation of the empire, the Shi'ites, while contesting whole sections of the official history rewritten by the caliphal powers, inflected a number of their beliefs in 'Alī. From his messianic status, he lost the apocalyptic dimension but kept his dual nature, the interface between the divine and the human, attributes which were also recognized in the Imams of his descendants^{804}. Thus, the divine Guide, Master of the *walāya*, Covenant and Divine Friendship, becomes the place of manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God, the "Organ" of God to realize His will on earth, the wise initiator since the living Word of God. It is indeed, thanks to the Imam, the Divine Master, that God continues to communicate to humans, thanks to him that prophecy continues, that the sky does not become mute for the creatures.

"We are the CEil of God," the Imams keep repeating, "we are the Hand of God, we are the Face of God, we are His Side, His Heart, His Tongue, His Ear." The *Imams/walī* in general and 'Alī in particular are referred to by such appellations as "the Proof of God," "the Vicar of God," "the Path of God," "the Threshold of God," or described by such expressions as "the Supreme Sign" (*al-āyat al-kubrā*, Qur'an 79: 20), "the Auguste Symbol" (*al-mathal al-a'lā*, Qur'an 16: 60), "the Most Solid Handle" (*al-'urwa al-wuthqā*, Qur'an 2: 256 or 31: 22) (see above chapter 4). It is in this register that 'Alī is said to have declared: "God has no Greater Announcement than I, nor Greater Sign than I^{805} "; or "God has allowed me to have the vision of His Kingdom; so nothing has been hidden from me in what has happened before me and what will happen after me^{806} ". The purpose of creation is the knowledge of the Creator by the creatures; the Imam, being

theophanic par excellence and "Supreme Symbol" of what can be known in God, is therefore the reason and purpose of creation. "He who knows us knows God and he who does not know us does not know God,

"Without God, we would not be known and without us, God would not be known. The Guide, in his human function as a "speaking Koran", is the holder and transmitter of an initiatory knowledge whose ultimate content is himself in his theophanic reality, his divine nature. At the same time, the theophanic imam is internalized, in the form of a "guide of light" (*imām nūrānī, nūrāniyyat al-imām*), present in the heart of his devotee, who, through spiritual and ascetic practices, can have the vision of it within himself and thus reach, "organically," his personal Lord:

"He who knows himself knows his Lord" (above, chap. 9).

These doctrines were expounded in the immense corpus of Hadith during what might be called the classical age of Imamite sources, in the ^{third/ninth} and ^{fourth/tenth} centuries, and repeated in the great compilations of Iranian authors of the Safavid and Qajar periods, between the ^{tenth/sixteenth} and ^{thirteenth/nineteenth} centuries^{807}. In the meantime, the divine figure of 'Alī was never forgotten. It was conveyed more or less discreetly in the main currents of Shi'ism, such as Imamism or Ismailism, and openly in the sources from the so-called "extremist" currents (such as the Nuṣayris and the Druze)^{808}. As Orkhan Mir-Kasimov clearly shows in his text in the appendix of this book, this figure of 'Alī undergoes considerable development in the mystical and messianic circles (not always Shi'ites) that were the basis of great empires before and after the Mongol invasion. They thus gave birth once again to the "religion of 'Alī" (*dīn 'Alī*), especially in the Muslim East, in both literate and popular circles. The phenomenon, of remarkable scope in time and space, is illustrated, by way of example, by poetry, especially in Persian, the vehicle par excellence of mystical spirituality, from the Ottoman Balkans to Mughal India, passing through Iran proper or Central Asia. This can be read in these verses by Faḍlallāh Astarābādī (796/1394), founder of the influential I:Jurūfiyya movement:

"What is described in the verse 'Say, He is God' is 'Alī/The King of kings in the universe of knowledge is 'Alī.

This universal point from which particular beings have arisen/ By God it is that 'Alī, thanks to God it is 'Alī^{809}."

But it can just as easily be read in the devotional songs of the minstrels of Central Asia today:

"One night I saw in a sweet dream the beauty of the Song of (the heavenly spring of) Kawthar / 'Alī son of Abī Tālib, the Prince of Initiates, the Lion.

He presented me with a book containing the Names of God/ I opened it and saw the name of the King of men ('Alī) at the beginning of the book^{810}."

Or:

"That grandiose King who, during the night of the heavenly ascension/ Was united with Aḥmad the mighty (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) was 'Alī.

This is not infidelity, the speech of infidelity is by no means that/ Since 'Alī is as long as the Being is; 'Alī has been since the Being was^{811}".

One can also speak of the central presence of 'Alī in the iconography and theology of the Bektashis or the songs of the Sunni Qawwālī Sufis of Pakistan, which always begin with a devotional piece dedicated to the divine nature of 'Alī, and thus multiply the examples. It is true, however, that few people even among scholars are aware of this phenomenon. Shi'ism is a "discreet religion" and 'Alī is its well-kept Secret, but also, beyond the religion of the Imams, 'Alī is the mystery of whole sections of spiritual Islam.

Why 'Alī and not another person from the Prophet's entourage? In recent decades, critical research into the origins of Islam and the Qur'an, as well as the gradual integration of early Shi'ism studies into it, has made remarkable progress in our knowledge of these issues^{812}. We may be able to find promising avenues of investigation into the figure of 'Alī by being aided by these advances. Conversely, the study of various elements of the figure of 'Alī in ancient sources may help to better understand the origins of Islam, which are still enigmatic in many respects.

The studies mentioned above have undergone two decisive turning points in the last fifty years. First, in the 1970s, with the work of Günter Lüling, in Erlangen, Germany, and of John Wansbrough, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, in Oxford and Cambridge, England^{813}. Then, around the year 2000, research on the Qur'an such as that of Christoph Luxenberg in Germany, which was very controversial, or the numerous writings of the Frenchman Alfred-Louis de Prémare on the period of interest to us, were in a way completed by the

contributions of "material history", for example by the archaeological work and related articles of Christian Robin and the epigraphic ones of Frédéric Imbert^{814} . These studies, and others like them, have caused a great deal of ink to flow and have given rise to criticism that is sometimes justified, including, for some, from their own authors who, showing great intellectual honesty, have recognized their insufficiencies or approximations. But they seem to have introduced, in a lasting, even definitive way, new epistemological and methodological criteria in the research on the origins of Islam and the Koran. These criteria are *roughly* of two kinds: first, as far as the origins of Islam and the Qur'an are concerned, let us repeat, the Islamic sources, notably proto-Sunnite and Sunni, are absolutely not credible. They are full of contradictions, implausibilities, historical falsifications, legends of all kinds and origins. The integration of studies on Shi'ite sources shows that civil wars between the faithful, the Arab conquests and the birth of the empire as well as the will to make people forget the apocalyptic dimension of Muḥammad's messages were for many^{815} . We will come back to this. Then, in order to study these issues, it is essential to integrate the critical study of non-Muslim sources ideally contemporary with or immediately subsequent to the advent of Muḥammad, i.e., Jewish sources in Hebrew or Aramaic, Christian sources in Greek, Ethiopian, Armenian, and especially Syriac, Zoroastrian sources in Pehlevi, etc.^{816} . This does not mean, of course, that the Shi'ite or non-Muslim writings tell the historical reality, far from it. They are often as biased as proto-Sunnite and Sunni literature. But they can bring complements, counterpoints and renewals of perspectives which often prove to be particularly fruitful.

These turning points and their rich and varied contributions have provoked a veritable explosion in the number of scientific studies on early Islam over the last twenty years. They have also encouraged the formation of research teams in which specialists in Arabic and Islamic studies, of course, but also in Christian, Jewish, and Manichean studies of this period, experts in biblical languages and other languages of this region in late antiquity, archaeologists, paleographers, codicologists, epigraphists, and even historians of astronomy or geology, etc., collaborate together.

Among the many results of this intellectual and academic ferment, those that interest us here are the following two: contrary to what Muslim apologetics claims through countless sources, pre-Islamic Arabia was not a land of ignorance, paganism and barbarism. Arabia was not an island lost in the middle of an ocean, but an immense region situated between the greatest centers of civilization and monotheistic religions, between Byzantium and Yemen, between Iran and Abyssinia. The Arabs, traders and caravanners since the dawn of time, circulated between these lands and countries, transporting goods of all kinds but also men, books, ideas and beliefs. The Arabia of the cities, those of sedentary tribes (and not the Arabia of the desert Bedouins), notably that of the cities of Mecca, Medina and Tā'if, in other words the Arabia of Muḥammad, has belonged, for centuries, to the biblical monotheisms (Jews, Christians, Judeo-Christians, Manicheans). Apart from the discoveries, as decisive as they are convincing, of archaeology and epigraphy, the absolute proof of this is the Qur'anic text itself, where biblical and parabiblical terminologies and data adapted to the Arab culture are found by the thousands, almost on every page^{817} .

Another finding that is becoming more and more consistent in the most recent philological and historical research on the Qur'an is the importance, in Muḥammad's entourage, of Syriac-speaking Christianities (which of the various and numerous currents of so-called Eastern Christianity?) and/or of what is loosely referred to as "Judeo-Christianity" (roughly the religion of Jews who have retained their beliefs and practices but who accept Jesus as the Christ). In contrast to the majority of scholars in the 19th^e and almost all through the 20th century who believed in the massive influence of Judaism, the last decades have been marked by increasingly fine studies showing Syriac-speaking Christianity(s) (where many Jewish elements may also be present) as having a much heavier weight^{818} .

Thus, based on some of the research findings of the last few decades, supplemented by data from critical investigations of early Shi'ism, it is possible to draw up, as a working hypothesis and possible avenue for future research, the following overall landscape of

The advent of Muḥammad and its religious and historical implications until the end of the first century of the Hegira.

On the borders of the ^{sixth} and ^{seventh} centuries CE, in vast lands stretching from Byzantium and Iran to Yemen and Abyssinia, in a world immersed in apocalyptic and messianic expectations, Muḥammad would have come to announce the imminent end of the world, to call his people to repentance, to practice goodness and piety in order to avoid the approaching wrath of God. His first followers were most likely called "believers" (*mu'minūn*), among whom would have been Jews and Christians to whom no conversion would have been required^{819}. They were probably pious men and women, engaged in spiritual and ascetic practices and above all peaceful non-militants calling their fellow men to the remembrance of God, to mutual aid and charity before the coming of the ultimate Judgment. A second group of followers, who came to Muḥammad later and perhaps called "emigrants" (*muhājirūn*) (and "submissive," *muslimūn*?), would have opportunistically joined him after his military victories ("the hypocrites" of whom the Qur'an speaks?). They would have been militant, advocating the martial preparation of the land for the *eschaton*, proponents of conquests and in search of booty; for them, unlike the first group, holy war in the Way of God would have been superior to any other religious practice. Relations between the two groups were far from being fraternal and peaceful^{820}. Is this division, masterfully highlighted by Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, superimposable with on the one hand the Banū Hāshim, Muḥammad's immediate family (including 'Alī of course) and dealing with religious affairs from the ante-Islamic period, and on the other hand the Banū 'Abd Shams, including the great Umayyad family, who had responsibility for the economic affairs and security of the great Quraysh tribe. The constant conflicts and tensions between the two groups, long before and long after Muḥammad, were known to all^{821}.

Proclaiming the imminent end of time, belonging to a biblical culture, Muḥammad announced the advent of the Messiah, most likely in the person of Jesus. Now, for a certain number of his followers, certainly among those of the first group, 'Alī would have been a new manifestation of Jesus, the "Second Christ" and Savior of the end of the world (above chap.2)^{822}. For them, the divine figure of 'Alī as Messiah constituted the center of gravity of the Message of Muḥammad, who was merely the harbinger of the advent of their holy hero. These assumptions

seem to provide an explanation for two remarkable singularities of 'Alī. First, his name, which, as we have seen (above chap. 2), is certainly a nickname, since no one else in his time bore it. This is also the case with other "names," first of all that of Muḥammad himself or that of 'Umar. But among these unique 'names', that of 'Alī is the only one that is also a divine name, the Exalted, the Most High^{823}. Secondly, 'Alī is the only person in Muḥammad's entourage to whose name is associated the term "religion": *dīn 'Alī*. Would this be the religion of those who saw in 'Alī not only the most convinced follower and the most intimate friend of their prophet but also the Savior and the Guide to the Last Ends announced by the latter (above chapter 3)?

Years passed and the End of the World did not come. Muḥammad seems to have abandoned the idea of the imminence of the Last Judgment and introduced inflections into his message. The evolution is in any case noticeable in the Qur'an. He could well have been thinking of managing the long-term affairs of his family and his followers and imagining his succession. This could only be done, it seems, by 'Alī, the father of his only male descendant, but also his most faithful friend and perhaps his Messiah^{824}. The first group of followers was apparently the undisputed candidate, known for his religious qualities, while the second group found the assumption of power by 'Alī unbearable. And for good reason. He had always shown his bravery by often leading the Prophet's battles to win his ideas. In particular, he had distinguished himself, it seems, in the battle of Badr by killing a good number of Muḥammad's opponents belonging to the Quraysh, i.e. a tribal coalition of which the Umayyads would have been the most powerful element. The latter will never forget it.

Muḥammad died under mysterious circumstances. After the civil violence that marked the conflict concerning his succession, the influential men of Quraysh, probably those of the second group, militants and conquerors, took the lead of his followers. During the reign of the first three caliphs, civil wars intensified and, at the same time, conquests began. The southern and African lands of Byzantium as well as the entire Iranian empire of the Sassanids came under Arab domination in a few decades. Wouldn't this sequence of events explain another remarkable singularity of 'Alī, namely his absence, unlike all the other famous "companions" of Muḥammad, in the wars of conquest? Indeed, he would not have

considered these wars to be consistent with the letter and spirit of Muḥammad's early messages nor with the beliefs of his early followers, the only true ones in his eyes. These wars were those of his lifelong opponents, those of the "hypocrites," the *munāfiqūn* of the Qur'an. He could not take part in them. At the same time, he is said to have been mostly occupied with developing the written version of the Qur'an. According to Shi'i sources, he was thus seeking to neutralize the treachery of his enemies who were preparing a falsified version of the Holy Book^{825} .

'Alī's short reign was an uninterrupted series of bloody civil wars and ended with his assassination in the year 40/661. Towards the end of his tragic caliphate, he mysteriously moved his capital several thousand kilometers from Medina in Arabia to Kūfa in Iraq. Another singularity of our character that historians do not explain. Yet the question arises: was it not because of the proximity of the predominantly Arabian city of I:Jīra, the bubbling intellectual and spiritual center of the ancient Sassanid empire? The city where Christian currents, mostly anti-Nicene and anti-Chalcedonian, were still alive, driven out of Byzantium for these very reasons and taking refuge in Iran, as well as Gnostic movements with messianic tendencies, such as the Marcionites and the Bardesians, or even the Manichaeans, who would remain active in the region until the 4th / 10th century^{826} ? Didn't this land, already marked by late-antique esoteric and gnostic ideas, seem more welcoming to the "new manifestation of the Messiah" than the land of I:Jidjāz, allied to Syria, a country acquired since the death of Muḥammad to the cause of the latter's worst enemies^{827} ? Is this one more element in the file, still full of grey areas, of convergences between 'Alī, pre-Islamic Iran and Iranian converts, convergences that led the Greek Theophanes the Confessor (born in 759 CE) to call our character in his *Chronography*: 'Alī the Persian? Was it by chance that the day of Ghadīr Khumm, 18 dhū l-ḥijja of the year 10 of the Hegira (according to a unanimously accepted date), when, according to the Shi'ites, Muḥammad designated 'Alī as his successor, corresponds to 20 March 632, i.e., the ancient Nawrūz, the Iranian New Year? Ghadīr Khumm is obviously one of the greatest Shi'ite festivals; the thing is well known. But what is less well known is that Nawrūz is too. Many traditions dating back to the Imams praise the Iranian New Year and describe it as a sacred cosmic event of the highest

importance^{828} . Finally, let us add that, according to some recent research, Muḥammad, a prophet but also a trader, and therefore perfectly aware of the international events of his region, was not only aware of the endless wars between Byzantium and Iran (Sura 30 of the Qur'an is entitled "the Byzantines") but he would even have taken a stand against Byzantium and therefore for the Sassanids^{829} . The fact seems to be corroborated by attempts to attack Byzantine lands towards the end of his life as well as by Qur'anic Christology which is at odds with the official Christology of the great Catholic Church of Constantinople and in agreement with that of the currents rightly judged "heretical" by Byzantium and present in the Iranian country, especially in I:Jīra/Kūfa as we just saw.

After 'Alī, power passed to the Umayyads. Civil wars, fierce repression of opponents, especially the Alids, and at the same time the expansion of conquests continued. 'Alī was cursed in public places. He will be presented, as well as his followers, as the main enemies to be denounced. With the fifth Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik

b. Marwān on the borders of the ^{first} and ^{second} centuries of the hegira, the empire will have its language, Arabic, as the language of administration, its religion henceforth officially called "islām," some of its decisive laws concerning the conquered lands and peoples, its Book, i.e., the official version of the Qur'an (a compromise version by a caliph who seeks, with violence, to impose unity on his empire?), its Messiah, who would be neither Jesus nor obviously 'Alī, but an indeterminate descendant of Muḥammad; moreover, the figure of the latter was strongly promoted, probably to neutralize and marginalize that of 'Alī (see above chapter 2, *in fine*). A few decades later, the Abbasids took power after a bloody revolution and the extermination of the Umayyads. However, they continued the repressive anti-alien policy of their predecessors while trying to make 'Alī a Companion like any other in order to radically minimize his sanctity and recover his character (see the Introduction). Thus, 'Alī remains omnipresent in the history of early Islam. He even constitutes in a way the center of gravity, so much so that the positions taken with regard to him determine the events and doctrines. We have seen that this has also been the case, for at least seven centuries and until today, for a considerable part of Muslims, especially in the East. The character, still mysterious in

In many respects, it is perhaps a key element for a better understanding of Islam, from its origins to the present day.

Appendix 1
**Divine knowledge and messianic
action: the figure of 'Alī in mystical
and messianic circles (5th/11th to 10th/16th
centuries)**
Orkhan Mir-Kasimov

Introduction

The following pages have been guided by the question of how the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, central to Shi'ite Islam, was integrated into mystical and messianic circles outside of Shi'ite circles proper, and what role did he play in the series of profound transformations that the Muslim world underwent in the period from the 5th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries? The beginning of this period was marked by the disintegration of the caliphates - in chronological order, Umayyad in the Iberian Peninsula,

Annex I
**Divine knowledge and messianic
action: the figure of 'Alī in mystical
and messianic circles (5th/11th to 10th/16th
centuries)**
Orkhan Mir-Kasimov

Introduction

The following pages have been guided by the question of how the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, central to Shi'ite Islam, was integrated into mystical and messianic circles outside of Shi'ite circles proper, and what role did he play in the series of profound transformations that the Muslim world underwent in the period from the 5th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries? The beginning of this period was marked by the disintegration of the caliphates - in chronological order, Umayyad in the Iberian Peninsula,

Fatimid in North Africa and Egypt, and Abbasid in the Middle East -, while its end witnessed the emergence of a new geopolitical order based on new conceptions of power. This new order was represented, in the eastern part of the Muslim world, by the Ottoman, Safavid and Mogul empires, which were consolidated between the 8th/14th and 10th/16th centuries. In the West, the situation was more complex. In the Iberian Peninsula, Muslim Andalusia, the territory of the Umayyad Caliphate, was definitively lost to the Christians towards the end of the 9th / 15th century, while in North Africa, the Fatimid Caliphate was followed by two powerful empires, the Almoravids (5th / 11th / 12th century) and the Almohads (6th / 12th / 13th century) (the latter having claimed the Caliphate). These three empires were decisive for the subsequent geopolitical configuration of this region.

The figure of the caliph symbolized, to some extent, the cohesion of the Muslim community under a legitimate government, that is, the government that ensured that the life of the community was organized according to the precepts established by the Prophet ^{830}. Although interpretations of what constitutes "legitimate power" varied significantly from one caliphate to another, and although caliphs sometimes lacked any real power ^{831} The existence of the institution of the caliphate and the sacredness of the caliphal lineage created a background of almost universal legitimacy for the exercise of power in the Muslim world.

When this happened, the disappearance of the caliphal power was a shock to the Muslim community concerned, a shock that could put into question the very survival of that community if another figure was not found to assume the symbolic significance attributed to the status of the caliph. Thus, the disintegration of the Umayyad caliphate in the Iberian Peninsula was followed by the fragmentation of its territory into a large number of independent Muslim kingdoms, none of which possessed a convincing legitimacy. Although the mystic-messianic current, and in particular that of Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. al-J:lusayn Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1251), produced a new conception of religious and political legitimacy, it failed to mobilize sufficient support in the peninsula and, as a result, was incorporated into the Maghrebian movement of the Almohads^{832}. In the absence of an alternative conception of religious and political legitimacy, the weakening of the Almohads resulted in the gradual loss of the entire territory of the former

The fall of the Umayyad caliphate to the Christian *Reconquista*. The fall of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa was also a profound shock to the Ismaili community; however, the latter was able to survive and rebuild elsewhere because the lineage of caliphs or Imāms was not permanently interrupted. Thus, there was no need for a radically new conception of religious and political authority, although significant modifications in the theory of Imamāt were later introduced in the surviving branches of Ismaili Shi'ism. In the eastern part of the Muslim world, the removal of the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad by the Mongol conquerors inaugurated two centuries of intense search for a new idea of religious and political authority ^{833}.

In the course of this research, the character of 'Alī b. Abī Tāl ib ^{834} as an ideal of a chivalrous warrior for the faith, a source of initiatory knowledge, and a figure associated with messianic beliefs, has become the rallying point for different Islamic currents and factions. In the rest of this study, we will look at some of the aspects of the figure of 'Alī in the formation and consolidation of a new authority figure in the post-caliphal Muslim world, that of the divinely inspired charismatic and/or messianic king.

The figure of 'Alī at the end of the Caliphate

For reasons that remain to be elucidated, around the ^{5th/11th century}, the legend of 'Alī, until then mainly elaborated in Shi'ite circles, begins to acquire a central importance in mystical currents other than Shi'ism proper, such as *futuwwa* and Sufism ^{835}.

The popularity of 'Alī among the popular militia, which was one of the sources of the *futuwwa*, was undoubtedly due in part to his warlike reputation, universally recognized in Islam. 'Alī was looked upon as the prototype of *fatā*, a young man combining virile and chivalrous qualities such as courage, generosity, modesty, etc., an image expressed in the famous words said to have been uttered during one of the decisive battles of the nascent Islam: "no *fatā* except 'Alī, no sword except *Dhū'l-faqār* ^{836} ! "

In Sufism, another aspect of the figure of 'Alī is emphasized: his privileged place in the knowledge and transmission of the prophetic message. Although references to 'Alī as a source of initiatory knowledge can already be found in ancient Sufism, from the 5th/11th century onwards, this function of 'Alī becomes central to Sufism through the formation of the brotherhoods. From this point on, almost all Sufi orders trace their chains of initiation (*silsila*) back to the Prophet through 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib^{837}.

During the 5th / 11th and 6th / 12th centuries the *futuwwa* became an important military force in Muslim cities. During the same period, Sufism underwent a metamorphosis from a movement of ascetics and contemplatives absorbed in spiritual perfection, away from any social and political approach, into an organization subject to strict discipline under the orders of a shaykh and possessing an enormous social influence. This metamorphosis was due to two apparently independent but simultaneous factors: the formation of Sufi brotherhoods and the development of popular worship of saints around Sufi shaykhs. Caliphs and sultans had to take into account Sufism, which they tried to use both to consolidate their social base and to legitimize their power^{838}.

The values of *futuwwa*, understood as a martial code of honor, were absorbed by Sufism at a rather early time^{839}. However, it is not certain that there was from the beginning a link between this Sufi interpretation of *futuwwa* and the paramilitary organizations referred to by this word^{840}. The connection between these militias and Sufism was consolidated and institutionalized in the bold project of universal *futuwwa* promoted by one of the last Abbasid caliphs, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 575/1180 - 622/1225). The project of al-Nāṣir was to unite all the Baghdadi *futuwwa* groups into a single unified *futuwwa* subordinate to the caliph, and then to extend this enterprise to the entire caliphate, enlisting also the notables and sultans ruling in his name into this universal institution. In carrying out his project, al-Nāṣir relied heavily on the advice of Sufi masters, including the famous Abū Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), namesake of a powerful brotherhood. The *futuwwa* of al-Nāṣir thus had features in common with a Sufi brotherhood, with the caliph occupying the place of the shaykh, the supreme spiritual guide to whom all his vassals owed absolute obedience, to

example of disciples in a brotherhood. The universal *futuwwa* project of al-Nāṣir thus stimulated the interpenetration of values and organizing principles between the *futuwwa* and the Sufi brotherhoods^{841}.

The initiative of al-Nāṣir was also important in establishing the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib as the undisputed founder of the *futuwwa*. Al-Nāṣir established a genealogical link with 'Alī himself and presented himself as his heir and emulator^{842}. Although the effectiveness of al-Nāṣir's project, which aimed to support the caliph's authority through the conception of spiritual authority developed in Sufism and at the same time to strengthen his armies through the power of the unified *futuwwa*, may be questioned, This project marked a turning point in which the figure of 'Alī, as a prototype of both initiatory knowledge and military value, became a source of legitimization of political power in the wider Muslim world, well beyond the communities shi'ites^{843}.

The project of the universal *futuwwa* articulated around the figure of 'Alī was part of a larger enterprise of al-Nāṣir that aimed to bring together and unify all factions of Muslim society, especially the Shi'ites and Sunnis.., Posing as the legitimate caliph descended from the Qurayshite and Abbasid lineage, the expert doctor of the law, the transmitter of the prophetic traditions, but also as a descendant of 'Alī at the head of the *ahl al-bayt*, the leader of the universal *futuwwa* and thus transcending denominational divisions, and moreover a Sufi, the caliph sought to have his authority recognized by all the important groups of the society^{844}. This initiative would have prefigured the rapprochement between Shi'ism and Sunnism and the emergence of the figure of 'Alī as a universally acceptable source of religious and political legitimation in the period following the suppression of the Abbasid caliphate by the Mongol armies.

The figure of 'Alī in the mystical and messianic doctrines of the post-Mongolian Muslim East

The abolition of the Baghdad Caliphate by the armies of Hülegü in 656/1258 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the Muslim world. Several events contributed to the further enhancement of the

social, political and spiritual significance of the figure of 'Alī at that time.

As we have seen, the figure of 'Alī began to assert itself as a means of legitimizing political power outside of Shi'ite circles from the end of the Abbasid caliphate. At that time, the prestige of this figure was promoted on the one hand by the organization of Sufism into brotherhoods that could function as "Muslim communities in miniature" under the leadership of their shaykhs who possessed absolute authority over their followers and were venerated by the population, and on the other hand, by the organization of Sufism into brotherhoods that could function as "Muslim communities in miniature" under the leadership of their shaykhs who possessed absolute authority over their followers and were venerated by the population.^{845} On the other hand, the growing influence of the paramilitary groups of the *futuwwa*. The rapprochement between organized Sufism and the *futuwwa* created a combination of spiritual authority, military power and social influence articulated around the mythical figure of 'Alī perceived as the prototype of the initiated sage and noble warrior of Islam.

The caliph al-Nāṣir recognized the power of this myth and the forms of organized spirituality associated with it, and used it brilliantly in his attempt to reorganize the caliphate. By associating them with caliphal power, al-Nāṣir gave the forms of organized spirituality affiliated with the figure of 'Alī significant political authority.

The abolition of the Abbasid caliphate by the Mongol armies created particularly favorable conditions for the subsequent development of various mystical and messianic groups and movements claiming affiliation with 'Alī. The following factors likely contributed to the rise of the cult of 'Alī in mystical and messianic circles after the removal of the last caliph of Baghdad:

First, the absence of the caliph deprived the Muslim community of the traditional source of legitimizing political power. The Muslim population of the Ilkhanate (the realm of power of the Mongols) was ruled for a relatively short period of time by the Ilkhans, Mongol rulers who were not Muslims. After the conversion of the Ilkhans to Islam, and especially after their disappearance, the power returned to the powerful Muslim dynasties. But these dynasties, most of them of Turko-Mongol origin, without any link with the prophetic family or with other founding references of Islam, needed a source of legitimacy to make their government acceptable to the Muslim population. In the absence of a caliph, the great Sufi masters whose spiritual lineages, as we have seen, all went back to 'Alī, constituted one of the

privileged sources of legitimacy. Not only could they extend their charisma, due to divine friendship, over a holder of political power, but they could also secure popular support for him thanks to their vast social influence. Thus, the Timurids, the powerful Turko-Mongol dynasty that controlled most of the territory of the Ilkhanate after the dissolution of Mongol rule, had closely associated themselves with the Sufis of the Naqshbandi order, and this practice of association with a Sufi order (Naqshbandis, Shattāris, Chishtis) was preserved by their successors, the rulers Mughals^{846}. The link with mystical circles is part of the Ottoman founding myths, and the Safavid dynasty in Iran developed from an order Sufi^{847}.

Secondly, the post-Mongol era is marked by a rapprochement between Sufism and Shi'ism, the latter represented in particular by its Duodecimal and Ismaili branches, the main bearers of the cult of 'Alī. In the duodecimal shi'ism, it is the time of the rediscovery of esoteric doctrines, in particular of the ancient shi'ism, after a long period of domination of the legal shi'ism^{848}. This rediscovery involved the appropriation of Sufi doctrines, and, in particular, the monumental work of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), presented as deriving from the teachings of the Shi'i Imāms. Thus, the Duodecimal thinkers of Bahrain, such as 'Alī b. Sulaymān (d. ca. 672/1273) and Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689/1290), followed by the Iranian J:laydar Amulī (d. after 787/1385), reinterpreted the messianic doctrine of "They argued that Ibn 'Arabī's "seals" of prophethood (*nubuwwa*) and holiness (*walāya*) are the same. They disputed Ibn 'Arabī's view that the seal of universal holiness is Jesus, and argued that this role is filled by 'Alī^{849}.

Nizārite Ismailis became associated with Sufism after the destruction of Ismaili strongholds in northern Iran by Mongol armies in the mid-7th/XIIIth century. Nizārite Ismailism associated the cult of 'Alī and the Imams with a doctrine of the Resurrection (*qiyāma*), a messianic doctrine that, along with similar doctrines developed within Sufism, probably contributed to the rise of mystical and messianic movements in the post-Mongol era^{850}.

Elements ordinarily associated with Shi'ism, such as the worship of 'Alī and the twelve Imāms, become highly visible in Sufism, and especially within the influential Sufi orders of the Mongolian and post-Mongolian periods.

Mongolian, such as the Kubrawis or the Ni'matullāhis. The figure of 'Alī occupies an important place both in the initiatory chains of these orders and in their doctrines^{851}.

This rapprochement between Sufism and Shi'ism, stimulated by the project of al-Nāṣir, takes place in a context of the more general rapprochement between Shi'ism and Sunnism that develops from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, when the expression of deep respect and admiration for the prophetic family becomes a norm in Sunni Islam and, reciprocally, Shi'i authors begin to mention favorably the first three caliphs^{852}. In contemporary scholarship, this phenomenon is referred to by a variety of terms, ranging from Marshall Hodgson's "Alid loyalism" to Rasūl Ja'fariyān's "duodecimal Sunnism" (*tasannun-i davāzdah imāmī*) to "confessional ambiguity" (John Woods) and "Shi'i-Sunnism or imamophilism" (Matthew Melvin-Koushki). It should be noted that the Sunni descendants of 'Alī also contributed to the development of this tendency^{853}. In addition, the descendants of 'Alī, the *sharīfs* and *sayyids*, constituted a particular social group which had its own structure and leaders, and which also played an important political role, especially in the Maghreb, as we shall see.

Another area where Shi'ism and Sunnism met and influenced each other was in the occult sciences, such as astrology, alchemy, numerology, and the science of letters (*'ilm al- ḥurūf*). These sciences are traditionally associated with the prophetic family, and more specifically with 'Alī, Fāṭima and the Shi'ite Imāms of their descendants. For this reason, the cult of the prophetic family, dominated by the figure of 'Alī, the supreme authority in occult knowledge, has deeply permeated the occultist circles Sunni^{854}. The thinkers and networks of scholars united by their interest in the occult sciences strongly influenced the formation of political theories and imperial ideologies in the post-Caliphate era, thus bringing their deep respect for 'Alī and the Prophetic family into the political sphere^{855}.

An example of the importance that the figure of 'Alī acquired in the post-caliphal era as a universal source of political legitimacy is provided by the inscription on the tombstone of Tamerlane, leader of the Timurid clan. This inscription introduces a change in Tamerlane's genealogy to make him a descendant of 'Alī^{856}.

The third factor that has favored the promotion of the figure of 'Alī in the post-Mongol era is the mystico-Messianic movements with their eclectic doctrines, in which the Sufī and Shi'i elements are so closely linked that the distinction between the two becomes impossible. Indeed, the figure of 'Alī occupies an important place in the doctrines of almost all these movements.

The Sarbadār movement is, chronologically, the first movement of this era influenced by a mystical and messianic ideology that has left a notable trace in the historical sources^{857}. This movement began as a seemingly secular rebellion of a part of the Khurassanian population against the fiscal policy of the last Ilkhans. Later, dervishes under the aegis of Shaykh Khalīfa and Shaykh J:Iasan Jūrī joined the movement. It is difficult to assess what role the figure of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib played in the doctrine of the dervishes exactly, since no doctrinal documents from this group have come down to us p^{858}. It is likely, however, that the dervishes and Sarbadār were influenced by popular Shi'ism, probably with messianic overtones^{859}. We also know that the last Sarbadār ruler, 'Alī Mu'ayyad (d. 788/1386), invited a prominent representative of legalistic duodecimal Shi'ism, Muḥammad b. Makkī al-'Amilī (d. 786/1384), in order to establish an "official" form of Shi'ism in the Sarbadār state. This connection with Shi'ism, popular and/or scholarly, allows us to assume that the figure of 'Alī must have occupied an important place in the beliefs of the Sarbadār.

In the work of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), a mystical and messianic thinker and founder of an influential movement known as the J:Iurūfiyya, 'Alī represents the primordial Point, the Point containing, in an undifferentiated state, all possible knowledge of God as well as the entire universe with all its possibilities of further development. Furthermore, without explicitly mentioning the Shi'ite doctrine of Imāmat, Faḍl Allāh writes that 'Alī and his descendants possess the science of spiritual hermeneutics (*ta'wīl*)^{860}. As the possessor or, rather, the personification of this science par excellence, 'Alī can guide believers from the written letter of the Qur'an to its archetypal meaning, hence his designation as the "Quran speaking"^{861}". Several implicit allusions in the *Jāvidān-nāma-yi kabīr*, Faḍl Allāh's main work, seem to draw a parallel between 'Alī and the eschatological mission of Jesus. For example, 'Alī therein is

identified with the "Book of truth" of the Koranic text, and this last expression appears, in other passages, as the equivalent of the eschatological book with the seven seals of the Apocalypse according to John that Jesus will open at the end of the times^{862}. 'Alī is also one of the most frequently mentioned figures (after Muḥammad and Adam) in the dream journal attributed to Faḍl Allāh^{863}. Finally, the high status of 'Alī is often emphasized in the poetry attributed to Faḍl Allāh^{864} :

He who is described by [the Qur'anic expression] "Say: He is God!" is 'Alī 'Alī is the
supreme king in the world of knowledge
That universal point from which all particular [beings] are
derived By God is 'Alī, by God is 'Alī.^{865}

Or:

The divine secret appears in the *'ayn* of 'Alī
In the *lām* of 'Alī is [contained] "he is the Elevated the
Supreme" In the *yā* ' of 'Alī is the form of the Eternal Living
One
Read and you will see that here is the supreme name of God^{866}.

In all likelihood, Faḍl Allāh saw himself as a great initiate in the science of *ta'wīl* and believed that he was ushering in a new era in the history of Islam and humanity. During this era, spiritual truths were supposed to be gradually revealed in the course of a hermeneutic performed by a special category of saints^{867}. This unveiling was to culminate in the apocalypse under the aegis of Jesus. Since the advent of this new eschatological era involved social and political changes, Faḍl Allāh and his followers attached some importance to the social and political significance of their doctrine. Although their efforts to associate themselves with a political force consistently failed, the movement founded by Faḍl Allāh was part of a mystical-messianic trend that, as we shall see later, was to become an important factor in the socio-political life of the Muslim world.

In the doctrine of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (eponym of the Nūrbakhshiyya movement, d. 869/1464), at the confluence of Duodecimal Shi'ism and Kubrawī Sufism, 'Alī is the symbol of the integral Imamate, i.e., the Imamate combining the following four conditions: knowledge (*al-'ilm*), divine friendship (*al-walāya*), prophetic genealogical nobility (*al-siyāda*), and sovereign power (*al-mamlaka*). According to Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh,

none of the historical Shi'i Imams fulfilled the four conditions, since none of them exercised political power. This, then, will be the sign of the expected Imām, the Savior (*al-mahdī*) who will, like 'Alī, fulfill all four conditions and reunite mankind under his rule^{868}. Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh felt called to assume this role of the last Imām^{869}. Therefore, he claimed political power. Faced with the hostility of Shāhrukh (d. 850/1447), Tamerlane's principal successor, Nūrbakhsh abandoned the political aspect of his doctrine and ended his life in a village near Rayy.

A contemporary of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, Muḥammad b. Falāḥ (founder of the Musha'sha'iyya movement, d. 870/1465-1466) was another influential messianic thinker with a doctrine synthesizing Shi'i and Sufi elements. Muḥammad b. Falāḥ's monumental work, *Kalām al-mahdī* (Word of the Savior), has not yet been edited or systematically studied. However, and despite its somewhat enigmatic language, even a cursory reading of the *Kalām al-mahdī* shows that the figure of 'Alī occupies an important place in Ibn Falāḥ's thought. 'Alī is indeed described there as the secret of all prophets^{870}; as the legatee (*waṣī*) of the Prophet and "the language of the hermeneutics of the divine [message]"^{871}. 'Alī thus holds the supreme authority to interpret the Qur'an and reveal its true meaning as well as that of all other holy scriptures^{872}. 'Alī is the "secret ruler of the sky and the earth"^{873}, while (the Prophet) Muḥammad serves as his veil (*al-ḥijāb*).

The *Kalām al-mahdī* goes so far as to profess the divine nature of 'Alī: "'Alī, father of J:Iasan and J:Iusayn and husband of Fāṭima most pure, daughter of the Messenger, is God, Lord of the worlds"^{874}. " This idea seems especially to have influenced one of Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ's sons, Mawlā 'Alī, who is said to have proclaimed that he is the repository of the spirit of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and would have claimed to be the place of God's manifestation. Mawlā 'Alī managed to invade the city of Najaf and consecrate the swords of his soldiers in the mausoleum of 'Alī^{875}. Ibn Falāḥ himself apparently reserved for himself a more modest status as the representative of the 12^e Imām of the Duodecimal Shi'ites, the Mahdī or Qā'im expected at the end of time^{876}. Ibn Falāḥ's mission would thus have been to test the believers and distinguish those who were willing to support his cause against hypocrites and thus prepare for the appearance of the Imām^{877}. The *Kalām al-Mahdī* suggests that Ibn Falāḥ draws

his authority as the representative of the Hidden Imām from the knowledge he holds of the secrets of 'Alī and the Imāms, which conferred upon him the status of Salmān of his time.^{878}

Thus, the mystical and messianic movement of the Musha'sha', whose authority and legitimacy rested on the figure of 'Alī, was able to found a quasi-independent dynasty that ruled part of Khuzistān (southwestern Iran and southeastern Iraq) in the second half of the ninth / fifteenth century before becoming vassal of the Safavids.

In Anatolia, the figure of 'Alī occupies a central place in the tradition called Alevi and is represented by a large community in Turkey and elsewhere.^{879} Designated until the 19th century as "Qizilbash" (the "Red heads," because of the twelve-striped red or gold turban they wore as a sign of their support for the Safavids), the faithful changed this name, now considered pejorative, to "Alevi," reflecting the centrality of the cult of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib in the religious beliefs of the group.

The origins of the Alevi movement, and the different influences that contributed to its formation between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, are still debated by specialists^{880}. However, whatever the origin of the different strata of Alevi beliefs, the cult of 'Alī seems fundamental to the identity of this movement, to the point that it does not seem exaggerated to designate it as the true "religion of 'Alī^{881}". This belief emphasizing the exceptional status of 'Alī as a place of pre-existential manifestation of the knowable aspect of God is abundantly reflected in Alevi ritual and literature.

Thus, the main Alevi initiatory rite, *āyin-i cem*, is an updating of the story of the "banquet of the forty" (*kırklar cemi*) in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated upon his return from his celestial ascension. The account of the banquet and the ascension that preceded it strongly suggest 'Alī's superiority over Muḥammad and his exceptional closeness to God. The lion whom Muḥammad meets at the beginning of his ascension and to whom he gives his ring turns out to be 'Alī; of 90,000 words that Muḥammad exchanges with God 60,000 remain in secret with 'Alī (*Ali'de sirroldu*); at the end of the banquet, Muḥammad recognizes 'Alī in the spiritual master (*pīr*) of the forty and bows to him along with the other participants^{882}.

Love for 'Alī and the twelve Imāms and hatred for their opponents are also abundantly reflected in Alevi poetry. This excerpt from a poem by Abdal Musa (8th/14th century) may serve as an example:

May your eyes become blind, O bloodthirsty Yazīd (assassin of al-J:Iusayn)!
There is none other than 'Alī in this way.
It is not the Imāms, but 'Alī Who
opens the door of the twelve Imāms...
Is there anyone other than 'Alī
Who is superior to all the saints^{883}?

In the course of the ^{tenth/sixteenth} and ^{eleventh/seventeenth} centuries, the Alevis became close to the Bektashis, one of the most influential mystical orders in Ottoman society ^{884}. This rapprochement resulted in the structural and doctrinal interpenetration of these two Anatolian esoteric traditions, so that in specialized literature they are often united under the same name of "Alevism/Bektashism". Consequently, the cult of 'Alī as a source of initiatory knowledge and prototype of a spiritual master was consolidated in the doctrine Bektashi^{885}. The other probable factors for the intensification of the cult of 'Alī among the Alevis and Bektashis seem to have been first the associations of the *akhīs*, the Anatolian *futuwwa* ^{886}, and then the influence of the doctrine of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī propagated in Anatolia, and particularly within the Bektashis order, from the second half of the ^{ninth/fifteenth} century^{887}. The eminence of the figure of 'Alī among the Bektashis is notably illustrated in the iconography of this order, which contains numerous images depicting the name of 'Alī inscribed in the human body and face ^{888}.

The Safavid movement, originally an Iranian Sufī order founded by shaykh Safī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), developed a close link with the Anatolian context from the ^{ninth} to the fifteenth century. Shaykh Junayd (d. 864/1460) succeeded in attracting many followers among the Turkoman tribes of Anatolia, the aforementioned "red heads" (Qizilbash), who would become the main military support of the Safavid movement. According to legend, it was Junayd's son, Shaykh J:Iaydar (d. 893/1488), who instituted the wearing of the twelve-striped red headdress (the *tāj*) by his followers, having been ordered to do so by 'Alī in a dream^{889}. This dream establishes 'Alī as the "patron saint" of the Safavids and presents them as the fighters of 'Alī's cause.

The Safavid movement is thus situated at the confluence of the Iranian mystico-messianic tradition (represented by such movements as the J:Iurūfīs, the Nūrbakhshīs, and the Musha'sha'), and the Anatolian popular mysticism. The consolidation of the link between the religious authority of a guide

divinely inspired spiritual and political authority, which was elaborated and developed in these two traditions and partially realized in the Sarbadār and Musha'sha' states, reached its peak in the person of Shaykh Ismā'īl Safavi (d. 930/1524), founder of the Safavid Empire. Shaykh Ismā'īl succeeded in bringing Iran under his rule by becoming the first Shāh of a dynasty that ruled until the ^{eleventh/seventeenth} century, relying on the charisma of the Sufi shaykh and descendant of 'Alī, and on the military might of his many followers^{890}.

The figure of 'Alī is omnipresent in the poetry attributed to Shāh Ismā'īl:

'Alī is the ocean of truth, know this with
certainty, He is the eternal life ^{authentic}{891}.
Those who do not recognize that 'Alī is the [Supreme] Truth are absolute disbelievers, they
have no religion or faith, they are not Muslims^{892}.

The figure of 'Alī also seems central to the construction of Shāh Ismā'īl's charisma, with regard to the perception of his spiritual vocation on the one hand, and the legitimization of his political ambitions, i.e., his right to govern the Muslim community, on the other. If correctly interpreted, the following excerpts would concern a notion very close to the "religion of 'Alī" as the basis of the religious and political authority claimed by Shāh Ismā'īl:

O fighters of the holy war, say: "God! God!". I am the religion of the Shāh (*dīn-i shāh*) [i.e., the religion of 'Alī]^{893}
Come to me, prostrate yourself. I am the religion of the Shāh...
I am *Khaṭā'ī*^{894}... my essence is that of Murtaḍā 'Alī. I am the religion of Shāh^{895}. I belong to the cult (*madhhab*) of the *mawālī* [followers of 'Alī ?]^{896}; on the path of Shāh, I am the guide of every person proclaiming "I am Muslim^{897}."

Finally, we should add that several founders of the mystical and messianic movements of that time claimed to have an Alide genealogy or were given such a genealogy by their followers after their death.^{898}

'Alī, Fāṭima and their descendants in the Maghreb

In the West of the Muslim world, in the Maghreb, the historical context was very different from that in the East. In the Eastern Muslim world, as we have seen, the figure of 'Alī began to gain influence outside of properly Shi'ite circles from the 5th / 11th century onwards; but it was apparently the Mongol invasions of the 7th / 13th century and the removal of the Caliph of Baghdad that consolidated the image of 'Alī as one of the main sources of religious and political authority.

The Maghreb was less affected by the Mongol invasions. On the other hand, because of its geographical distance from the central lands of Islam, and also because of the struggles of the Berber tribes newly converted to Islam against Arab supremacy, the Maghreb was home to political movements and entities based on conceptions of legitimacy other than, and often rivaling, those of the Eastern caliphs, Umayyads and then Abbasids. The figure of 'Alī is arguably less prominent in Maghreb Islam, but the lineage of 'Alī, and especially his descendants through Fāṭima, played a major role in the formulation of these conceptions of legitimacy in the Maghreb. Furthermore, the notion of direct access to the source of divine knowledge and the idea of infallibility closely associated with this notion were frequently used elements in Maghreb formulations of religious and political authority. Even if these formulations did not always explicitly mention the name of 'Alī, we know that in the main mystical currents of Islam, such as Shi'ism, Sufism, or *futuwwa*, 'Alī symbolizes initiatory knowledge and infallibility based on this knowledge.

Two political formations in the Maghreb were directly based on the Shi'ite notion of 'Alide/Fāṭimid legitimacy. The first is the Idrisid state of Morocco, which existed between 172/789 and 375/985. The founder of the dynasty, Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 175/791), was a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and of Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad through their son al-J:lasan. He was also the brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who revolted against the 'Abbasid power in 145/762-763, and he presumably shared with his brother the nickname al-Fāṭimī, "The Fāṭimid" ^{899}. Significantly, his son and successor Idrīs II (d. 213/828) founded, opposite Fez founded by his father, a city named al-'Aliyya, "the city of 'Alī" ^{900}. The name of 'Alī was also mentioned on coins minted during the time of Idrīs ^{901}. It is noteworthy that many of the Sufi leaders and

messianic rebels of North Africa claimed to be of the lineage Idrisside^{902}.

The second entity using the 'Alid/Fāṭimid principle of legitimacy was the Fāṭimid empire (4th/Xth-6th/XIIth centuries) founded by Ismaili Shi'is. Unlike the Idrisids, the Fāṭimids traced their genealogy not to al-J:lasan, but to al-J:Iusayn, the youngest son of 'Alī and Fāṭima. As in Duodecimal Shi'ism, the Ismailis regard 'Alī as the legatee (*waṣī*) of the Prophet and the holder of the divine knowledge transmitted after him through the line of the holy Imams, the only legitimate spiritual and political leaders of the Muslim community.

The importance of the Alide/Fāṭimide lineage was also affirmed in the Maghreb outside of the currents directly linked to Shi'ism thanks to factors that developed in parallel and in more or less close connection with the eastern part of the Muslim world. The first of these factors is the search for new formulations of religious and political authority after the end of the Baghdad caliphate. The second is the consolidation of the Sufi brotherhoods accompanied, on the one hand, by the growing authority of the shaykhs as heirs of the initiatory knowledge transmitted since the Prophet most often in the lineage of the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima and, on the other hand, by the development of the popular cult of the saints which carried the authority of the Sufi shaykhs far beyond their brotherhoods by providing them with significant social support.

The idea of an infallible guide (*imām ma'ṣūm*), close to the Shi'ite idea of divine guidance represented by the Imam, whether belonging to the prophetic family or not, was already formulated in the Maghreb in the caliphal period outside of Shi'ite circles proper. Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. al-J:Iusayn b. Qasī (d. 546/1151), an Andalusian mystic who organized a messianic uprising against the Almoravid regime, was one of the most prominent advocates of this idea^{903}. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and Fāṭima occupy a certain place in Ibn Qasī's eschatology. However, he admits that spiritual knowledge and the right to the government of the Muslim community are not limited to the physical descendants of the Prophet, but are also accessible to mystics not belonging to the family prophetic^{904}. Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), another messianic thinker contemporary with Ibn Qasī and founder of the Almohad caliphate (6th/ 12th-7th/13th centuries), claimed, like Ibn Qasī, and probably under the influence of the latter, the status of an infallible Imam^{905}. In

In contrast, unlike Ibn Qasī, membership in the prophetic family seems to have been an important legitimizing factor for Ibn Tūmart, who apparently traced his genealogy to Fāṭima and 'Alī through their son al-J:lasan^{906}. Some genealogies of 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 558/1163), the founder of the Mu'minid dynasty that ruled the Almohad Empire after the death of Ibn Tūmart, place him, on his mother's side, among the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima through their son al-J:lasan^{907}.

As we have already mentioned, the period following the end of the Abbasid caliphate is accompanied, in the East as in the West, by the consolidation of the authority of Sufi saints and shaykhs. In the Maghreb, membership in the prophetic family gradually acquired particular importance in this context between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries. The *shurafā'* (singular *sharīf*), presumed descendants of the Prophet most often through his daughter Fāṭima and his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī, in association with powerful Sufi brotherhoods such as the Shādhiliyya (founded by the Moroccan *sharīf* Abū al-J:lasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī [d. 656/1258] and the Jazūliyya (founded by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī [d. 870/1465]), began to play an increasingly visible role in the legitimization of both spiritual and political authority^{908}. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), a famous Maghrebi historian who lived at this time, devotes several pages of his *Prolegomena* to describing how Sufism in his time was increasingly permeated by Shi'i ideas and the expectation of the advent of a Fāṭimid Savior (i.e., a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima)^{909}.

The Marīnids (8th/14th-9th/15th centuries), the dynasty that succeeded the Almohads in Morocco, claimed a Sharīfian genealogy and went to great lengths to demonstrate their respect for the family^{910}. In Marīnid historical chronicles, one of the most powerful sultans of this dynasty, Abū al-J:lasan 'Alī (r. 1331- 1351) was compared to Imām 'Alī.^{911} A parallel was drawn between the title *mawlā* ascribed to the Marīnid sultans and the well-known saying uttered by the Prophet Muḥammad in Ghadīr Khumm: "He whose *mawlā* I am, 'Alī is his *mawlā*," suggesting that the Marīnids wanted to legitimize their rule by a reference to 'Alī, designated by the Prophet as his sole successor legitimate^{912}. According to the Marīnid rewriting of the history of the founding of their capital, the city of Fez, Idris II, son of the founder of Fez, had inherited the sword of 'Alī, kept in one

minarets of this city, to be discovered at the end of the temple^{913}. Similarly, the religious and political authority associated with membership of the prophetic family, close to the conception of Shi'ite authority, with a strong messianic component, was decisive in the rise to power of the Sa'dian dynasty, which ruled in Morocco in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries {914}.

The figure of 'Alī has played a major role in the formulations of religious and political authority throughout the Muslim world, in the East and in the West. Far from being confined to Shi'ite circles, 'Alī was seen almost universally as the source of initiatory knowledge, the heir of wisdom and prophetic authority, transmitted through the lineage of his physical descendants, especially those he had from Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. Taking on various guises in different Islamic currents and in different historical, geographical and cultural contexts, the figure of 'Alī became an important factor in the legitimization of spiritual and political power in the period following the end of the Abbasid caliphate and participated in the gradual reorganization that led to the development of new power structures and, ultimately, to a new geopolitical configuration of the Muslim world marking the transition from the medieval to the modern era.

Appendix 2
**The presence of 'Alī in
Islamic philosophy**
Mathieu Terrier

In the intellectual and spiritual production in Islam, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, the first imam of all the Shi'is, occupies, after the Prophet Muḥammad, a special position. Unlike his other companions, 'Alī was credited with many remarkable deeds, but also with speeches belonging to different registers (apophthegms, proclamations, poems, etc.), some of them probably authentic, others undoubtedly forged, collected in various corpora, which have inspired numerous commentaries and uses. His figure and words have crossed and marked the whole history of Islamic philosophy, including not only the Hellenistic *falsafa*, but also the "histories of the sages" and works of speculative and mystical gnosis. And if the presence of 'Alī in Islamic philosophy is proportional to the importance of Shi'ism in history

It is not reduced to its presence among Shi'ite thinkers.

The primary sources of 'Alī's sayings quoted and glossed by philosophers are first of all the old Shi'ite collections of Imamite *ḥadīths*, such as the *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Kāfi* of al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940-1). They contain the most esoteric discourses attributed to the imam as such, discourses exploited by Shi'ite thinkers alone, while Sunni sources attribute to 'Alī, as a companion of the Prophet, other sayings without strong doctrinal character. Then there are "ecumenical" sources, shared by Sunnis and Shi'ites, such as the *Mi'at kalima* ("One Hundred Words") collected by the illustrious al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 253/867)^{915} ; the *Nahj al-balāgha*, a collection of preaches and sentences collected by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) in the Bouyid period^{916} ; and the collection of poems (*Dīwān*) attributed to 'Alī, of which the main version that has come down to us dates from the 6th/XIIth century^{917}.

In these pages, we will outline the presence of 'Alī in Islamic philosophy according to a thematic plan; but it may be useful to identify the major historical phases at the outset. The first extends from the Baghdād of the Buyids (4th/Xth-Vth/XIth centuries) to Sunni Muslim Andalusia (6th/XIIth century), and corresponds to the golden age of Hellenistic *falsafa*; 'Alī is mentioned there in the "histories of the sages" and the writings of the *falāsifa*, with or without a Shi'ite character. A second phase follows the Mongol conquest and the end of the Sunni hegemony in the East (mid-7th / 13th century) until the 9th / 15th century. It is marked by the interpenetration of the three traditions of philosophy, esoteric Shi'ism and speculative Sufism, a process in which the figure and authority of 'Alī play a decisive role. The third phase takes place in Safavid Iran in the 10th/16th/11th/17th centuries, after the establishment of Imamite Shi'ism as the state religion, to the benefit of a "renaissance" of Islamic philosophy and a genuine

This is the "birth" of the Shi'ite philosophy, of which the presence of 'Alī proves to be one of the main markers.

Through these different phases and in these different corpora, 'Alī appears in turn as a source of wisdom, a paragon of virtues, a master of truth, an incarnation of the Perfect Man and a theophanic being, passing almost imperceptibly from a historical figure to a metaphysical entity. The aspects successively treated here will thus have to

be understood as moments of a continuum or facets of a polymorphic figure.

I. The historical 'Alī in the history of philosophy

I. The Wisdom of 'Aī

As early as the 3rd/9th century, in the 'Abbasid Empire, compilations of sapiential maxims or wisdoms (*ḥikam*) attributed to 'Alī appeared; a large section of the *Nahj al-balāgha* is devoted to them. These wisdoms are not unlike those attributed to Greek philosophers in the histories of the sages composed in the wake of the Greco-Arabic translation movement, parallel to the emergence of the falsafa^{918}. 'Alī appears by name in one of the most famous of these works, *al-lfikma al-khālida* ("The Eternal Wisdom") by the philosopher Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), a thinker with moderate Shi'itan leanings^{919}. The work is an anthology of words of wisdom from five nations - Persians, Indians, Arabs, Greeks and Muslims. 'Alī

b. Abī Tālib, called the "Prince of the Believers" (*amīr al-mu'minīn*), comes after the Prophet Muḥammad as the principal author of the "wisdoms of the Arabs." The sayings attributed to him here are absent from the *Nahj al-balāgha*, composed at the same time, as compilations of Imamite *ḥadīths*. There is nothing specifically Shi'ite about them; on the other hand, in form and substance, they echo the wisdoms of the ancient Greeks. Some examples:

"Beware of him who praises you for what you are not, he will soon accuse you of what you are not^{920}. " An almost identical maxim is attributed to the "father of philosophers" Hermes in the anthology of J:lunayn

b. Ishāq (d. 260/873), the first of its kind, and others later^{921}.

"Grace to the ignorant is like a garden planted on a pile of manure^{922}. " This maxim, which is among the "hundred sayings" collected by al-Jāḥiẓ^{923}, is attributed literally to Hermes by J:lunayn b. Ishāq and others^{924}.

"Beware of this world (*aḥdharū al-dunyā*)! It is the enemy of the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*) as it is the enemy of His enemies: the friends of

God, he afflicts them (*ghamma-hum*), and His enemies, he deceives them (*gharra- hum*).^{925}. " This sentence with typically Islamic expressions, exemplary of the rhetorical eloquence (*balāgha*) unanimously recognized in 'Alī, shares an ascetic and gnostic theme with a number of sentences attributed to Greek sages, such as this one to Homer: "When this world is seized by the one who flees from it, it hurts him. When this world is seized by the one who seeks it, it kills him".^{926}. "

"All things gain in value when they are scarce; knowledge gains in value when it abounds^{927}. " This maxim, also typical of Arab rhetoric, advocating the contentment of little and the search for knowledge, is eminently philosophical in spirit.

"The Prince of believers was asked about happiness (*na'īm*). He said, 'He who eats bread of wheat, drinks sweet water and rests in the shade, he lives in happiness.'^{928}. " The sentence reminds us of a famous saying of Epicurus, a Greek philosopher who was not very popular in Islam^{929}.

Ibn Miskawayh also reported from an anonymous person: "Learn to say, 'I don't know'. If you say, 'I don't know,' you will be taught until you know, but if you say, 'I know,' you will be questioned until you don't know. Among the companions of the Prophet, not one said, "Question me," except 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, greetings be upon him^{930}. " The first part of the statement alludes to famous statements of Socrates at Plato^{931} The second part refers to many Shi'i traditions formerly attributed to 'Alī and beginning with the formula

"Question me before you lose me! Miskawayh thus sketches a link between the consensual figure of 'Alī as the author of wisdoms and the properly Shi'ite 'Alī represented as the infallible master of truth.

It was an openly Shi'ite philosopher, Quṭb al-Dīn Ashkevarī (d. between 1088/1677 and 1095/1684), who composed the last great "history of the sages," the *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*^{932}. In it he makes several significant connections between the sayings of 'Alī and those of ancient philosophers. Thus this maxim attributed to Theophrastus, a direct disciple of Aristotle: "Intelligence is of two kinds: one given by nature (*maṭbū'*), the other acquired by hearing (*masmū'*). The intelligence given by nature is like the earth, the intelligence acquired by hearing is like the seed and the water. The intelligence given by nature never produces any activity if the intelligence acquired by hearing does not come to it to draw it out of its

sleep, deliver it from its fetters and shake it from its place, as seed and water extract what is in the bowels of the earth.^{933} " Ashkevarī emphasizes its resemblance to a saying of the one he refers to as "the Word speaking from God" (*kalām allāh al-nātiq*)^{934} Imam 'Alī: "There are two intelligences: one given by nature, the other acquired by hearing. The intelligence acquired by hearing would be of no use if the intelligence given by nature did not exist, as the sun is of no use when the eye is deprived of vision^{935}. " The rhetorical and thematic similarity of the two maxims is indeed striking and allows one to conjecture - which Ashkevarī does not - a communication between the *corpus* of the *Nahj al-balāgha* and that of the doxographies of Greek philosophers in Arabic. Mullā Sadrā (d. *ca.* 1045/1635), the most illustrious philosopher of Safavid Iran, in his commentary on al-Kulaynī's *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, reports 'Alī's sentence in the same version as Ashkevarī in support of the complementarity of the religious sciences (*al-shar'iyya*), acquired by imitation (*taqlīd*) of the prophets, and the rational sciences (*al-'aqliyya*), proceeding from the natural intelligence alone^{936}. This brings us to a new aspect of the figure of 'Alī in Islamic philosophy: his role as a defender of philosophy itself.

2. 'Alī, defender of the rights of philosophy

The historical 'Alī is frequently summoned as a religious authority to support the grounded agreement or pre-established harmony between philosophy and revelation. In the introduction to the anthology of Greek sages collected by Mubashshir b. Fātik (d. *ca.* 480/1087), the author, probably an Ismaili Shi'ite, justifies the exercise of philosophy in Islam by tradition. Quoting the Prophet Muḥammad and 'Alī - referred to by a single eulogistic formula - he back-propagates the late synonymy of the terms *ḥikma* and *falsafa* to make their praise of wisdom a praise of philosophy. Two maxims are reported from 'Alī: "It is a priceless gift and grace that every word of wisdom that the believing man hears, keeps behind him and offers to his believing brother"; "Wisdom is the goal of the believer; let him take it from where he finds it, no matter from which vessel it comes."^{937}

In the introduction to his great history of the sages, Ashkevarī reports at the same end other maxims of the "Prince of Believers"-to be heard as well,

in the technical Shi'ite sense, as "the Prince of the initiated ^{938} "the wisest of all Arab and non-Arab sages" (*al-'arab wa al-'ajam*):

"Take wisdom wherever it is. If it is in the bosom of the hypocrite, it will stammer there until it comes out and finds rest, with its companions, in the bosom of the believer"; "Wisdom is the purpose of the believer. So take wisdom, even among the hypocrites^{939} "The word of the wise is a remedy when it is right, an evil when it is wrong^{940} ".

Another frequently quoted saying of 'Alī is this: "Do not recognize the true by men, but know the true and you will recognize his^{941} ". It appears significantly in Abū J:lāmid al- Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in his spiritual autobiography *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*^{942}. He, who elsewhere - in the famous *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* - condemns the main theses of the *falsafa*, explains here that there is a considerable danger in rejecting philosophy a priori: "Such is the habit of weak intellects: they recognize the true by men and not men by the true. The intellective (*al-'āqil*) follows the path of the prince of intellects (*sayyid al-'uqalā'*) 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, when he says: "Do not recognize the true by men..." By the title and the words attributed to him, 'Alī appears here as the champion of a quest for the true through reason emancipated from all prejudice, which defines the philosophical attitude well.

Even more surprising is the presence of 'Alī as a religious and philosophical authority in the most rationalist of Muslim philosophers, Ibn Rushd aka Averroes (d. 595/1198). In the *Decisive Discourse on the Connection Existing between Revealed Law and Wisdom* [or *Philosophy*] (*Faṣl al-maqāl fī mā bayn al-sharī'a wa l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl*), he undertakes a legal defense of philosophy against charges of impiety brought by al-Ghazālī, among others. To demonstrate that it is impossible to condemn a philosophical interpretation as breaking the consensus (*ijmā'*) of Muslim scholars on the theoretical issues raised by the Qur'an, he argues that such a consensus has never existed. Indeed, he writes, "it is known that many figures of the early age of Islam held that Revelation (*shar'*) includes the apparent and the hidden (*ẓāhir wa bāṭin*), and that the hidden should not be known by those who are not men of knowledge and would be unable to understand anything about it. This is proven by the statement of al-

Bukhārī - from 'Alī b. Abī Tālib - God be pleased with him -: 'Speak to men about what they know. Do you then want God and His Prophet to be charged with falsehood? "^{943}. " Ibn Rushd again quotes this saying to summarize the thesis of his *Decisive Discourse* in the introduction to his *Unveiling of the Methods of Proof concerning the dogmas of the religion*^{944}. Without being suspicious of Shi'ism, Averroes thus claims the spiritual authority of 'Alī to support the dual structure, exoteric and esoteric, of Revelation, the necessity of a discipline of secrecy in the transmission of science, the absence of orthodoxy on theoretical questions, and finally the rights of a philosophical hermeneutic of the Qur'an - that is to say, everything that the Eastern Shi'ite philosophers after him will defend, while claiming to be even more closely linked to 'Alī.

It is again as a defender, in theory and in practice, of philosophy that 'Alī intervenes in the notice that Ashkevarī dedicates to John Philopon, known as "the Grammarian" (^{6th} century). The latter is commonly held by Muslim historians to be the last Greek philosopher, which is defensible, but also, by confusion with another character, as contemporary with the advent of Islam. Now, through two narratives featuring a "John the Grammarian," Ashkevarī confronts the respective qualities of 'Alī and the second caliph 'Umar, a classic polemical theme between Shi'ites and Sunnis, with here as a touchstone, which is more original, the attitude relative to the Greek heritage. In the first account, set after the conquest of Alexandria, John claims from the governor 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ the books of wisdom confiscated from the library; but 'Amr receives this order from Caliph 'Umar: "Concerning these books, if there is anything in them that conforms to the Book of God, then the Book of God dispenses with them; and if there is anything that contradicts the Book of God, there is no need for them. So order them to be destroyed. In the second narrative, there is mention of a certain John the Patrician (*al-biṭrīq*) whom the agent of the "Commander of the believers" 'Alī wanted to drive out of the province of Fārs; John wrote to 'Alī asking for protection and the Caliph-imam ordered his son Muḥammad b. al-J:lanafiyya to give him a safe-conduct^{945}. The lesson of history is clear: when 'Umar, the usurper of the caliphate, decreed the destruction of foreign wisdom books, 'Alī, the only true "Commander of the believers", ordered the protection of a scholar of Greek tradition.

3. 'Alī, paragon of the philosophical virtues

While the virtues of 'Alī were early a motif of dialectical theology (*kalām*), Shi'i thinkers also gave them a philosophical meaning. Kamāl al-Dīn Mītham al-Baḥrānī (d. 670/1280-1 or 699/1300) and Sayyid J:Iaydar Amulī (d. after 787/1385-86) thus describe the character of 'Alī in terms of Platonic and Aristotelian ethics. The former, in the introduction to his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*, enumerates the psychic virtues of 'Alī, emanating from the two theoretical and practical powers of the soul, as follows^{946}. 'Alī first possessed the perfection of the theoretical power, namely, theoretical wisdom (*al-ḥikma al-'ilmiyya*) defined as "The perfection of the human soul through the representation of true knowledge and the assent to theoretical realities in the measure of human capacity". He then possessed the perfection of practical power:

This perfection can only be found in the perfection of practical wisdom, which is the perfection of the soul through the perfection of the habit of acting virtuously, so that man is firmly established on the right path, away from the two extremes of defect and excess, in all his acts. It is already attested in the science of morality that there are three capital human virtues. The first is human wisdom (*al-ḥikma al-khalqiyya*). It is the habitus (*malaka*) from which acts emanate that hold the middle ground between cunning and naivety which are the two extremes of excess and defect. 'Alī has proved himself in this matter in his conduct of war and worldly affairs. The second is temperance (*'iffa*). It is the habitus emanating from the balance of the desiderative power (*al-quwwa al-shahawiyya*), through the domination of the practical intellect over it according to the law of justice (*qānūn al-'adl*). It is from it that the acts holding the middle ground between apathy and impudence, which are the two extremes of defect and excess, proceed. This faculty was firmly attested in ['Alī]. [...] The third is courage (*shajā'a*). It is the habitus produced in the soul by the balance of the irascible power (*al-quwwa al-ghaḍabiyya*), by the domination of the intellect over it. It is from this habitus that the acts holding the middle ground between cowardice and recklessness proceed. The attestation of this habitus in ['Alī] has been continuously transmitted (...). Knowing that these three habitus are firmly attested in him, in the most perfect way possible, and being proven that they are concomitant with the virtue of justice, it is proven that the virtue of justice is firmly attested in him. As for the other parts of practical wisdom, such as political and domestic wisdom (...), he was in this matter a man of exception^{947}.

This exposition of the virtues of 'Alī offers a veritable digest of philosophical ethics. The soul is divided, as in Plato, into three parts: rational, irascible and concupiscible. Virtue is defined, according to Aristotle, as perfection born of a habitus and a middle ground between two extremes. As with the latter, the cardinal virtues are wisdom, courage, temperance and justice which embraces the three first^{948}. Example and

model of these virtues, 'Alī occupies the role held by Socrates among Greek philosophers.

J:Iaydar Amulī, known as one of the main advocates of the rapprochement of Imamite Shi'ism and Sufism^{949} The same philosophical portrait of 'Alī is developed in an epistle praising the first Imam's apparently passive and resigned attitude after the death of the Prophet. Opposing both the Sunnis and the "exaggerating" Shi'ites (*ghulāt*), he bases his demonstration of 'Alī's perfect virtue on Aristotelian ethics:

The principal perfections of the soul (...) are four: wisdom, temperance, courage and justice. [The imam] must be qualified by these in order not to be qualified by the extremes of excess and defect which deviate from true mediation and the straight moral path, for this is incompatible with impeccability. [...] The purpose of this research (...) is to show the disputant that courage does not mean what he says it means, namely that the person who has courage is able to do whatever he wants, because this is not the meaning of courage. Rather, courage is the holding of true mediation without extremes (...), because holding to extremes excludes impeccability, and this cannot proceed from the imam^{950}. In Mītham Baḥrānī and J:Iaydar Amulī, the praise of 'Alī's philosophical virtue goes hand in hand with the attestation of his supernatural abilities, whether theoretical, such as his visions of the world of the Mystery, or practical, such as his prodigies (*karāmāt*) and miracles (*mu'jizāt*), which are also given a rational justification e^{951}. The historical 'Alī is thus the object of a two-dimensional portrait, one rational, inspired by philosophy, the other supernatural and non-rational, coming from Shi'i esotericism. Two perspectives that will prove to be complementary rather than antinomic in accounting for the science attributed to 'Alī.

4. 'Aīl, master of truth

As a paragon of philosophical virtues, 'Alī must of course possess at the highest level the sovereign virtue, theoretical wisdom, that is, in the Platonic sense, the contemplation by the intellect of the true, universal and eternal Reality. Now, it is indeed as a master of truth that the historical 'Alī is presented by the Shi'ite philosophers and gnostics. Here again, this wisdom has a double aspect, rational and non-rational or

mystical. Under the first aspect, theological propositions are reported making 'Alī a theorist of *tawḥīd* and creation *ex nihilo*, as in this excerpt from the first preaching of the *Nahj al-balāgha*: "The perfection of the attestation of divine oneness is the negation of attributes (*kamāl al-tawḥīd nafy al-ṣifāt*), through the contemplation of any attribute as being other than the being described (...), for he who describes Him associates [something] with Him, he who associates [something] with Him doubles Him, he who doubles Him divides Him, he who divides Him ignores Him (...) [God] is with every thing without association, other than every thing without separation^{952}. " Mullā Sadrā cites this text several times in referring to 'Alī as "the guide of the Unitarians" (*imām al-muwahḥidīn*); he interprets it by asserting that the existence of the attributes is none other than the existence of the Divine Essence without being added to it as another existence-an interpretation he opposes to that of the Mu'tazilites denying the meanings of the attributes^{953}. His student Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1090/1679) even sees in these words of 'Alī

"proofs of the mental character of quiddity and the principality of existence" (*i'tibāriyya al-māhiyyāt wa aṣāla al-wujūd*), i.e., a scriptural confirmation of his master's most disputed philosophical thesis: the precedence of the act of being or existing over essence or quiddity^{954}.

The most famous philosophic-theological proposition attributed to 'Alī is undoubtedly this sentence with a Socratic accent: "He who knows himself [or his soul (*nafsahu*)] knows his Seigneur^{955}. " Here is the interpretation by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502), a philosopher whose late Shi'ite affiliation remains open to question:

The secret is that the obligation (*taklīf*) is only about the knowledge of God that is commensurate with the capacity [of each]. [Men are only obliged to know Him by the attributes that are familiar to them and that they observe in themselves, with the negation of the defects arising from this attribution to them. As man is needed by another, as he is knowledgeable, powerful, living, speaking, hearing and seeing, he is obliged to believe that these attributes are found in the Reality of the Most High, with the negation of the defects arising from their attribution to him. [He is obliged to believe that [God] is necessary by His own essence, not by another, that He is knowledgeable about all known things, powerful over all possibilities, and likewise for all attributes. We are not obliged to believe in an attribute of the Most High of which there is no example in us, [for] if we were obliged to do so, we would be unable to understand it in truth. This is the first meaning of the saying of 'Alī, peace be upon him: "*He who knows himself knows his Lord* " {956}.

In the second, non-rational or supra-rational aspect of his wisdom, 'Alī is presented as the holder par excellence of the "science of the

Divine proximity" (*'ilm ladunī*), an important concept in Sufism, designating knowledge immediately received from God by effulgence. In an epistle on this theme attributed to al-Ghazālī, we read:

The science of nearness falls to the men of prophethood and holiness, as it happened to Khaḍīr and 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, who informed of this: 'The Envoy introduced his tongue into my mouth, so a thousand doors [or "chapters" (*bāb*)] of Science opened in my heart, and with each, a thousand other doors'; and of this: "If the throne were set up for me, I would sit on it and judge among the faithful of the Torah according to the Torah, among the faithful of the Gospel according to the Gospel, among the faithful of the Psalms according to the Psalms, and among the faithful of the Qur'an [*al-furqān*, the name of Surah XXV] according to the Qur'an " {957}.

Mullā Sadrā cites the same traditions in asserting that this rank cannot be attained by human teaching, but only by divine proximity {958}. He also attributes to 'Alī that saying which Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), in his *Futūḥāt makkiyya*, attributed to Abū Bakr: "I have not seen any thing without seeing God in it" - or "without seeing God before it" according to some reports {959} - held as an attestation of true certainty (*'ayn al-yaqīn*) obtained through testimonial contemplation (*mushāhada*).

This supra-rational aspect is illustrated by an Imamite *ḥadīth* known as "What is Reality (or Truth)?" (*mā al-ḥaqīqa*), which is highly regarded by Shi'i philosophers and gnostics. It is an esoteric dialogue of 'Alī with one of his closest disciples, Kumayl b. Ziyād (d. 83/702-3), considered by many Shi'i thinkers to be the first link in the initiatory 'Alid chain of brotherhoods Sufis {960}. The speech attributed here to 'Alī is considered by the Shi'ites as a fundamental teaching, a word of revealed truth, the object of philosophical exegesis. J. Iyādar Amulī, a Shi'ite disciple of Ibn 'Arabī's thought, as well as Fayḍ Kāshānī in the Safavid period, quote and comment on this tradition on several occasions {961}. But its most unexpected mention is in the *Commentary on the Book of the Wisdom of Enlightenment* [of Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191)] by Shams al-Dīn Shahrāzūrī (d. between 687/1288 and 704/1305), a thinker not reputed to be Shi'i. In the passage under comment, Suhrawardī alleges prophetic *ḥadīths* in support of his theology of the Light; Shahrāzūrī adds this dialogue to them as further scriptural confirmation:

Among the invocations handed down by tradition: 'I invoke You by the Light of Your Face, which fills the pillars of Your Throne' [*ḥadīth* prophetic], for the Light of His Face is the Reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of His Essence proceeding from the Throne with all that it embraces of luminous worlds and

expressed here by the "pillars of the Throne". How beautiful is what is related in this sense of the Prince of the believers ['Alī], salvation be upon him! When Kumayl b. Ziyād asked him, "What is Reality, O Prince of the believers?", 'Alī replied, "What have you to do with Reality?" Kumayl said, "Am I not your confidant?" 'Alī replied, "Yes, but what overflows from me flows onto you." Kumayl: "Does someone like you disappoint the one who questions him?" 'Alī: "No. The Reality is the unveiling of the invocations of the Divine Majesty without any indication (*ishāra*)."

Kumayl: "Explain it to me again." 'Alī: "This is the erasure of the presumed with the truth of the known." Kumayl: "Explain to me again." 'Alī: "It is the attraction of the Absolute Unity (*al-aḥadiyya*) by the clarity of the Divine Oneness (*al-tawḥīd*)."

Kumayl: "Explain to me again" 'Alī: "It is a Light that illuminates since the morning of pre-eternity and whose effects shine on the temples of monotheism." Kumayl: "Explain it to me again." 'Alī: "Extinguish the lamp, the morning has dawned {962}."

Shahrazūrī concludes that the adequate proof of the Light of Lights - God - and the separate intellectual Lights - the angels - can only be adequately expressed through the words of the sages and prophets who are the best of men. Considered divinely inspired, 'Alī's speech thus confirms Suhrawardī's "illuminative" philosophy.

The two rational and non-rational aspects of the science attributed to the historical 'Alī thus turn out to be complementary, not antinomial. Thus, when Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1631), leader of the "philosophical renaissance" in the second Safavid century, presents 'Alī as a master of arithmetic (*'ilm al-a'dād*), it is in accordance with the Pythagorean conviction that the created universe is literally "written in mathematical language" and in order to better attribute to the imam a supernatural science coupled with thaumaturgical powers:

The greatest divine sages (...), who perceive the food of the true realities and the flavors of the subtle entities by the taste of the holy power [of their soul] (...), agree that the ranks of the worlds of generation correspond to the ranks of the world of number, that the relations of the generated world correspond to the numerical relations, that the harmonies of the relations and the mixtures of the entities correspond to the harmonies of the relations and the mixtures of the entities.), agree that the ranks of the worlds of generation correspond to the ranks of the world of number, that the relations of the generated world correspond to the numerical relations, that the harmonies of the relations and the mixtures of the properties of the numerical world (...) are the mirrors and the exact images of the realities of the essences of the world of generation, the measures and the scales of the ranks of the generated things in existence. If one comes to know in full the properties of the relations and the particularities of the ranks of this world, then the states of the existing in becoming, the quantities and the modalities of the past and future events will be revealed to him by the grace of God. Such was the state of the sanctified soul and venerated essence of the Gate of the City of Science (*bāb madīna al-'ilm*), the Abode of the City of Wisdom (*dār madīna al-ḥikma*), the Dweller in the Clay of Certainty (...), 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, as well as his children the purified proxies [...]. It is said that a Jew came to 'Alī and said to him, "Teach me what number has a half, a third, a quarter, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth and a tenth, all of which are whole numbers." 'Alī said to him, "If I tell you, will you submit to God?" "Yes," replied the Jew. 'Alī said:

"Multiply the number of days in the week by the number of days in the month and the result by the number of days in the year, and you will arrive at the number you are looking for. The Jew did the operation [7 times 30

times 360 = 75600] and found the number he was looking for. Then he submitted to God [i.e. converted to Islam] {963}.

The knowledge of 'Alī already contained all philosophy, and even surpassed it, before it entered the land of Islam^{964}. This is also suggested by Fayḍ Kāshānī and Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummī (d. 1103/1691), both Shi'ite traditionists before they were philosophers, by alleging two traditions in particular. The first, an interview of 'Alī with Kumayl b. Ziyād, has as its source the *Kashkūl* of Shaykh Bahā'ī (d. 1030/1620), a famous anthology of Shi'ite, Sufi, and philosophical texts; it is denounced as a Sufi forgery by the traditionist Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699)^{965}. In it Imam 'Alī revises and corrects Aristotle's psychology without saying so, distinguishing four souls inherent in the human soul: the vegetative soul, the sentient animal soul, the holy rational soul, and the universal divine soul (*ilāhiyya kulliyya*)^{966}. The second tradition, another account of a Jew's conversion to the truth, contains an explicit, and arguably anachronistic, mention of the *falsafa* :

A Jew came to ['Alī] while he was talking with a group and said to him, "O son of Abū Tālib, if you had learned philosophy, you would be worth something." 'Alī said to him, "What do you mean by philosophy? He whose temperament is balanced, is his mixture not pure? He whose mixture is pure, is not the influence of the soul stronger in him? He in whom the influence of the soul is stronger, is he not carried to the point where it lifts him up? He who is carried to the point where the soul lifts him up, does he not acquire the morals of the soul? Does not the one who acquires the morals of the soul exist as a man and not as an animal? Does not the one who exists as a man cross the threshold of the angelic form without anything being able to divert him from this end?" The Jew says:

"God is great! You have stated the whole philosophy in these words. May God be pleased with you{967}!"

Fayḍ Kāshānī brings this tradition closer to another statement attributed to 'Alī, whose mystical emphasis evokes the ecstatic Sufism of J:Iusayn b. Manṣūr al-J:Iallāj (d. 309/922): 'God has for His friends a drink. When they drink it, they get drunk. When they get drunk, they go into a trance. When they get into a trance, they become sublime. When they sublimate, they melt. When they melt, they purify. When they purify, they seek. When they search, they find. When they find, they reach the goal. When they reach, they connect. When they connect, there is no longer any difference between them and their Beloved^{968}. " Then this *ḥadīth qudsī*: "He who seeks Me finds Me. He who finds Me knows Me. He who knows Me loves Me. He who loves Me adores Me. He who loves Me, I love him. The one I adore, I kill him. The one I kill, the

the price of his blood is Mine. He whose blood money is mine, I am the price of his blood ^{969} ! " Thus homologated to a *ḥadīth qudsī*, the word of 'Alī is implicitly given the status of a revealed truth.

The historical 'Alī, master of demonstrated and revealed truth, is also a direct source of inspiration for philosophers through his *post-mortem* presence. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī says that he composed his *Treatise of al-Zawrā'* (one of the names of the city of Baghdad) as a result of a vision of Imam 'Alī at Najaf^{970}. From Mīr Dāmād is also reported an ecstatic vision, received in the mosque of Qumm, of Imam 'Alī and the Prophet Muḥammad, the former handing him an incantatory formula (*ḥirz*) that has remained popular among the Shi'i '*urafā'* ^{971}. This living presence of 'Alī beyond death leads us to explore his metaphysical dimension.

II. The metaphysical 'Alī and the metaphysics of 'Alī

I. *Alī in historiosophy*

'Alī plays a crucial role in what we call Shi'i historiosophy, a cyclical yet teleological conception of holy history, born of the meeting of Shi'i esotericism, Suhrawardī's illuminative philosophy, and Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of holiness. In the prologue to his *Kitāb lfikmat al-ishrāq*, Suhrawardī already wrote: "Do not imagine that wisdom (*ḥikma*) is found in this age near us to the exclusion of all others. Rather, the world is never empty of wisdom and of an individual who administers the proofs and clear testimonies of it. [This man] is the lieutenant of God (*khalīfa Allāh*) on His earth^{972}. " And further, "The world is never empty of a man experienced in self-deification (*al-mutawaghghil fī l-ta'alluh*) (...), for lieutenancy cannot be without direct learning. By this authority (*ri'āsa*), I do not mean political dominance. For the deified Guide (*al-imām al-muta'allih*) can be in power and manifest as well as hidden. He is the one whom the multitude calls "the Pole" (*quṭb*). He holds authority even though he is at the height of darkness^{973}. " Suhrawardī thus identifies the figures of the Shi'ite Imam, the Sufi Pole, and the ideal sage of

philosophy, man "made like God as much as possible" according to the formula of Socrates at Plato^{974}. Shahrazūrī, in his commentary on the first passage, cites the *ḥadīth* of 'Alī as the possible source of this statement:

Divine providence (*al-'ināya al-ilāhiyya*), having necessitated the existence of this world, also requires its integrity. Now this integrity passes through the sages instituting the revealed laws and through the self-deified sages practicing speculation (*al-ḥukamā' al-muta'allihīn al-bāḥithīn*). Thus, the earth cannot be empty of one or a few of them, administering the proofs of God to those who are worthy and need them. It is they who preserve the world and its pillars, it is through them that its order is perpetuated (...) and that the bestowal of the Creator (*fayḍ al-bārī*)^{975} is joined to it. [...] As 'Alī, may God honor his face, beautifully described them at the end of one of his discourses: 'Science (*'ilm*) would die if its bearers were to die. But the earth is never empty of a man administering the proofs of God, whether he be manifest and unveiled or fearful and oppressed, so that the proofs of God and His evident testimonies are never abolished. How many are there? Where are they? They are the least and most esteemed by God; their concrete essences (*a'yān*) are lost but their images (*amthāl*) are present in the hearts. God preserves through them His proofs so that they may pass them on to their peers and place them as a deposit in the hearts of their likes^{976}."

Ibn Abī Jumhūr (d. after 904/1499), the last thinker of the rapprochement between Imamism, philosophy and Sufism before the establishment of Imamite Shi'ism as the state religion in Safavid Iran, makes much of this tradition.^{977} He attributes to the "men of gustatory wisdom among the illuminist sages, from the father [of the sages] the great Hermes to the last", the doctrine according to which "the divine Providence, having necessitated the existence of this world, also requires its integrity. [...] It is through them that its order is perpetuated and that the bestowal of the Creator is joined to it. He concludes that "from the perpetuity of the material species necessarily follows, according to the argument of divine providence, the perpetuity of the lieutenancy of God and His lieutenant, who is a divine sage (*ḥakīm ilāhī*) penetrating both the mysteries of self-deification and of speculation^{978}". Ibn Sīnā or Avicenna (d. 428/1037) already, in his *Metaphysics of the Shifā'*, deduced from Divine Providence the necessity that a prophet should exist and that he should be a man^{979}; the argument is extended by Suhrawardī and his commentators, openly Shi'ite or not, to the imams, poles and divine sages, of whom 'Alī is the *exemplum*. Ibn Abī Jumhūr thus expounds the providential function of 'Alī in terms borrowed as much from the *falsafa* as from Shi'ite and Sufi esotericism:

"Alī] is the door through which one enters Him [God]. With ['Alī] the knowledge of [God] is completed". This means (...) that Divine Providence requires the existence of perfect individuals who are

the places of manifestation of His effects in act, the substrates of His theophanies (*tajalliyātihi*), the orients of His names. They are the gates and ways to Him, through knowing them and learning from them the secrets that God has placed in them. It is through them that the knowledge of the wise man (*al-'ārif*) reaches its perfection; he finds refuge in realization through divine service (*al-tahaqquq bi-l-'ubūdiyya*), through his knowledge of the reality of their divine service with the secrets and effects that have become manifest in them and through them. [...] These perfect men therefore become a place of manifestation of all servants, because everything is accomplished through them. It is through them that one prays, through them that one knows. They are the models of everything and it is on them that everything is rule^{980}.

'Alī is here hypostasized into a theophanic being, an archetype of the perfect Man, endowed with an initiatory function as the final cause of knowledge as well as of the service of worship. Ibn Abī Jumhūr, glossing a statement by Suhrawardī already quoted, reminds us that this function, unlike that of the Prophet, is independent of the exercise of political power: "Whether political power (*al-siyāsa*) is in his hands, so that it is manifest, with his hand outstretched, or in the hands of another, he is the preserver of the esoteric order (*al-amr al-bāṭinī*) without which the exoteric (*al-ẓāhir*) cannot be accomplished^{981}. " In the transhistorical attributes of the imam, pole, or sage, we thus find the mark of the historical figure of 'Alī that is political abstention or impotence.

Ibn 'Arabī's conception of holiness or the divine covenant (*walāya*) also plays a major role in the historiosophy of late Shi'i thinkers. It is well known that for Shi'ite esotericism, with the sealing of prophethood by Muḥammad the cycle of the *walāya*, the imamate of 'Alī and his successors, opens.^{982} Ibn 'Arabī, for his part, develops a distinction between the absolute or universal Covenant (*muṭlaqa*), occurring in the pre-eternity (*al-azal*) and subsisting in the post-eternity (*al-abad*), and the determinate Covenant (*muqayyada*) of the Muḥammadian Law ; and asserting the existence of a "seal of the Covenant" (*khātam al-walāya*) analogous to the "seal of prophecy" Muḥammad, he identifies the seal of the absolute Covenant with Jesus and suggests that he himself would be the seal of the determined Covenant ^{983}. J:Iaydar Amulī, in his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, takes up the idea of the double Covenant and the double seal but corrects Ibn 'Arabī: the seal of the Absolute Covenant can only be 'Alī and that of the Determined Covenant, the twelfth Imam al-M aḥdī^{984}. The status of 'Alī is based on *ḥadīths* of the Prophet quoted *ad libido*: "What God created first was Intellect"; "What God created first was my light"; "'Alī and I were a light in the hands of God";

"I was a Prophet when Adam was still between water and clay"; and from 'Alī: "I was an Ally [of God] when Adam was still between water and ar gile^{985} ".

The place of 'Alī in Shi'ite historiosophy is finally illustrated throughout Ashkevarī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, a monumental history of wisdom organized in three books (*maqāla*), the first on pre-Islamic sages, the second on Islamic scholars, philosophers, and spirituals, and the third on Shi'ite imams and religious scholars. The first book begins with Adam's testimony to the ontological and theological precedence of 'Alī at the time of his creation, and ends with the mention, seen above, of the Caliph 'Alī's benevolence for the last Greek philosopher. The second book concludes with the praise of a series of Sufī masters, true philosophers and disciples of the Imams, drawing their knowledge from the source of the historical 'Alī. The third book begins with the miraculous birth of 'Alī and concludes with his metaphysical essence, the principle and end of the movement of existence, identified with the "point under the *bā* of [the formula] *bi-smi-llāh*^{986} ". This brings us to a new dimension of 'Alī, cosmic and anthropological, though still metaphysical.

2. 'Aī in i'anthropoilogie and i'anthropogonie cosmiques

In countless philosophical works, composed mainly but not only by Shi'ite authors, one finds the conception, of Pythagorean origin, of man as a "small world" or microcosm (*'ālam ṣaghīr*) and of the universe as a "great man" or macranthrope (*insān kabīr*). This theory, first developed in Islam by Jābir b. J:Iayyān (^{3rd/9th} century), the Ikhwān al-ṣafā (^{4th/Xth} century)-two collectives of Shi'ite persuasion-and Ibn 'Arabī, was widely taken up and developed by the Imamite philosophers of Safavid Iran. All of them articulate this conception with the Akbarian notion of the Perfect Man or Universal Man (*al- insān al-kāmil*) by assimilating the latter to 'Alī, i.e., to his metaphysical entity, theophany and receptacle of the Divine Effulgence. These speculations on the man-microcosm often, if not systematically, refer to verses attributed to the historical 'Alī, held in this context to be authentic even though the apocryphal character of the *Dīwān* is no secret. Kamāl al-Dīn Mīr J:Iusayn Maybudī (d.

909/1503-04), author of a commentary on this *Dīwān* and whose Shi'ite affiliation is not certain, reports these verses thus:

Your remedy is within you and you do not understand, your evil comes from you and
you do not see it You are the clear book whose letters manifest the hidden
You who claim to be only a small body, the great world is wrapped up in you^{987}

The philosopher Mīr Dāmād, who makes an exception by refraining from quoting these verses, nonetheless develops this cosmic anthropology by placing 'Alī at its center, in commenting on an *ḥadīth* of the Prophet reported by the sixth imam and deemed perfectly sound: "'Alī is the example among you [or: in my community] of the verse 'Say, 'He is God, He is One'" in the Qur'an (v. CXII, 1)^{988}. " Based on the analogy, dear to J:Iaydar Amulī, between the book of God, the book of the "horizons" or the world, and the book of the soul or man - according to Qur'an, v. XLI, 53 ("We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and in their souls...") -, Mīr Dāmād writes:

The accomplished human rational soul on both sides of science and practice is in the highest degree of its perfection, corresponding to the highest rank of the acquired Intellect, for that it alone is, within the limit of that rank, an intelligible world (*'ālam 'aqlī*) comprising the whole world of existence, similar to it in the gathering of all things, and a synthetic clear book, similar to the universal Book which is the order of the worlds of existence (...). Therefore, the truly learned man (*al-insān al-'ārif*) is said to be the macrocosm, and the whole world is said to be the micranthrope. [...] ['Alī] states in the language of his spiritual state (*bi-lisān ḥālihi*) what is stated by "Say: He is God, He is One" in the language of words. Now the language of the spiritual state is the clearest and its testimony the most eloquent. That is why this word salivated from its tongue: "This [the Qur'an] is the silent Book and I am the speaking Book. 'Alī is thus the Surah *al-Ikhlāṣ* ("the fundamental religion") or *al-Tawḥīd* ("the divine oneness") [Qur. CXII] in the book of the world, it is an intelligible and clear book, similar to the book of the system of existence^{989}.

Mīr Dāmād operates here the rejoinder of Shi'ite esotericism and avicennism. From the former comes of course the conception of 'Alī as "Talking Book of God" (*kitāb allāh al-nāṭiq*), a hermeneuticist of the Qur'an without which it remains a "dumb book" ^{990}. From the latter, he inherits the thesis that the perfection of the rational soul consists in becoming an intelligible world^{991}. As he writes elsewhere (in Persian), quoting the end of Avicenna's *Metaphysics of the Shifā'*:

The perfect wise man (...), deified and sanctified (*mota'alleh motaqaddes*) (...), having actualized in his second nature the most perfect possible lot of the acquired intellect, becomes an intelligible world similar to the synthetic order of the universe (...). That it holds the properties of prophecy, of the

legislating mission and the sealing of prophecy (*khātimīyyat*), or the rank of the testamentary mandate (*veṣāyat*) and the inheritance of the seal of prophecy (*verāthat-e khātim al-nubuvva*) (...), he is God's lieutenant on earth, and as our predecessor at the head of the Islamic philosophy said (...): "he becomes almost a human Lord (*rabbān insāniyyan*) whose service would be lawful after that of God Most High" {992}.

As mentioned above by Ashkevarī, the *logion* of 'Alī that has most inspired gnostics and Shi'ite philosophers in the field of anthropology and anthropogony, ideally lending itself to neoplatonic interpretation as well as to esoteric speculations mixing hermeneutics and the "science of letters", is this one: "I am the point under the *bā'*, that is, under the *bā'* of *bi-smi-llāh* ["in the name of God"] . {993}» . Amulī bases the consubstantiality of 'Alī with the "Muḥammadian Light," the first created being, on this and other traditions, and to make the connection with the historical 'Alī:

In short, the secrets of the *bismillāh* are not susceptible to being fixed and written down. Of this station it is said, "Existence (*wujūd*) has manifested from the *bā'* of *bi-smi-llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*"; and it is said, "Through the *bā'*, existence has manifested, and through the point [under the *bā'*], the servant (*al-'ābid*) has distinguished himself from the Lord (*al-ma'būd*).". The Prince of the believers (...) says: "I am the point under the *bā'*", for he is like the point in regard to the first concretization (*al-ta'ayyun al-awwal*) which is the true Muḥammadian Light, by virtue of [the Prophet's] saying: 'That which God created first was my light called *al-raḥīm*' and his [other] saying: 'I and 'Alī are of one light'. Indeed, the Prophet is like the *bā'* and 'Alī is like the point below him, for the *bā'* is realized only with and through the point, just as the Prophet realizes his perfection only with and through the Ally (*walāya*), although the Ally [Imam] (*walī*) is inferior in rank to the Prophet. This is what the Prince of the Initiates indicated when he said, "Science is a point that the ignorant multiply". That is to say, true science is a point or access to true science depends on the knowledge of this point as well as the modalities of its manifestation, its places of appearance and its ranks; but that the ignorant have multiplied it by ignoring it and rejecting its companion ['Alī]. "He in whom God does not put His light, has no light left" (Qur'an, XXIV, 40) {994}.

Ibn Abī Jumhūr draws on the same traditions to describe the cosmogonic and gnoseological status of 'Alī. His development evokes the dual Neoplatonic themes of emanation from the One (*próodos*) and conversion or return to the One (*epistrophe*). It also suggests one of the most esoteric, secret and sacred theses of Shi'ism: the superiority of the Imam's science over that of the Prophet:

Whoever wants to know the horizons [the world] must necessarily know the first existent and its reality which is near the *bā'* and its point. That is why 'Alī says: "Science is a point that the ignorant multiply". This knowledge follows two paths: either it proceeds from unity to multiplicity, from principle to end, following the path of descent and manifestation (*zuhūr*); or

it proceeds from multiplicity to unity and from the end to the principle, following the path of elevation and interiority (*buṭūn*). [...] About the knowledge he received of the point of existence on the night of his heavenly ascension (*layla al-mi'rāj*), the Prophet said, "I have learned the sciences of the first and the last" (...). And about his own knowledge of them, 'Alī said, "I am the point under the *bā*," and "Ask me about what is under the T rōne{995}."

Ibn Abī Jumhūr also connects this *ḥadīth* with the historical person of 'Alī as the source of initiatory chains, chains counting not only the imams and "pillars of the shī'ism," but also Sufī masters held, following Suhrawardī, to be "philosophers in the true sense .{996}." 'Alī still appears as the alpha and omega of historiosophy, the history of wisdom and holiness at the same time:

The one who says "I am the point under the *bā*" is 'Alī and none other than him among the perfect ones. This is reported from him by the greatest companions like Salmān, Abū Dharr, Kumayl b. Ziyād{997}, and his children have reported it from him in the long sermon called 'of glory' (*al-iftikhārīyya*), in which he says even more enormous than this: "I am the face of God, I am the flank of God, I am the hand of God, I am the speaking Qur'an, I am the truthful demonstration, I am the preserved Table, I am the supreme Calamus (...), I am the point under the *bā*'{998}..." The sound intellect attests to the truth of this. Every intellectual man recognizes by his intelligence that 'Alī b. Abī Tālib is the prince of the Unitarians (*sayyid al-muwahhīdīn*), the pole of the true scholars (*quṭb al-'ārifīn*), their leader and guide. Al-Shiblī, Junayd, Ma'rūf al-K arkhī{999}(...) and other masters immersed themselves in the ocean of his knowledge and testimony. More than that, every spiritual pilgrim (*sālik*) is affiliated with him and his students; whoever does not have a relationship with his initiatory mantle (*khirqā*) does not enter this community [of Sufis]. [...] This point may refer to the point of Prophethood or the point of the Divine Covenant attributed exclusively to the Prophet and 'Alī, for the universal and absolute Prophethood, as well as the universal and absolute Covenant, are exclusive to these two beings. This is by virtue of the Prophet's saying: "I was a Prophet when Adam was still between water and clay", and 'Alī's saying: "I was an Ally when Adam was still between water and clay". Both are inseparable, as is proven by intellect, tradition, revelation and testimony{1000}.

The "Preaching of Glory" quoted and commented on here is one of the preaches qualified as "theo-imamosophical" by Mr. A. Amir -Moezzi{1001}. These discourses, which consecrate 'Alī as the subject and object of the discourse on the Perfect Man, are rejected as "extremist" forgeries by the rationalist Shi'ite jurists-theologians, but held to be authentic by the Shi'ite gnostics such as Rajab al-Bursī (d. after 813/1410-11), who quotes them in extenso{1002} ; J:laydar Amulī, who approximates them to the ecstatic sayings (*shaṭhiyyāt*) of Sufī masters including J:allāj{1003} ; Fayḍ Kāshānī, who in the Safavid era cites them to exalt the model of the "science of proximity" against the authority of *ijtihād*, the rational interpretation of the Law by the jurist-theologians{1004}.

A final meditation on the *ḥadīth* of the point of the *bā'* will show the permanence of this theme of the cosmogonic 'Alī in Shi'ah philosophy. It is the work of Mīr Dāmād, who cites it among other *ḥadīths* reported above in support of a thought combining Avicennian metaphysics, Akbaric theosophy, and esoteric "science of letters":

It is known that in the world are written the letters of a book. The raw material is the dot, analogous to the numerical unit. The primary element is the *alif*, analogous to the numerical one; it indicates the Divine Order, the Compassionate Sigh (*naḥas-e raḥmānī*), the Instituting Influx (*ta'thūr-e ebdā'ī*). As for the *bā'*, which is the first development of the *alif*, it occupies the place of the first Intellect, which is the first being derived from the instaurating Order and the first letter of the explicit Book of the universal system of the beings. Through familiarity with the lights of these essential realities [is known] the secret of the noble word of the Book speaking of God ['Alī]: 'I am the point under the *bā'*, after the truth of what the Seal of the Envoys (...) and Prince of the Universe [Muḥammad] said was manifested: "What God created first was the Intellect," "What God created first was my light," and again "'Alī and I are of one light unique{1005}."

The cosmogonic function of 'Alī and his role in historiosophy finally call for his central presence in a philosophical eschatology as developed by Fayḍ Kāshānī in coherence with original Shi'ite esotericism:

The destruction of the world of this world (*al-dunyā*) comes about only through the absence of the perfect Man in it and the building of the other world (*al-ākhirā*) comes about only through its existence in it. Indeed, the purpose of the existention and sustenance of the world is the perfect Man and the righteous Imam who is God's lieutenant on His earth, just as the purpose of the arrangement of the body (*taswiya al-jasad*) is the rational soul (*al-naḥs al-nāṭiqā*). On the other hand, the body perishes and disappears when the rational soul separates from it. God (...) reveals Himself in the worlds of this world only through an intermediary; with the interruption of this mediation the influx (*imdād*) which, from Him, necessitates the existence and the perfections of this world is interrupted. [...] The Prince of the Initiates says: "The earth is never empty of a man administering the proof [of God], whether he be manifest and known or fearful and unknown{1006}."

'Alī, the "speaking Book" (*al-kitāb al-nāṭiq*), is thus identified with the speaking or rational soul, as necessary for the sustenance of the world as this soul is for the sustenance of the body. In this way, Shi'i imamology and philosophical anthropology are conjoined or harmonized. Moreover, 'Alī, subject and object of the discourse, appears as the ontological and philosophical proof of God.

3. 'Aī, human Lord and divine Man

If the Islamic notion of perfect man or universal man has its roots in Shi'ism as well as in philosophy and Sufism, its

identification with 'Alī is properly the work of the Imamite philosophers of the Ilkhānid period and safavid^{1007}. If Mīr Dāmād and Mullā Sadrā are to be believed, Ibn Sīnā would nevertheless have been the first to see in the person of 'Alī the Divine Man in the Platonic philosophical sense of the term: "The master and leader of the philosophers of Islam, Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā, in his *Treatise of the Celestial Ascension (risāla al-mi'rāj)*, says: "The Prince of the Believers 'Alī b. Abī Tālib - salvation be upon him - is the center of wisdom, the sphere of true reality, the treasure of the Intellect. He was already among the companions [of the Prophet] as the intelligible within the sensible (*ka-l-ma'qūl bayna l- maḥsūs*)^{1008}. " And Mīr Dāmād goes on to conclude the *Metaphysics of the Shifā'*, slightly modified: "The deified man who has perfected theoretical wisdom through the holy faculty and gained the properties of prophecy becomes almost a human Lord whose service would follow that of God. He is the ruler of the earthly world and the lieutenant of God in this world^{1009}. "

The theophanic, deified or, more simply put, divine character of 'Alī is further supported by the speculations of these Shi'a thinkers on the divine Names ^{1010}. Rajab al-Bursī, in particular, builds on the homonymy of 'Alī and the divine Name "the Most High" (*al-'alī*), as well as on the principle of identity of the name and the named:

Considering the Names and Attributes, we find no more prominent name than these three: the Name of the Essence, the Name of the Attributes, and the Name that is the secret of the Essence and the spirit of the Attributes. [This is the Word that runs through the whole of existence; it is the secret of the Essence as well as of the Attributes; it is through it that the beings generated are acted upon. The Name of the Essence is *Allāh*; it is the sanctified Name, the proper name of the Essence of the True One. The Name of the Attributes is "the One, the One" (*al-aḥad al-wāḥid*), and it is *Muḥammad*. The Name that is the spirit of the Attributes and the secret of the Essence is 'Alī; he is the Light of lights. Each of these three Names is the supreme Name. The Name of Majesty is the sanctified and revered Name [*Allāh*]. The Name *Muḥammad* is the exoteric of the Supreme Name (...). The Name 'Alī is the exoteric of the esoteric and the esoteric of the exoteric (*ẓāhir al-bātin wa bātin al-ẓāhir*) ; it is therefore the supreme Name in the essential Reality in that it gathers the secret of the divine Lordship, the secret of Prophecy, the secret of the divine Covenant, the secret of Power and Kingship, the secret of the world of divine Omnipotence and Supremacy, the secret of divine Free Will. This is indicated by God's saying, "*To Him belongs the highest semblance (al-mathal al-a'lā) of the heavens and the earth*" (Qur'an, v. xxx, 27), and it is 'Alī, greetings be upon him^{1011}. [...]

Let us emphasize the identification of 'Alī with "the secret of the divine Essence" and "the Light of lights", synonymous with God in Suhrawardī. 'Alī is qualified as the perfect and complete theophanic being, expressing the two esoteric and exoteric dimensions of God according to Qur'an, v. LVII, 3 ("He,

the Initial and the Final, the Manifest and the Hidden"). Bursī confirms this with an excerpt from a "theo-imamosophical" preaching: "The proof of the truth of these speculations and the esoteric meaning [of the verse] are to be found in the reported word (...) of the Prince of the Initiates ['Alī]: 'By my Name all begotten beings have come into being; in my Name all the prophets have prayed. I am the Tablet, I am the Calamus, I am the Throne, I am the Pedestal, I am the seven heavens, I am the most beautiful Names and the highest Verbs" "^{1012}.

Mullā Sadrā too confirms the theophanic being of 'Alī by his proper name: "There is a subtle clarification here: 'Alī (...) is the perfect Man, the most perfect of creatures. There is no difference between him and the ally [of God] Muḥammad in the esoteric of Prophethood and the Divine Covenant. The perfect Man is created according to the form of the Name *Allāh*; in him are the signs of the sovereignty and power of manifestation of the Names and Attributes. God has named him with that Name from among the Names, taken from His own Name "the Most High, the Highest" (*al-'alī al-a'lā*) "^{1013}.

The philosophical deification of 'Alī is even more explicit in an account of the Prophet's heavenly ascent reported by Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummī. It is said that Muḥammad, after passing through the heavens which are the end of the world of composition, saw first the lower rank of the intellective soul (*al-nafs al-'aqliyya*) in the form of the Tūbā tree and the boundary cedar; then the middle rank of the intellective soul in the form of camels and she-camels descending endlessly from the upper world ; finally, "at the distance of two bows or less still, he saw a luminous human being (*basharan nūriyyan*), a divine man (*insānan ilāhiyyan*) penetrating the veil of light; he saw his back, similar to the back of the Prince of the Believers ['Alī]; this is the highest rank of the divine soul (*al-martaba al-a'lā li-l-nafs al-ilāhiyya*) "^{1014}. That the divinity and supereminence of 'Alī is attested by the Prophet himself is obviously crucial. The celestial ascent is described philosophically as a conversion in the Neoplatonic sense, an ascent of the intellective soul to its divine principle. Already assimilated to the Intellect and the rational soul, 'Alī is now identified with the divine soul, the essence of the perfect Man, whose distinction from the intellective or rational soul, proper to man, was attributed to him in a tradition summarized above.

Finally, we owe to Fayḍ Kāshānī the clearest formulation of the dual historical and metaphysical, anthropological and theophanic dimensions of 'Alī, the most revealing also of the compenetration of

Shi'ite imamology and philosophy. In a long tradition attributed to the sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sādiq, who is asked why

"Alī is the one who divides between paradise and hell" (*qasīm al-janna wa l- nār*), answers that "love for 'Alī is faith and hatred for him is infidelity (*kufṛ*)," and further adds, "All the prophets, the envoys and the believers loved 'Alī; all their opponents hated him and those who loved him^{1015} ". Fayḍ Kāshānī, quoting an anonymous scholar, comments:

"What is meant by the love of the Prince of believers is that which comes from the knowledge of his rank (*maqām*), for he is the one who guides (*yusāwiqu*) faith ; it is not the love of his individuality existing in this world for a certain period of time, [individuality] perceptible by the partial senses, but the love of him true and divine (*maḥabbatuhu al-ḥaqīqiyya al-ilāhiyya*), [the love of] his universal intellectual rank (*maqāmuhu al-'aqlī al-kullī*) prior to the creation of the men^{1016} . "

In conclusion

At the end of this journey following the presence of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib in the history of Islamic philosophy, from its beginnings to the end of the Safavid renaissance^{1017} It is clear that his role was far from being that of a mere pretextual figure or convenient authority. As a historical individual as well as a conceptual figure, he made possible the reformulation of the Greek idea of the divine sage, the very ideal of philosophy, in an Islamic monotheistic context. This idea, which clashed with the non-mystical Sunni orthodoxy attached to the strict precedence of the Prophet - and to his non-divine character - found its fullest expression in the Shi'ite philosophers of pre-modern and modern Iran, around the figure of the first Imam.

One of the essential and philosophically most significant features of this figure is the porosity or circularity between his words and his nature. Everything happens as if 'Alī's verb, like God's, is ontologically performative: when he says, he does what he says and he is what he says: the macrocosm, the speaking Qur'an, the Proof of God or the point under the *bā'* of the formula *bi-smi-llāh*; as he is also what his name, a divine Name, says and makes of him. Like Pythagoras or Socrates in

In Greek philosophy, 'Alī occupies in Islamic philosophy the position of subject, object and source of a discourse of truth about man, the world and God. This means that his identification with the divine or perfect Man, among Shi'ite thinkers, is not only an act of faith, but also a philosophical decision; and that his insistent, not to say obsessive, presence in the works of the philosophers and spiritualists, Shi'ite and non-Shi'ite, quoted in these pages, testifies as much to the conservation of the ancient philosophical spirit in Islam as to the proper character of Islamic philosophy.

Table 1
The Banū Hāshim (main characters) and the Family of the Prophet Muḥammad

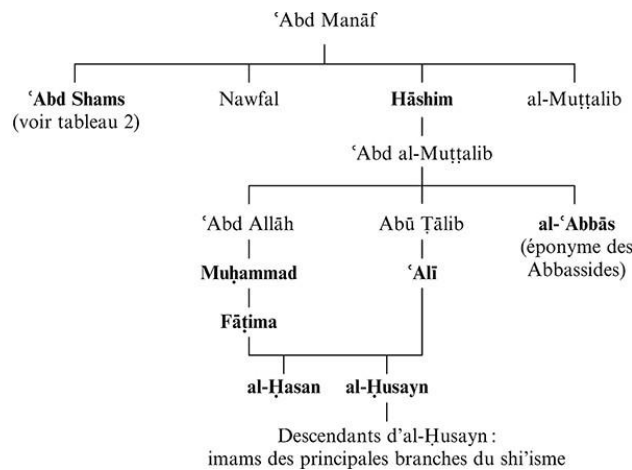
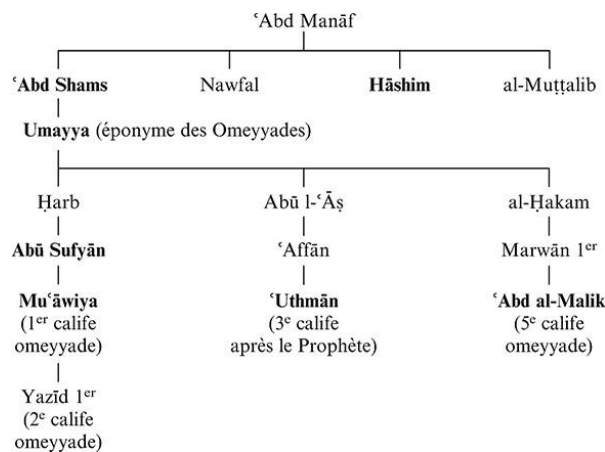


Table 2
The Banū ʿAbd Shams (main characters) ʿAbd Manāf





LA PORTE DU SAVOIR

Historical landmarks

616-619: Violent tensions between influential Qurayshites, especially the Banū 'Abd Shams, clan of the Umayyads, and the Banū Hāshim, clan of Muḥammad.

1/622: the hegira: emigration, according to tradition, of Muḥammad and his first followers from Mecca to Medina (beginning of the Muslim calendar).

2/624: Battle of Badr: Muḥammad's victory over the Meccan Qurayshites.

3/625: Battle of Uḥud: victory of the Meccans over the Prophet's followers.

8/630: conquest of Mecca by Muḥammad and his followers.

11/632: Death of Muḥammad. Appointment of Abū Bakr as his successor to the *saqīfa* (precinct) of the Banū Sā'ida clan. Death of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad, a few months after that of her father. Beginning of the "Sedition Wars."

13/634: Death (violent?) of Abū Bakr. Accession to the caliphate of 'Umar.

15/636: beginning of the Arab conquests: Damascus and most of Syria and Palestine.

16-22/637-642: conquest of Jerusalem, Ctesiphon (capital of Sassanid Persia), Mesopotamia, Armenia. Evacuation of Alexandria by the Byzantines.

23/644: Assassination of 'Umar. Beginning of the caliphate of 'Uthmān.

26-29/649-50: Arab incursions in Cappadocia, Phrygia, Carthage.

Disembarkation in Cyprus.

35/656: Assassination of 'Uthmān. Beginning of the caliphate of 'Alī.

36-38/657-659: Civil wars of Camel (Jamal), Siffin, Nahrawān. Mu'āwiya is recognized as the first Umayyad caliph in Syria.

40/661: Assassination of 'Alī. Beginning of the Umayyad caliphate which will last from 661 to 750.

49-50/669-670: Death of al-J:lasan, eldest son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, probably poisoned by order of Mu'āwiya.

61/680: Massacre of al-J:Iusayn, youngest son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, and his family at Karbalā by the troops of the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.

65-86/685-705: Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Probable establishment of the official version of the Qur'an.

133/750 : Fall of the Umayyads by the Abbasid revolution. Beginning of the Abbasid caliphate which will last until the Mongol invasion in 656/1258.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AI(U)ON = *Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli*.

BEO = *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*.

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.

BSL = *Bulletin de Société de Linguistique*.

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.

EI2 = *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

EI3 = *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd ed.

Enc. Ir. = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

EPHE = École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne).

EQ = *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*.

GAL = Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Weimar, 1898.

GAS = Sezgin, F., *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967-1985.

IC = *Islamic Culture*.

IJMES = *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies*.

JA = *Asian Journal*.

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

JSAI = *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.

JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies*.
MIDEO = *Melanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*.
MW = *Muslim* (formerly *Moslem*) *World*.
REI = *Journal of Islamic Studies*.
MMER = *Review of Muslim Worlds and the Mediterranean*. *RHR* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.
SI = *Studia Islamica*.
SSR = *Shi'i Studies Review*.
St Ir = *Studia Iranica*.
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

Works cited

- Abel, F.-M., *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris, 1952.
- Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. M.M. 'Abd al-J:Iamīd, 4 vols, Cairo, n.d.
- Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī, *Dīwān*, ed. M.J:I. Al Yāsīn, Beirut 1974.
- Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *lḥfilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo, 1351/1932.
- Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn* ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī in *al-Nūr al-mushta'al-muqtabas min kitāb Mā nazal min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn*, Tehran, 1406/1985.
- Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut-London, 1985.
- Addas, C., "Baḥirā", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, Paris, 2007, pp. 105- 109.
- Afandī/Efendī al-Jīrānī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Isā, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, Qumm, 1401/1981.
- Agostini, D., "La conquête arabe de l'Iran et la chute du zoroastrisme : processus eschatologique ou réalité historique ? Une réponse d'après les sources pehlevies ", in E. Aubin-Boltanski and C. Gauthier (eds.), *Penser la fin du monde*, Paris, 2014, pp. 147-165.
- Ahmad, I.A., "The Dawn Sky on *lailat ul-qadr*", *Archaeoastronomy* 11 (1989-93), pp. 97-100.
- Ahrens, K., "Christliches im Quran," *ZDMG* 48 (1930), pp. 15-68 and 148-190.
- Eagle, D., "Sarbedārs," *EnIr*.
- Alexander, P.J., *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley, 1985.
- Algar, H., "Aḥrār," *EI2*.
- Algar, H., "Naḳshbandiyya," *EI2*.
- Algar, H., "Ni'mat- Allāhiyya," *EI2*.
- 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (attributed to), *Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. 'A.N. Fayḍ al-islām, Tehran, 1351 solar/1972; ed. J:I. al-A'lamī, Beirut, 1413/1993.
- Al-Oraibi, A., "Rationalism in the School of Bahrain: A Historical Perspective," *Shī'ite Heritage*, L. Clarke (ed.), Binghamton (NY) 2001, pp. 331-343.
- Al-Oraibi, A., "Shī'i Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century," Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, Montreal 1992.
- Al-Qāḍī, W., "The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya," in A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und*

- Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 295-319.
- Al-Qāḍī = al-Kāḍī, W., "An early Fatimid political document," *SI* 48, 1978, pp. 71-108.
- Altorki, S., "Milk-Kinship in Arab Society: An Unexplored Problem in the Ethnography of Marriage," *Ethnology* 19, 1980, pp. 233-244.
- al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī ma'rifa aḥwāl al-'arab*, Cairo 1928.
- Alves, A., *A Noite do destino. Laylat al-qadr*, Lisbon, 1993.
- Ambros, A.A., *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic*, Wiesbaden, 2004.
- 'Amilī, J:I., *Shurūḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, Beirut, 1983.
- 'Amilī, J., *Dirāsa fī 'alāmāt al-ḡuhūr*, Qumm, 1411/1990.
- Amīn, Muḥsin, *A'yān al-shī'a*, Beirut, 1403/1983.
- Amīnī 'Abd al-J:Iusayn, *al-Ghadīr fī l-kitāb wa l-sunna wa l-adab*, Beirut, 1387/1967.
- Amir-Arjomand, S., "Origins and Development of Apocalypticism and Messianism in Early Islam: (610-750 c.e.)", in Id. (ed.) *Sociology of Shi'ite Islam*, Leiden, 2016.
- Amir Arjomand, S., *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago, 1984.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "'Alī and the Qur'an (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XIV)," *Journals of Philosophical and Theological Sciences* 98.4 (Oct.-Dec. 2014), pp. 669-704 (also appeared in A. Straface, C. De Angelo & A. Manzo (eds), *Labor Limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni. Studi Magrebini*, Nuova Serie vol. XII-XIII, Naples 2014-2015 - in fact 2018 -, volume 1, pp. 1-39).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "*Al-Durr al-Thamīn* attributed to Rajab al-Bursī. Un exemple des 'commentaires coraniques personnalisés' shi'ites (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine XVI)", *Le Muséon* 130 (1-2), 2017, pp. 207-240 (also published in Iyas Hassan (ed.), *La littérature aux marges du Adab. Regards croisés sur la prose arabe classique*, Paris, 2017, pp. 218-266).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Al-Saffār al-Qummi (d. 290/902-903) and his *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *JA* t. 280, no. 3-4, 1992, pp. 221-250.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022) and the Question of the Falsification of the Qur'an", in D. De Smet & M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds.) *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam*, Paris, 2014, pp. 199-229 (also appeared in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, nuova serie, vol. 87, fas. 1-4 (2014), pp. 155-176).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology I: remarks on the divinity of the Imam", *St Ir* 25.2 (1996), pp. 193-216.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Considerations on the phrase *Dīn 'Alī*. Aux origines de la foi shi'ite," in *ZDMG* 150/1 (2000), pp. 29-68.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Twelver Shi'ism", *En. Ir.*
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *Dictionnaire du Coran* (ed.), Paris, 2007. Amir-Moezzi, "Dissimulation", *EQ*.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Tactical Concealment (*Taqiyya*) and the Sealing of Prophecy (*Khatm al-Nubuwwa*) (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XII)," *JA* 302.2 (2014), pp. 411-438
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Du droit à la théologie : les niveaux de réalité dans le shi'isme duodécimain", in *Cahiers du Groupe d'Etudes Spirituelles Comparées (GESC)*, 5 "l'Esprit et la Nature", *Actes du colloque de Paris, 11-12 mai 1996*, 1997, pp. 37-63.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Étude du lexique technique de l'ésotérisme imāmite," in *Annuaire de l'EPHE, section des sciences religieuses*, t. CII, 1994-95.
- Amir-Moezzi, "Fāṭema," part one, *En Ir.* Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Ghadīr Khumm," *EI3*.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Icon and Contemplation: Between Folk Art and Sufism in Imamite Shi'ism (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XI)," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, University of Michigan, New Series/vol. 20, 2006 [actually 2010], pp. 1-12 (also published in H. Biesterfeldt und V. Klemm (eds.), *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 473-490 and updated in C. Altini, Ph.

- Hoffmann and J.Rüpke (eds.), *Issues of Interpretation. Texts, Images, Rites*, Stuttgart, 2018, pp. 87-103.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "The Night of *Qadr* (Qur'an, Sura 97) in Early Shi'ism (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XV)," *MIDEO* 31 (2015), pp. 181-204.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *The Proof of God. La mystique shi'ite à travers l'œuvre de Kulaynī (9e-10e siècle)*, Paris, 2018.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *La religion discrète. Croyances et pratiques spirituelles dans l'islam shi'ite*, Paris, 2006 (20152).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "La vision par le cœur dans l'islam shi'ite", *Connaissance des religions* 57-59, 1999, pp. 146-169.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "The fighter of the *ta'wīl*": a poem by Mollā Sadrā about 'Alī (aspects of Duodecimal Imamology IX)", *JA* 292.1-2 (2004), pp. 331-359 (also appearing in Lawson, T. (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, London-New York, 2005).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant. Sources scripturaires de l'islam entre histoire et fveur*, Paris, 2011.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *Le Guide divin dans le shi'isme originel*, Paris-Lagrasse, 1992 (20052).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A. "The Five Spirits of the Divine Man (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XIII)," *Der Islam* 92.2 (2015), pp. 297-320 (also appeared in *Gnosis and Manichaeism. Entre les oasis d'Égypte et la Route de la Soie. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, A. Van Den Kerchove & L.G. Soares Santoprete (eds.), Turnhout, 2017, pp. 377-398; abridged version: "Les cinq membres intellectifs de l'homme de Dieu entre l'Antiquité tardive et l'islam shi'ite", *Comptes- rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Avril-Juin 2015 II, pp. 609-625).
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "'The descendants of Adam are the organs of the same body'. Remarques sur la solidarité non-communautaire en islam ", in *Solidarité. Enquête sur un principe juridique*, ed. Alain Supiot. Paris, 2015, pp. 183-197.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Le shi'isme et le Coran", in *Le Coran des historiens, op.cit.* 1, pp. 919-967.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "The Imams and the Ghulāt. New reflections on the relationship between 'moderate' Imamism and 'extremist' Shi'ism," *SSR* 4/1-2, 2020, pp. 5-38.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *L'esotérisme shi'ite, ses racines et ses prolongements*, edited with M. de Cillis, D. De Smet and O. Mir-Kasimov, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Turnhout, 2017.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "The *Tafsīr* of al-J:libarī (d. 286/899). Qur'anic exegesis and early Shi'ite esotericism," *Journal of Scholars*, January-June 2009, pp. 3-23.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "L'imam dans le ciel. Ascension et initiation (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine III)", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels*, Louvain-Paris, 1997, pp. 99-116.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah. New Remarks on the Origins of Islam and Shi'i Imamology," edited by M.A. Amir-Moezzi, co-edited with D. De Smet, O. Mir-Kasimov, and M. De Cillis, *L'esotérisme shi'ites, ses racines et ses prolongements/Shi'i Esotericism, its Roots and Developments*, Turnhout (Belgium), 2016, pp. 19-54.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Notes on the Imamite *walāya* (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology X)," *JAOS* 122/4 (2002), pp. 722-741.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Bibliographical Note on the *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*. The Oldest Existing Shi'ite Work," in Id, M.M. Bar-Asher & S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmite Shī'ism Forty Years Later. A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 33-48.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Reflections on an Evolution of Duodecimal Shi'ism: Tradition and Ideologization," in *Les Retours aux Écritures. Fondamentalismes Present and Past*, ed. by E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulluec, Louvain-Paris, 1993, pp. 63-81.

- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Remarques sur le terme *dfn* dans le Coran", in M. De Souza, A. Peters- Coustot et F.-X. Romanacce (eds.), *Le sacré dans tous ses états. Catégories du vocabulaire religieux et sociétés, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2012, pp. 281-296.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Seul l'homme de Dieu est humain. Théologie et anthropologie mystique à travers l'exégèse imamite ancienne (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine IV)", *Arabica* 45, 1998, pp. 193-214.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Shahrbānū, Lady of the Land of Iran and Mother of the Imams: between pre-Islamic Iran and Imamite Shi'ism," *JSAI* 27 (2002), Tribute Volume to Shaul Shaked, pp. 497-549.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Visions d'Imams en mystique duodécimaine moderne et contemporaine (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine VIII)", in E. Chaumont et al (eds.), *Autour du regard : mélanges islamologiques offerts à Daniel Gimaret*, Louvain-Paris, 2003, pp. 97-124.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Worlds and Their Inhabitants. Some Notes on Imami-Shi'i Cosmo-Anthropogony," in E. Coda and C. Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Études de logique aristotélicienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Paris, 2014, pp. 519-529.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A. & Ansari, H., "Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939-40 or 940-41) and his *Kitāb al-Kāfī*. An Introduction," *St. Ir* 39/2 (2009), pp. 191-247.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., Bar-Asher, M.M. & Hopkins, S. (eds.), *The Imāmite Shi'ism forty years later. A tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A. & Dye, G. (eds.), *The Qur'an of Historians*, 3 vols. in 4 volumes, Paris, 2019. Amir-Moezzi, M.A. & Jambet, C., *What is Shi'ism*, Paris, 2006 (20152).
- See also Kohlberg & Amir-Moezzi
- Amolī, Sayyid J:laydar, *Jāmi' al-asrār* in Id., *The Shi'ite Philosophy*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Tehran, 1347 h.s./1968.
- Amolī, Sayyid J:laydar, *Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ fī sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, ed. M. Bīdārfar, 3 vols, Qumm, 1394 h.s./2015-16.
- Amolī, Sayyid J:laydar, *Risāla Raf' al-khilāf wa-l-munāza'a*, ed. J:I. Kalbāsī Ashtarī, Tehran, 1396 h.s./2017.
- Anawati, G.C., "Isā," *EI2*.
- Anawati, G.C., "The Supreme Name of God (*Ism Allāh al-A'zam*)," *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Naples, 1967.
- Andrae, T., "Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 23 (1923), pp. 149-206; 24 (1924), pp. 213-292; and *ibid.* 25 (1925), pp. 45-112 (transl. J. Roche: *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, Paris, 1955).
- Andrae, T., *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Uppsala, 1917.
- Andrae, T., *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (trans. J. Roche), Paris, 1955.
- Andrae, T. *Mohammed: The Man and His Faith*, transl. T.W. Menzel, New York, 1960 (English translation of : *Mohammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube*, Göttingen, 1932).
- Ansari, H., "Abū l-Khaṭṭāb" (translated from Persian by R. Gholami), *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 2, 203-210.
- Ansari, H., "The esoteric heritage of Shi'ism: a book on the exegesis of Surah 97", *Arabica* 58 (2011), pp. 7-18.
- Ansari, H., *Imamate and Occultation according to Imamism. A bibliographic study and history of texts*, Leiden-Boston, 2017.
- Anṣārī (Ansari), H., "Mo'ammā-ye čand ketāb: az *Kitāb al-awṣiyā'-e* Shalmaghānī tā *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya-ye Mas'ūdī* (hamrāh bā barrasī-ye yekī az manābe'-e do ketāb-e *al-Hidāyat al-kubrā* va *Dalā'il al-imāma*)," in Id, *Barrasī hā-ye tārikhī dar ḥawze-ye eslām va tashayyo'*, Tehran, 1390 solar/2012, chap. 86, pp.875-918.

- Anṣārī, J:I. (= Ansari Hassan), "Taḥqīqī dar bāre-ye mansha'-e matn-e mowjūd-e *Tafsīr-e* mansūb be emām J:Iasan-e 'Askarī," <http://ansari.kateban.com>; "Bar-resī ḥā-ye tārikhī" (accessed April 2017).
- Anṣārī, J:I. (=Ansari Hassan)," *Tafsīr al-'Askarī* čegūneh pardākhteh shod?", <http://ansari.kateban.com>; "Bar-resī ḥā-ye tārikhī"(accessed April 2017).
- Antes, P., *Zur Theologie des Shi'a. Eine Untersuchung des Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār von Sayyid Iḥfāḍ Amolī*, Freiburg, 1971.
- Anthony, S., "Muḥammad, Menaḥem and the Paraclete on Ibn Ishāq (d.150/767) Arabic Version of John 15:23-16/1," *BSOAS* 79/2 (2016): 255-278.
- Anthony, S., "Muhammad, the Keys to Paradise and the *Doctrina Iacobi*: A Late Antique Puzzle," *Der Islam* 91.2 (2014), pp. 243-265.
- Anthony, S., *The Caliph and the Heretic. Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shi'ism*, Leiden, 2012.
- Anthony, S., "The Legend of 'Abdallāh ibn Saba' and the Date of *Umm al-Kitāb*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21/1 (2011), pp. 1-30.
- Arazi, A., "*Ilqām al-ḥajar li-man zakkā sābb Abf Bakr wa 'Umar* of al-Suyuti or the Testimony of the Insultor of the Companions," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), pp. 211-287.
- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. J. Tricot, Paris, 1990.
- Arkoun, M., *L'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle. Miskawayh, philosophe et historien*, Paris, 1970 (1982).
- Arnaldez, R., "al-Insān al-Kāmil", *EI2*.
- Arnaldez, R., "Lāhūt and Nāsūt," *EI2*.
- Arnold, T., *Painting in Islam. A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, New York, 1965, 2nd ed.
- Arzoumanian, Z., *History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, Wynnewood, 1982.
- Asani, A.S., "'Alī b. Abī Tālib," *EQ*.
- Asatryan, M., *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam. The Ghulat Muslims and Their Beliefs*, London, 2017.
- al-Ashkevarī, Quṭb al-Dīn, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb, al-maqāla al-ūlā*, ed. I. al-Dībājī and A. Sidqī, Tehran, 1378 f./1999; *al-maqāla al-thāniya*, ed. I. al-Dībājī and A. Sidqī, Tehran, 1382 h.s./2003.
- al-Astarābādī, Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira fī faḍā'il al-'itra al-ṭāhira*, ed. J:I al-Ustād Walī, Qumm, 1417/1996.
- Atallah, W., "Les survivances préislamiques chez le Prophète et ses Compagnons", *Arabica* 24/3, 1977, pp. 299-310.
- Aubin, J., " Aux origines d'un mouvement populaire medieval : Le cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichāpour, " *St Ir* 5/2, 1976, pp. 213-24.
- Aubin, J., "La fin de l'état Sarbadār du Khorassan," *JA* 263 (1974), pp. 95-118.
- Averroes, *Decisive Speech*, intro. A. De Libera, trans. M. Geoffroy, Paris, 1996.
- Ayada, S., *L'islam des théophanies. Une religion à l'épreuve de l'art*, Paris, 2010.
- Ayoub, M., *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam*, Oxford, 2003. Ayoub, M., "The Speaking Qur'ān and the Silent Qur'ān: A Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Tafsīr," in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 177-198.
- al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. H. al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallātī, Qumm, 1380/1960.
- Azaiez, M. "Les contre-discours eschatologiques dans le Coran et le traité de Sanhédryn. Une réflexion sur les formes de la polémique coranique ", in F. Déroche, C. Robin and M. Zink (eds.), *Les origines du Coran, le Coran des origines*, Paris, 2015, pp. 111-127.
- Ažand, Y., *Qiyām-i Shī'ī-yi Sarbadārān*, Tehran 1363 h.s./1985.
- Azmoudeh, Kh., "Nuit du Destin", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, Paris, 2007, pp. 608-609.
- Badawī, 'AR., *al-Insān al-kāmil fī l-islām*, Cairo, 1950.

- Bagatti, B., *The Church from the Circumcision: History and Archaeology of the Judaeo-Christians*, transl. E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1971.
- Bağci, S., "From Texts to Pictures. 'Alī in Manuscript Painting," in *From History to Theology. 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. Ankara, 2005, pp. 229-263.
- al-Baghawī, Abū Muḥammad, *Tafsīr al-Baghawī al-musammā bi-Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, ed. al-'Akk-Sawār, Beirut, 1992.
- al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. M. 'Abd al-J:Iamīd, Beirut, 1393/1973.
- al-Baḥrānī Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Tehran, n. d., 5 vols, Tehran ed. 1374-75/1954-55.
- al-Baḥrānī Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *al-Lawāmi' al-nūrāniyya fī asmā' amīr al-mu'minīn al-qur'āniyya*, Qumm, 1394/1974-1975.
- al-Baḥrānī, Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *lfiyat al-abrār*, ed. Gh. M. Baḥrānī, Qumm, 1411/1991.
- al-Baḥrānī Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *Madīnat al-ma'ājiz*, ed. 'I. Mowlāyī Hamadānī, Qumm, 1413/1992.
- al-Baḥrānī, Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *Yanābī' al-ma'ājiz*, Qumm, n.d.
- al-Baḥrānī, Kamāl al-Dīn Mītham, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mī'at kalima*, 1427/2006-7.
- al-Baḥrānī, Kamāl al-Dīn Mītham, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 5 vols, Tehran, 1378 h.s./1999-2000.
- Bailey, H.W., *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-century Books*, Oxford, 1943.
- Bajlon, J., "The Amr of God in the Qur'ān," *Acta Orientalia* 22, 1958.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 1, ed. Zakkār-Ziriklī, Wiesbaden, 1979.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. II, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1974.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. III, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1974.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. IV/a, ed. Schloessinger - Kister, Jerusalem, 1972.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. IV/b, ed. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1961.
- al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. V, ed. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1936.
- al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866; Beirut, 1978.
- Baldick, J., "The Iranian Origin of the Futuwwa", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 50, 1990, pp. 345-361.
- Ballanfat, P., "Reflections on the nature of paradox. La définition de Ruzbehān Baqlī Shirāzi", *Kār Nāmeḥ* (Paris), 2-3, 1995, pp. 25-40.
- Ballanfat, P. & Yahia, M., "Ordalia", in Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, Paris, 2007, pp. 618-620.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., "Al-Risāla al-Rāstbāshiyya of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-J:Iusayn b. J:Iamdān al-Khaṣībī, Elaborator of the Nuṣayrite Religion," *Shi'i Studies Review* 2 (2018), pp. 228-254.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*, Leiden, 1999.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., "Shi'ism and the Qur'ān," in J. D. MacAuliffe (ed.), *EQ*.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., "The Authority to Interpret the Qur'an," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London, 2014, pp. 149-162.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., "The Qur'ān Commentary Ascribed to Imam J:Iasan al-'Askarī," *JSAI* 24(2000), pp. 358-379.
- Bar-Asher, M.M., "Variant Readings and Additions of the Imāmī-Sī'a to the Quran," *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993): 39-74.
- Bar-Asher, M.M. & Kofsky, A., *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion: An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, 2002.
- Bar-Asher M.M. & Kofsky, A., "The Nuṣayrī Doctrine of 'Alī's Divinity and the Nuṣayrī Trinity According to an Unpublished Treatise from the 7th/13th Century," *Der Islam*, 72/2 (1995), pp. 258-292.
- Barbel, J., *Christos Angelos*, Bonn, 1941.
- Barc, B. and Funk, W. P., *The Book of Secrets of John. A brief review* (NH III, 1 and BG, 2), Leuven, 2012.

- Bar Penkayē, John, *Rīsh mellē*, ed. and Fr. trans. of Book XV by A. Mingana, in *Syriac Sources*, vol. 1, vol. II, Leipzig, 1907-1908.
- al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Mahāsin*, ed. J. Muḥaddith Urmawī, Tehran, 1370/1950.
- Barry, M., *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam*. Paris, 2004.
- Bar-Zeev, H., *Une lecture juive du Coran : Essai*, Paris, 2005.
- Bashear, S., "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *JRAS* 1 (1991), pp. 173-207.
- Bashear, S., "Jesus in Early Muslim Shahāda and Related Issues: A New Perspective," first appeared posthumously in Id. in *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. XV, pp. 1-18.
- Bashear, S., "Muslim Apocalypses and the Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation," *IOS* 13 (1993), pp. 75-100.
- Bashear, S., "Qibla Musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches," *MW* 81 (1991), pp. 267-282 (= *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. VI).
- Bashear, S., "Qur'ān 2:114 and Jerusalem," *BSOAS* 52 (1989), pp. 251-238 (reprinted in Id., *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. II).
- Bashear, S., "Riding Beast on Divine Missions: An Examination of the Ass and Camel Traditions," *JSS* 37 (1991), pp. 37-75.
- Bashear, S., *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, Jerusalem, 2004.
- Bashear, S., "The Title 'Fārūq' and Its Association with 'Umar I," *SI* 72 (1990): 47-70.
- Bashir, Sh., "Between Mysticism and Messianism: The Life and Thought of Muḥammad Nūrbakš (d. 1464)," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1997.
- Bashir, Sh., *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*, Oxford, 2005.
- Bashir, Sh., "The *Risālat al-hudā* of Muḥammad Nūrbakš (d. 869/1464): Critical Edition with Introduction," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 75 (2001), fasc. 1-4, pp. 87-137.
- Basseti-Sani, G., *The Koran in the Light of Christ*, Chicago, 1977.
- Bauer, W., *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, Tübingen, 1934; transl. P. Vuagnat, Ch. and S. Mimouni, *Orthodoxie et hérésie aux débuts du christianisme*, Paris, 20092.
- Baumstark, A., "Eine altarabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Christlich-Palästinensischen," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8 (1932), pp.201-209.
- Bayāt Gholāmī, R., introduction to Rabi' (sic), *'Alī Nāmeḥ*, ed. R. Bayāt-Gholāmī, Tehran, 2010.
- al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'A.M. Qal'ajī, 7 vols, Beirut, 1405/85.
- Bayhom-Daou, T., "The Second Century Shi'ite *ghulāt*: Were They Really Gnostic?", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 5.2 (2003-4), pp. 13-61.
- Bayhom-Daou, T., "Hishām b. al-J:Iakam and his doctrine of the Imam's knowledge," *JSS* 48-1 (2003), pp. 71-108.
- Bayhom-Daou, T., "*Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays* revisited," *BSOAS* 78-1 (2015), pp. 105-119.
- Bayhom-Daou, T., "The Imam's Knowledge and the Quran according to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Nīsābūrī," *BSOAS* 64-2 (2001), pp. 188-207.
- Beeston, A.F.L., "Kingship in ancient south-Arabia," *JESHO* 15, 1972.
- Beeston, A.F.L., "The so-called harlots of J:Iadramawt," *Oriens* 5, 1952.
- Beinhauer-Köhler, B., *Fāṭima bint Muḥammad. Metamorphosen einer frühislamischen Frauengestalt*, Wiesbaden, 2002.
- Bell, R., *The Origin of Islam and Its Christian Environment*, London, 1926.
- Benkheira, M.H., " Onomastique et religion : à propos d'une réforme du nom propre au cours des premiers siècles de l'islam ", in C. Müller and M. Roiland-Rouabah (eds.), *Les non-dits du nom. Onomastique et documents en terre d'Islam. Mélanges offerts à Jacqueline Sublet*, Damascus-Beirut, 2013, pp. 319-356.
- Bernabe Pons, L. F., *El texto morisco del Evangelio de San Barnabé*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1998.

- Bernard, D., *Les disciples juifs de Jésus du 1er siècle à Mahomet. Recherches sur le mouvement ébionite*, Paris, 2017.
- Berque, J., *Le Coran. Essai de traduction*, Paris, 19952.
- Bianchi, U. (ed.), *La 'doppia' creazione dell'uomo negli Alessandrini, nei Cappadoci nella gnosis*, Rome, 1978.
- Binbaş, E., *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge 2016.
- Birge, J. Kingsley, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937.
- al-Bīrūnī, *Athār al-bāqīya*, ed. C.E. Sachau, *Alberuni, Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, Leipzig, 1923.
- al-Bishop Guthrie, A.E., "The Praclete, Almunhamanna and Aḥmad," *The Muslim World* 41.4 (1951): 251-275.
- Blachère, R., *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1952-1966.
- Blachère, R., *Le Coran. Al-Qor'ān*, Paris, 19662.
- Blichfeldt, J.O., *Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the Formative Period of Islam*, Leiden, 1985.
- Bobzin, H., "Das Siegel der Propheten. Maimonides und das Verständnis von Mohammeds Prophetentum," in G. Tamer (ed.), *The Trias of Maimonides. Jewish, Arabic and Ancient Culture of Knowledge*, Berlin, 2005, pp. 289-306.
- Bobzin, H., "The 'Seal of the Prophets': Towards an Understanding of Muḥammad's Prophethood," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai, M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 565-583.
- Bokhārī, *Les traditions islamiques*, trans. O. Houdas and W. Marçais, 4 vols, Paris, 1903-1914, reprint. 1977 (see also al-Bukhārī).
- Bolūkbāshī, 'A., "Shamā'il negārī dar ḥawze-ye honar hā-ye 'āmm-e-ye īrān," *Honar: ketāb-e māh* 31-32, 2001, pp. 3-7.
- Bonte, P. Conte, E. Hames, C. and Ould Cheikh, A.W., *Al-Ansāb. La quête des origines*, Paris, 1991.
- Borrut, A., *Entre mémoire et pouvoir : l'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbasids (c. 72-193/692-809)*, Leiden, 2011.
- Borrut, A., "Introduction : la fabrique de l'histoire et de la tradition islamiques", in Id. (ed.), *Écriture de l'histoire et processus de canonisation dans les premiers siècles de l'islam*, REMMM special issue, 129 (2011-1), pp. 17-30.
- Bosworth, E.C., *Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the Relations Between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim* (English trans. of al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-nizā' wa l-takhāṣum fīmā bayn Banī Umayya wa Banī Hāshim*), JSS, Monograph No. 3, Manchester, 1981 (see also al-Maqrīzī).
- Boyarin, D., *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Philadelphia, 2004.
- Boyarin, D. (ed.), *Judaeo-Christianity Redivivus*, special issue of *The Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9.4 (2001), pp. 417-509.
- Bravmann, M.M., *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, Leiden, 1972.
- Brock, S., "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye's *Riṣ Melle*," in Id. in *Studies in Syriac Christianity: History, Literature, Theology*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1992, pp. 51-75.
- Brock, S., "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam," in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale-Edwardsville, 1982, pp. 9-21 and 199-203.
- Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden, 1943-49.
- Browne, E. G., "Further notes on the literature of the J:Iurūfis and their connection with the Bektāshī order of dervishes," *JRAS* (1907), pp. 533-581.
- Bucur, B.G., *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and other early Christian witnesses*, Leiden, 2009.

- Buehler, A. F., *Revealed Grace: The Juristic Sufism of Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624)*, Louisville, KY, 2011.
- al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, Leiden, 1864; ed. Cairo, 3 vols. 1378/1958 (see also Bokhārī). Burrill, K. R.F., *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi*, The Hague and Paris, 1972. Bursī see Rajab al-Bursī.
- al-Burūjirdī al-J:ūsayn b. Bāqir, *al-Naṣṣ al-jalī fī arba'īn āya fī sha'n 'Alī*, Tehran, 1320/1902-1903. al-Burūjirdī, *Tarā'if al-maqāl*, ed. M. Rajā'ī, Qumm, 1410/1990.
- Busse, H., *Islam, Judaism and Christianity: Theological and Historical Affiliations*, Princeton, 1998.
- Busse, H., "Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981), pp. 168-188.
- Buyruk: *İmam Cafer-i Sadık Buyruğu*, ed. Fuat Bozkurt, Istanbul, 2013.
- Caetani, L., *Annali dell'Islam*, Milan, 1905-1926.
- Cahen, C., "Mouvements et organisations populaires dans les villes de l'Asie musulmane au moyen-âge : milices et associations de Foutouwwa", *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* 7, 1955, pp. 273-298.
- Cahen, C., "Popular Movements and Urban Autonomism in Medieval Muslim Asia," *Arabica* 5/3 (1958), pp. 225-250; 6/1 (1959), pp. 25-56; 6/3 (1959), pp. 233-265; ed, Leiden, 1959.
- Cahen, C. and Taeschner, F., "Futuwwa," *EI2*.
- Canivet, P. and Rey-Coquais, J.-P. (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles. Proceedings of the international colloquium Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen and Paris-Institut du Monde Arabe, 11-15 September 1990*, Damascus, 1992.
- Capezzzone, L., "Il *Kiāb al-ṣirāṭ* attribuito a Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī. Edizione del ms. Unico (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) e studio introduttivo," *RSO* 69/3-4 (1995), pp. 29-151.
- Capezzzone, L., "Un miracolo di 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib: i versi attribuiti ad al-Sayyid al-J:īmyārī e il modello storiografico delle fonti relative *al radd al-šams*," in *In memoria di Francesco Gabrieli (1904-1996)*, suppl. 2 *RSO*, 71, 1997, pp. 99-112.
- Casanova, P., "Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte", 3rd part, *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 3 (1906).
- Casanova, P., *Mohammed et la fin du monde. Étude critique sur l'islam primitif*, Paris, 1911-13 (2 vols. + 1 vol. of notes) and 1924 (1 vol. of additional notes).
- Centlivres, P. and M., *Imageries populaires en Islam*. Geneva, 1997.
- Cereti, C.G., *Zand-ī Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, Rome, 1995.
- Chabbi, J., "Histoire et tradition sacrée. La biographie impossible de Mahomet", *Arabica* 43 (1996), pp. 189-205.
- Chabbi, J., *Le Seigneur des tribus. L'Islam de Mahomet*, Paris, 1997.
- Chelhod, J., "Du nouveau à propos du 'matriarcat' arabe", *Arabica* 28/1, 1981.
- Chelhod, J., "La *baraka* chez les Arabes", *RHR* 148/1, 1955, pp. 68-88.
- Chelhod, J., *Les structures du sacré chez les arabes*, Paris, 1986.
- Chelkowski, P., "Narrative Painting and Painting Recitation in Qajar Iran," *Muqarnas* 6, 1989, pp. 98-111.
- Chittick, W., *A Shi'ite Anthology*, New York, 1981.
- Cirillo L. and Frémaux, M., *Évangile de Barnabé*, with preface by Henry Corbin (Recherches sur la composition et l'origine, texte italien et traduction française avec notes et index), Paris, 1977.
- Clarke, L., "The Rise and Decline of *Taqiyya* in Twelver Shi'ism," in T. Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam*, London-New York, 2005, pp. 46-63.
- Clohessy, C.P., *Fāṭima, Daughter of Muḥammad*, Piscataway, 2013.
- Colin I., *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, New York, 2002.
- Collins, J.J. (ed.), *Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre*, Missoula, 1979.

- Collins, J.J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, Cambridge, 19982.
- Colpe, C., *Das Siegel der Propheten: historische Beziehungen zwischen Judentum, Judenchristentum, Heidentum und frühem Islam*, Berlin, 1990.
- Colpe, C., "Der 'Iranische Hintergrund' der islamischen Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen ", in *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions. From Mazdaism to Sufism*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, *Studia Iranica* (Cahier 11), Paris, 1992.
- Comero, V., *The traditions on the constitution of the muṣḥaf of 'Uthmān*, Beirut, 2012.
- Cook, D., "Messianism and Astronomical Events during the First Four Centuries of Islam," in M. Garcia Arenal (ed.), *Mahdism and Millenarianism in Islam*, *MMER Special* No. 91-94 (2000-2001), pp. 29-52.
- Cook, D., "Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*," *JSAI* 20 (1996), pp. 66-105.
- Cook, D., "Muslim Materials on Comets and Meteorites," *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 30 (1999): 131-160.
- Cook, D., *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, Princeton, 2002.
- Cook, M., *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2000 (see also Crone & Cook).
- Copenhaver, B.P., *Hermetica*, Cambridge, 1992.
- Corbin, H., *Alchemy as hieratic art*, Paris, 1986.
- Corbin, H., *Corps spirituel et Terre céleste. De l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shi'ite*, Paris, 1979.
- Corbin, H., "De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne", in *Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo. Convegno di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Rome, 1957, pp. 105-146 (reprinted in Id., *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne*, Paris, 1982, 3rd part).
- Corbin, H., *En Islam iranien. Spiritual and philosophical aspects*, Paris, 1971.
- Corbin, H., "Epiphany divine and spiritual birth in the Ismaili gnosis", *Eranos Jahrbuch* XXIII (1954-1955), reprinted in Id, *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne*, Paris, 1982, part 2.
- Corbin, H., *Face de Dieu, Face de l'Homme*, Paris, 1983.
- Corbin, H., *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris, 1986 (volume including the two parts of the work published separately in 1964 and 1974).
- Corbin, H., *Itinéraire d'un enseignement*, Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Tehran, 1993.
- Corbin, H., *Le paradoxe du monothéisme*, Paris, 1981.
- Corbin, H., "L'Évangile de Barnabé et la prophétologie islamique ", *Cahiers de l'Université Saint- Jean de Jérusalem*, Cahier no 3, Paris, 1977, 169-212.
- Corbin, H., "L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne", in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome, 1971, pp. 37-68.
- Corbin, H., "Temple sabéen et Ismaélisme", in Id, *Temple et contemplation. Essais sur l'islam iranien*, Paris, 1980.
- Costa, J., "'Olam ha-zel/'olam ha-ba, al-dunyā/al-ākhirā: a comparative study of two pairs of terms in Talmudic literature and the Qur'an", *Arabica* 62.2-3 (2015), pp. 234-259.
- Couret, A., *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614. Trois documents nouveaux*, Orléans, 1896.
- Crone, P., "How Did the Quranic Pagans Make a Living?", *BSOAS* 68 (2005), pp. 387-399.
- Crone, P., "Jewish Christianity and the Qur'ān (Part One)," *JNES* 74.2 (2015), pp. 225-253.
- Crone, P., *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987.
- Crone, P., *The Nativist Prophets in Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, Cambridge, 2011.
- Crone, P. & Cook, M., *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge, England, 1977. Crone, P. and Hinds, M., *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, 1986.
- Crow, D.K., "The Death of al-J:lusayn b. 'Alī and Early Shī'ī Views of the Imamate," *Al-serāt* 12 (1986), pp. 71-116 (reprinted in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 2003, article no. 3).

- Crow, D.K., "The 'Five Limbs' of the Soul: A Manichean Motif in Muslim Garb?" in T. Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought. Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, London/New York, 2005, pp.19-30.
- Crow, K.D., "The Role of *al-'Aql* in Early Islamic Wisdom, with Reference to Imam Ja'far al- Sādiq," unpublished PhD dissertation from Mc Gill University, 1996.
- Cuisenier J. and Miquel, A., "La terminologie arabe de la parenté. Analyse sémantique et analyse componentielle ", *L'Homme* 5/3-4, 1965, p. 15-79.
- Cumont, F., "La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux", *RHR* 103 (1931), pp. 80-99.
- Cuypers, M., " Structures rhétoriques des sourates 92 à 98 ", *Annales Islamologiques* 34 (2000), pp. 95-138.
- Cuypers, M., *A Koranic apocalypse: a reading of the last thirty-three suras of the Koran*, Pendé (France), 2014.
- Daftary, F., *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge, 2007² (1st ed. 1990).
- Daftary, F. & Miskinzoda, G. (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London-New York, 2014.
- Dagron, G., "L'Église et la chrétienté byzantines", in J.-M. Mayeur, Ch. Pietri, A. Vauchez and M. Venard (eds.), *Histoire du christianisme*, Paris, volume 4, 1993.
- Dammen McAuliffe, J., "Chosen of All Women: Mary and Fātimah in Qur'ānic Exegesis, *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), pp. 19-38.
- al-Dawānī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Sharḥ risālat al-Zawrā'*, in *Sab'a rasā'il*, ed. S. A. Tuyīserkānī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2002.
- al-Daylamī, al-J:Iasan, *Irshād al-qulūb*, Beirut, 1398/1978.
- De Blois, F., "Elchasai-Manes-Muhammad. Manichäismus und Islam in religionhistorischem Vergleich", *Der Islam* 81 (2004), pp. 31-48.
- De Blois, F., "*Naṣrānī* (Ναζωραῖος) and *lfanīf* (ἐθνικός): Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and Islam," *BSOAS* 65 (2002), pp. 1-30.
- De Epalza, M., "Sobre un posible Autor Español des Evangelio de Barnabé", *Andalus* 28 (1963), pp. 479-491.
- De Jong, F., "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4, 1989, pp. 7- 29.
- De Menasce, J., *Le Troisième Livre du Dēnkart*, Paris, 1973.
- De Smet, D., "Beyond the apparent: the notions of *zāhir* and *bāṭin* in Muslim esotericism", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994), pp. 197-220.
- De Smet, D., "The noetic function of the triad *al-Jadd*, *al-Faṭḥ* and *al-Khayāl*. The Foundations of Prophetic Knowledge in Ismailism," in H. Biesterfeldt und V. Klemm (eds.), *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam: Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 319-336.
- De Smet, D., "The practice of *taqiyya* and *kitmān* in Shia Islam: compromise or hypocrisy?", in M. Nachi (ed.), *Actualité du compromis. The political construction of difference*, Paris, 2011, pp. 148-161.
- De Smet, D., "*Taqiyya* and the youth of Ramadan: some Ismaili reflections on the esoteric meaning of shariah", *Al-Qanṭara* 34/2 (2013), pp. 357-386.
- De Smet, D., "The Qur'an, its origin, its nature and its falsification. Controversial Ismaili Positions," in Id. and M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds.), *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam*, Paris, 2014.
- De Smet, D., *Les Epftres sacrées des Druzes : Rasā'il al-lfikma*, Louvain, 2007.
- Déclais, J.-L., "Names of the Prophet", *EQ*.
- Derman, M.U., "Alī in Ottoman calligraphy," in *From History to Theology. 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Ankara, 2005, pp. 291-303.

- Déroche, F., " Contrôler l'écriture. Sur quelques caractéristiques de corans de la période omeyyade ", in M. Azaiez and S. Mervin (eds.), *Le Coran. Nouvelles approches*, Paris, 2014, pp. 39-55.
- Deroche, F., *Qur'ans of the Umayyads. A First Overview*, Leiden, 2013.
- Deroche, F., Robin, C.J., and Zink, M. (eds.), *The Origins of the Qur'an, the Qur'an of Origins*, Paris, 2015.
- Desparmet, J., *Le mal magique*, Alger-Paris, 1932.
- Dhakāwatī Qarāguzlū, 'A. R., "Nahḍat-i Musha'sha'ī wa gudhārī bar Kalām al-Mahdī," in *Ma'ārif* 37 (1375 h.s./[1996-1997]), pp. 59-67.
- Diba, L. & Ekhtiyar M. (eds.), *Royal Persian Paintings. The Qajar Epoch, 1785-1925*. London, 1998.
- Dīvān-i fārsī-yi Faḍl Allāh Na'imī Tabrizī va 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrvānī*, ed. Rustam Aliev, Tehran, n.d.
- Djaït, H., *La vie de Muhammad*, Paris, 2007.
- Djebli, M., "Again about the authenticity of the *Nahj al-balāgha*," *SI* 75, 1992, pp. 33-56.
- Djebli, M., "Nahdj al-Balāgha," *EI2*.
- Doctrina Jacobi* in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1903, vol. 8; ed., G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptizati* in "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle", *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1991), pp. 47-219.
- Donner, F., "La question du messianisme dans l'islam primitif", in M. Garcia-Arenal (ed), *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, special issue *MMER* 91-94, 2000, pp. 17-27.
- Donner, F., *Muhammad and the Believers: at the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2010.
- Donner, F., *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton, 1998.
- Donner, F., "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War", in J. Kelsay and J. Turner Johnson (eds.), *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theological Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, New York, 1991, pp. 31-69.
- Donner, F., "Umayyad Efforts at Legitimation: the Umayyad's Silent Heritage," in A. Borrut and P.M. Cobb (eds.), *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 187-211.
- Dresden, M.J., *Dēnkart, a Pahlavi Text, facsimile Edition of the Manuscript B of the K.R.Cama Oriental Institute Bombay*, Wiesbaden, 1966.
- Dressler, M., "Alevīs," *EI3*.
- Duval, P., *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1907 (3rd ed.).
- Dye, G., "Jewish Christianity, the Qur'ān, and Early Islam: some methodological caveats," in F. del Rio Sanchez (ed.), *Jewish Christianity and the Origins of Islam*, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 11-29.
- Dye, G., "La nuit du Destin et la nuit de la Nativité", in Id. and F. Nobilio (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Bruxelles-Fernelmont, 2011, pp. 107-169.
- Dye, G., "Lieux saints communs, partagés ou confisqués: aux sources de quelques péripécies coraniques (Q 19: 16-33)", in I. Dépret and G. Dye (eds.), *Partage du sacré : transferts, dévotions mixtes, rivalités interconfessionnelles*, Brussels, 2012, pp. 55-121.
- Dye, G. and Nobilio, F. (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Bruxelles-Fernelmont, 2011. See also M.A. Amir-Moezzi & G. Dye.
- Ebstein, M., "Absent yet All Times Present: Further Thoughts on Secrecy in the Shī'ī Tradition and in Sunnī Mysticism," *Al-Qanṭara* 34/2 (2013): 387-413.
- Ebstein, M., *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus. Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabī and the Ismā'īlī Tradition*, Leiden, 2014.
- Ebstein, M., "Secrecy in Ismā'īlī Tradition and the Mystical Thought of Ibn al-'Arabī," *JA* 298.2 (2010): 303-343.
- Ebstein, M., "Was Ibn Qasī a Sūfī?", *SI* 110 (2015), pp. 196 -232.

- Ebstein, M. & Sviri, S., "The So-Called *Risālat al-lfurūf* (Epistle on Letters) Ascribed to Sahl al- Tustarī and Letter Mysticism in al-Andalus," *JA* 299/1 (2011), pp.213-237.
- Écrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, edited by J.-P. Mahé and P.-H. Poirier, Paris, 2007.
- Écrits intertestamentaires*, under the direction of A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, Paris, 1987.
- Ekhtiyar, M., "Exploring *Ahl al-bayt* Imagery in Qajar Iran (1785-1925)," in *People of the Prophet's House*, ed. F. Suleman. London, 2015, pp. 146-154.
- Eliash, J., "On the Genesis and Development of the Twelver-Shī'ī Three-Tenet *shahāda*," *Der Islam* 47, 1971, pp. 265-272.
- Enbāqom, *Anqaša amīn (The Door of Faith). Ethiopian Apology of Christianity against Islam from the Koran*, trans. E.J. Van Donzel, Leiden, 1969.
- Epicurus, *Letters, maxims, sentences*, trans. J. -F. Balaudé, Paris, 1994.
- Ernst, C., *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism*, New York, 1985.
- Esmā'īlī, J:I., introduction to his edition of *Abū Muslim Nāmeḥ*, Tehran, 2001.
- Evstatiev, S., "On the Perception of the *Khātām al-nabiyyin* Doctrine in Arabic Historical Thought: Confirmation or Finality?", in S. Leder, H. Kilpatrick, B. Martel-Thoumian & H. Schönig (eds.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Proceedings of the 19th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants), Leuven, 2002, pp. 455-467.
- Eyuboğlu, I. Z., *Alevi-Bektaşî edebiyatı*, Istanbul, 1991.
- Fahd, T., "Ga'far al-Sādiq et la tradition scientifique arabe," in *Le shī'isme imāmīte*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 May 1968), Paris, 1970.
- Fahd, T., *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg, 1971, reed. Paris 1987.
- Fahd, T. (ed.), *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Travaux du center d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg), Paris, 1983.
- Fahd, T., "Le monde du sorcier en Islam," in *Le monde du sorcier*, Paris 1966.
- Fahd, T., *The Pantheon of Central Arabia on the Eve of the Hegira*, Paris, 1968.
- al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Ṣāfi fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols.
- al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, ed. 'Uṭarīdī Qūcānī, Tehran, 1342 solar/1963; ed. 'A. 'Alīzādeh, Qumm, 1390 h.s./2011.
- Février, J.-G., *La religion des palmyréniens*, Paris, 1931.
- Fierro, M., "The mahdi Ibn Tumart and al-Andalus: the elaboration of Almohad legitimacy", *MMR* 91-94 (2001), pp. 107-124.
- Fierro, M., "On *al-Fāṭimī* and *al-Fāṭimiyyūn*," *JSAI* 20 (1996), pp. 130-160.
- Fierro, M., "The Genealogies of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the First Almohad Caliph," *The Almohad Revolution: Politics and Religion in the Islamic West during the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries*, Farnham, Surrey, 2012, n. V, pp. 1-32.
- Fihrist-e alifbā'ī-ye kutub-e khaṭṭī-ye ketābkhāne-ye markazī-ye Astān-e Quds-e Riḍawī*, ed. by M. 'A. Fekrat, Mashhad, 1369s./1990.
- Fihrist-e ketābkhāne-ye markazī-ye dāneshgāh-e Tehrān*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. 'A.N. Munzawī, Tehran, 1330-32 solar/1951-53; vols. 3-18, ed. M.T. Dāneshpaṣūh, Tehran, 1332-64 solar/1953-85. *Fihrist-e nusakh-e khaṭṭī-ye ...ketābkhāne-ye mellī*, ed. A. Munzawī, Tehran, 1348-53 solar/1969-74.
- Fihrist-e nuskhā hā-ye khaṭṭī-ye ketābkhāne-ye... āyatollāh Mar'ashī*, edited by S. M. Mar'āshī, Qumm, 1411/1991.
- Fillipani-Ronconi, P., "Note sulla soteriologia e sul simbolismo cosmico dell'*Ummu'l-Kitāb*," *AIUON*, 14 (1964), pp. 98-141.
- Fillipani-Ronconi, P., *Ummu' l-Kitāb*, Naples, 1966.
- Flaskerud, I., *Visualising Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism*. London, 2010.
- Flusin, B., "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins", in J. Raby and J. Johns (eds.), *Bayt Al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1992.

- Fodor, A., "A Group of Iraqi Arm Amulets," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5-6, 1987-88, pp. 266-277.
- Fodor, A., "Types of Shi'ite Amulets from Iraq," in *Shia Islam*, Frederick De Jong (ed.). Utrecht, 1992, pp. 124-134.
- Fontana, M.V., *Iconografia dell'Ahl al-bayt. Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo*. Naples, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994.
- Freitag, R., *Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Häresie*, Berlin, 1985.
- Friedländer, I., "'Abdallāh b. Saba', der Begründer der Shī'a und sein Jüdischer Ursprung," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 23 (1909), pp. 32-63.
- Friedländer, I., "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn J:īlāzīm," *JAOS* 28 (1907), pp. 1-80 and 29 (1909), pp. 1-183.
- Friedmann, Y., "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986): 177-215.
- Friedmann, Y., *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and its Medieval Background*, Berkeley, 1989.
- Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. M. Kāzīm, Tehran, 1410/1990.
- Fyze, A.A.A., "The Study of the Literature of the Fatimid *Da'wa*," in G. Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of H.A.R. Gibb*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 232-249.
- Gallez, E.-M., *Le messie et son prophète. Aux origines de l'islam*, tome 1 : " De Qumrān à Muhammad " + tome 2 : " Du Muhammad des Califes au Muhammad de l'histoire ", Paris, 2007-2008.
- Garcia-Arenal, M., "The conjunction of ṣūfism and sharīfism in Morocco: the Mahdī as savior," *MMWR* 55-56 (1990), pp. 233-256.
- Garcia-Arenal, M., "*Mahdī, murābiṭ, sharīf*: the rise of the Sa'dian dynasty," *SI* 71 (1990), pp. 77-114.
- García-Arenal, M., *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West*, Leiden-Boston, 2006.
- Gardeil, A., "Dons du Saint-Esprit. Pères grecs ; Pères latins ", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, dir. A. Vacant et E. Mangenot, vol. IV/2, 1920, col. 1754-1766.
- Genet, A., "Le premier siècle de l'Islam vu par les chroniqueurs syriaques," EPHE Dissertation, June 2015.
- Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 17th edition, Leiden, 1951.
- al-Ghazālī, Abū J:īlāmid, *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl (Error and Deliverance)*, ed. F. Jabr, Beirut, 1969.
- al-Ghazālī, Abū J:īlāmid, *Risāla fī l-'ilm al-ladunī*, in *Majmū'a rasā'il al-imām al-Ghazālī*, Beirut, 2011.
- Gignoux, Ph., " Imago Dei : de la théologie nestorienne à Ibn al-'Arabi ", in *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions. From Mazdaism to Sufism*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, *Studia Iranica* (Cahier 11), Paris, 1992, pp. 13-27.
- Gil, M., "The Creed of Abū 'Amir," *IOS* 12 (1992), pp. 9-47.
- Gil, M., "The Exilarchate," in D. Frank (ed.), *The Jews of Medieval Islam*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 33-65.
- Giladi, A., "Some notes on *taḥnīk* in medieval Islam," *JNES* 3, 1988, pp. 175-179.
- Gilliot, C., *Exegesis, language and theology in Islam: the Koranic exegesis of Tabari (d. 311/923)*, Paris, 1990.
- Gilliot, C., "Le portrait 'mythique' d'Ibn 'Abbās", *Arabica* 32/2 (1985), pp. 127-184. Gilliot, C., "Les 'informateurs' juifs et chrétiens de Muḥammad", *JSAI* 22, 1998, pp. 84-126.
- Gilliot, C., "Les sept 'Lectures'. Corps social et Écriture révélée", *SI* 61 (1985), pp. 5-25 and 63 (1986), pp. 49-62.
- Gilliot, C., "Miscellanea coranica I," *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 109-133.
- Gilliot, C., "Muhammad's Exegetical Activity in the Meccan Arabic Lectionary," in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter*, pp. 371-398.
- Gilliot, c., "Muqātil, great exegete, traditionist and cursed theologian", *JA* 279/1-2, 1991.

- Gilliot, C., "Nochmals: Hieß der Prophet Muḥammad?", in M. Gross & K.-H. Ohlig (eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam*, Berlin, 2011, pp. 53-95.
- Gimaret, D., *Les Noms divins en Islam*, Paris, 1988.
- Gleave, R., "'Alī b. Abī Tālib," *EI3*.
- Gleave, R., "Early Shiite hermeneutics and the dating of *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*," *BSOAS* 78-1 (2015), pp. 83-103.
- Gleave, R., "The Legal Efficacy of *taqiyya* Acts in Imāmī Jurisprudence: 'Alī al-Karakī's *al-Risāla fī l-taqiyya*," *Al-Qanṭara* 34/2 (2013), pp. 415-438.
- Gnilka, J., *Die Nazarener und der Koran: Eine Spurensuche*, Freiburg, 2007.
- Gobillot, G., *al-Tirmidhī, The Book of Nuances or the Impossibility of Synonymy (Kiāb al-furuq wa man' al-tarāduf)*, Paris, 2006.
- Gobillot, G., "Des textes pseudo-clémentins à la mystique juive des premiers siècles et du Sinaï à Ma'rib", in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter*, pp. 3- 89.
- Gobillot, G., "Jésus selon les mystiques musulmans ", *Graphé 7*, " Les vies de Jésus " (1998), pp. 60-135.
- Gobillot, G., *Le Livre de la Profondeur des choses*, Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, 1996.
- Gobillot, G., "Le Mahdi, le *khatm al-awliyā'* et le *Qutb*. Évolution des notions entre Sunnisme et chiisme," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 59 (2002), pp. 5-31.
- Gobillot, G., " Les sources de l'anthropologie spirituelle chez les mystiques musulmans : une réflexion à partir de la notion de '*aql* ", in A. Temimi (ed.), *Mélanges Luce Lopez-Baralt*, Zaghuan, 2001, pp.267-314.
- Gobillot, G., "Sceau des prophètes", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, pp. 795-797.
- Gobillot, G., " Un point sur les études tirmidhiennes ", *Annales Islamologiques* 32 (2000) 77, pp. 67-79.
- Gobillot, G. and Ballanfat, P., "The heart and the spiritual life among Muslim mystics", *Connaissance des religions* 57-59, 1999, pp. 170-204.
- Gobineau, A. *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 1865, reed. 1928.
- Gobineau, A., *Three years in Asia*. Paris, 1859.
- Goitein, Sh. D., *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages*, New York, 1955.
- Goitein, Sh.D., "Zur Entstehung des Ramaḍān," *Der Islam* 18 (1929), pp. 189-195 (article reprinted and expanded in "Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting," in Id., *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 90-110).
- Goldziher, I., "Das Prinzip der *taqiyya* im Islam," *ZDMG* (1906), pp. 213-226 (reprinted in Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. J. De Somogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-70, vol. 5, pp. 59-72).
- Goldziher, I., *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. De Somogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-1970.
- Goldziher, I., *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades*, Alger, 1903.
- Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien*, I-II, Halle, 1888-1890 (partial French translation of vol. II by L. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, Paris, 1952); *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, vol. II. London, 1971.
- Goldziher, I., "Polyandry and exogamy among the Arabs," *The Academy* 13/26, 1880.
- Goldziher, I., "Schi'itisches", *ZDMG* 44, 1910, pp. 532-533 (reprinted in Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 213-214).
- Goldziher, I., "Spottnamen der ersten Chalifen bei den Schi'iten" (reprinted in Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4, pp. 291-305).
- Gölpınarlı, A., *Hurufflik metinleri kataloğu*, Ankara, 1989.
- Goodrich, D. R., "A Sūfī Revolt in Portugal: Ibn Qasī and his *Kitāb Khal' al-na'layn*," Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1978.

- Görke, A. Motzki, H. & Schoeler, G., "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad? A Debate," *Der Islam* 89/2 (2012), pp. 2-59.
- Grabar, A., "Plotinus and the Origins of Medieval Aesthetics", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 1, 1945, pp. 15-34.
- Graham, A., *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam. A Reconsideration of the Sources with a Special Reference to the Divine Sayings or ḥadīth qudsī*, The Hague-Paris, 1977.
- Gramlich, R., "Der Urvertrag in der Koranauslegung (zu Sura 7,172-173)", *Der Islam* 60 (1983), pp. 205-230.
- Gramlich, R., *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden, 1965-1981.
- Greenwood, T.W., "Sassanian Echoes and Apocalyptic Expectations: A Re-evaluation of the Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos," *The Museon* 115 (2003), pp. 323-397.
- Grenet, F., "I) Le rayonnement de l'eschatologie et de l'apocalyptique iraniennes ; II) Le Zand i Wahman Yasn", *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Section des sciences religieuses*, t. 115, 2006-2007, pp. 103-109 and vol. 116, 2007-2008, pp. 109-112.
- Griffith, S.H., "*Al-Naṣārā* in the Qur'ān: a Hermeneutical Reflection," in G. S. Reynolds (ed.), *The Qur'ān in Its Historical Context*, vol. 2: *New Perspectives on the Qur'ān*, 2011, London, pp. 301-322.
- Griffith, S.H., "Holy Spirit," *EQ*.
- Griffith, S.H., *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton, 2008.
- Grimme, H., *Mohammed*, Münster, 1892.
- Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, Oxford, 1955.
- Gutas, D., "The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus in the Arabic Tradition", in W. W. Fortenbaugh et alii (eds.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: On His Life and Work*, New Brunswick/Oxford, 1985, pp. 63-102 (reprinted in Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Philosophers in the Arabic Tradition*, Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 2000, art. VII).
- Hadot, P., *Plotinus or the simplicity of the glance*. Paris, 1997.
- Hadot, P., *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie antique*, Paris, 1995.
- Hagen, G. "The Imagined and the Historical Muḥammad," *JAOS* 129/1 (2009), pp. 97-111.
- Haider, N., *The Origins of the Shī'a: Identity, Ritual and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa*, Cambridge, 2011.
- al-Hākim al-J:īlaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1393/1974.
- al-Hākim al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī, *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, Cairo, no date.
- al-Hākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, Haydarabad (Riyadh reprint), n. d.
- Hakim, A., "Conflicting images of lawgivers: the caliph and the Prophet. *Sunnat 'Umar and sunnat Muḥammad*," in H. Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, Leiden, 2003, pp. 159-178.
- Hakim, A., "'Umar b. al-Hattāb: religious and moral authority," *Arabica* 55/1, 2008, pp. 1-34.
- Hakim, A., "'Umar b. al-Hattāb, caliph by the Grace of God," *Arabica* 54/3, 2008, pp. 317-336.
- al-Halabī, *al-Sīra al-lfalabiyya*, Beirut, n.d.
- al-Halabī, Muḥammad b. Talḥa, *al-Durr al-munazzam fī l-sirr al-a'zam*, s.l., 1331/1912.
- Halm, H., "Das 'Buch der Schatten'. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der *ghulāt* und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairierts," *Der Islam* 55 (1978), pp. 219-265 and 58 (1981), pp. 15-86.
- Halm, H., *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982.
- Halm, H., *Kosmologie und Heislehre der frühen Ismā'īliyya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*, Wiesbaden, 1978.
- Halm, H., "The Cosmology of the Pre-Fatimid Ismā'īliyya," in F. Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 75-83.
- Hamdan, O., "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project: A Step toward the Canonization of the Qur'ānic Text," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and*

- Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 795-835.
- J:Iamiyya, Kh.'A., *al-'Irfān al-shī'ī. Dirāsāt fī l-ḥayāt al-rūḥiyya wa l-fikriyya li-lfaydar al-Amulī*, Beirut, 1425/2004.
- Hartmann, A., "al-Nāṣir Li-Dīn Allāh," *EI2*.
- Hartmann, A., *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225). Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Berlin-New York, 1975.
- Hartmann A., "The Governmental Design of the Caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh," *Orientalia Suecana* 22 (1973), pp. 52-61.
- al-J:Iasan al-'Askarī (attributed to), *al-Tafsīr al-mansūb ilā l-imām Abī Muḥammad al-lfāsan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī*, Qumm, 1409/1988.
- J:Iasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib, *Haft bāb*, English translation by Jalal Badakhchani: *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi'i Islam: An Early Ismaili Treatise on the Doctrine of Qiyāmat. A new Persian edition and English translation of the Haft bāb by lfāsan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib*, London, 2017.
- al-J:Iasanī, Hāshim Ma'rūf, *al-Mawḍū'āt fī l-āthār wa l-akhbār*, Beirut, 1973.
- J:Iassān b. Thābit see W.N. 'Arafat, *Diwan of lfassān ibn Thābit*, London, 1971.
- Hawting, G., *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, Carbondale-Edwardsville, 1987.
- Hawting, G., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History*, Cambridge, 1999.
- Hayek, M., *Christ of Islam*, Paris, 1959.
- Heberger, B. and Naef, S. (eds.), *The multiplication of images in Islamic countries*, Würzburg, 2013.
- Heger, C., "Yā muḥammad - kein "oh Muhammad", und wer ist 'Alī?", in *Schlaglichter: die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte*, M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (eds.), Berlin, 2005, pp. 278- 292.
- Henninger, J., *La société bédouine ancienne*, Rome, 1959.
- Hermann, D. & Terrier, M. (eds.), *Shi'i Islam and Sufism. Classical Views and Modern Perspectives*, London, 2020.
- al-J:Iibarī, *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, ed. M. R. al-J:Iusaynī, Beirut, 1408/1987.
- al-J:Iillī, J:Iasan b. Sulaymān (attributed to), *Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, Najaf, 1370/1950.
- Himmelfarb, M., "Sefer Zerubbabel" in D. Stern and M. Jay Mirski (eds.), *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 67-90.
- Hirschfeld, H., *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korān*, Leipzig, 1886.
- Hirschfeld, H., *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran*, London, 1902.
- Hodgson, M.G.S., "'Abdallāh b. Saba'," *EI2*.
- Hodgson, M.G.S., "Ghulāt," *EI2*.
- Hodgson, M.G.S., "How did the early Shī'a become sectarian," *JAOS* 75 (1955): 1-31 (now in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 2003, article 1).
- Holmyard, E.J., *The Arabic Works of Jābir b. lfayyān*, Paris, 1928.
- Horowitz, J., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1926.
- Hoyland, R.G., *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, 1997.
- Hrbek, I., "Muḥammads Nachlass und die Aliden," *Archiv Orientalni* 18, 1950, pp. 143-149.
- Huart, C., "La poésie religieuse des nosāiris," *JA*, 14, 1879, pp. 241-248.
- Huart, C., *Persian Texts Relating to the Hourouffs Sect*, Leiden - London, 1909. Hūd b. Muḥkim/Muḥakkam al-J:Iawwārī, *Tafsīr*, ed. B. Sharīfī, Beirut, 1990.
- J:Iunayn b. Ishāq, *Adāb al-falāsifa*, ed. 'A. Badawī, Kuwait, 1406/1985.
- al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. A. J:Iusaynī, Baghdad, 1385/1965.
- al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Ithbāt al-hudāt bil-nuṣūṣ wa l-mu'jizāt*, Qumm, 1378-79/1958-59.
- al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya fī l-aḥādīth al-quḍsiyya*, Qumm, nd.
- al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Wasā'il al-shī'a*, ed. M.R. J:Iusaynī Jalālī, Qumm, 1414/1994.

- J:Iusaynī Bahārāncī, *Ayāt al-faḍā'il yā faḍā'il-e 'Alī dar Qur'ān*, Qumm, 1380/2001.
- J:Iusaynī, M., *Maṣādir Nahj al-balāgha*, Najaf, 1966.
- al-J:Iuwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, 4th edn, Qumm, 1412/1991.
- Hylén, T., *Iḥṣayn, the Mediator*, Uppsala, 2007.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, Beirut (facsimile of the Cairo litho. edition of 1328/1910), n.d. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa faḍlihi*, Cairo, n.d.
- Ibn Abī l-J:Iadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965.
- Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī, *Kitāb al-Mujlī mir'āt al-munjī fī l-kalām wa l-ḥikmatayn wa l-taṣawwuf*, ed. R.Y.Pūrfārmad, 5 vols, Qumm - Beirut, 1434/2013.
- Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fī l-aḥādīth wa l-āthār*, ed. al-Afghānī-al-Nadwī, 15 vols, Bombay, 1979-1983; ed. S. M. al-Laḥḥām, Beirut, 1409/1989; ed. M. 'A. Shāhīn, Beirut, 1416/1995.
- Ibn Abī Ya'lā al-Farrā', *Tabaqāt al-lfanābila*, Damascus, 1923 (reprint Beirut, ca. 1980). Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. 'A. 'Afīfī, Beirut, 1423/2002.
- Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, 4 vols, Beirut, n.d.; 8 vols. Beirut, 1331-32/2010.
- Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, al-Sīra al-nabawiyya, 2 vols, ed. N. Ghazzāwī, Damascus, 1984-1991.
- Ibn A'tham, *al-futūḥ*, Persian transl. of Harawī (6th/XIIth century), ed. Gh. Tabāṭabā'ī Majd, Tehran, 1374 f./1995.
- Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa l-athar*, ed. Zāwī-Tināḥī, 4 vols. Cairo, 1963-1966, reprint. Beirut, n.d.
- Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ed. M. Fāyīd *et alii*, Cairo, 1963-1972.
- Ibn Bābūya, *al-Amālī/al-Majālis*, ed. and Persian trans. by M. B. Kamarehī, Tehran, 1404/1984.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Ilal al-sharā'i*, ed. M.S. Baḥr al-'ulūm, Najaf, 1385/1966.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-dīn*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm, 1405/1985.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-khiṣāl*, Najaf, 1391/1971; ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm, 1403/1984.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. H. al-J:Iusaynī al-Tihrānī, Tehran, 1398/1978.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Ma'ānī l-akhbār*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1379/1959.
- Ibn Bābūya, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, ed. M.J:I. Lājevardī, Tehran, 1378/1958.
- Ibn al-Bīṭrīq al-J:Iillī, *Khaṣā'is al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn*, M. B. Maḥmūdī, Teheran, 1406/1986.
- Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, ed. 'A.M. Hārūn, Baghdad, 1399/1979. Ibn Falāḥ, Muḥammad, *Kalām al-mahdī*, MS Majlis 10222.
- Ibn Fūrak, *Mushkil al-ḥadīth*, ed. M.M. 'Alī, Cairo, 1979; ed. D. Gimaret, Damascus, 2003.
- Ibn J:Iabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Haydarabad, 1942.
- Ibn J:Iajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols. Haydarabad, 1907-1909 (repr. Beirut, 1968).
- Ibn J:Ianbal, *Kitāb al-sunna*, Makkah, 1349/1930.
- Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313/1896; Beirut, 1969, 6 vols.
- Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Moḥammeds nach Muhammad b. Ishāq*, 2 vols, Göttingen, 1858-1860; Saqqā-Abyārī-Shalabī ed. Cairo, 2nd ed. 1955.
- Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra Ibn Ishāq al-musammāt bi-kitāb al-mubtada' wa l-mab'ath wa l-maghāzī*, ed. M. J:Iamidullāh, Rabat, 1976.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Haydarabad, 1357/1938.
- Ibn al-Juḥām, *Ta'wīl mā nazala min al-Qur'ān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa ālih*, ed. F. Tabrīziyān, Qumm, 1420/1999.
- Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, Beirut, 1977. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, ed. Beirut, 1966.
- Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, trans. W. Mac Guckin de Slane: *The Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun*, Paris, 1936.

- Ibn Khuzayma, *K. al-tawhīd*, ed. M. Kh. Harrās, Cairo, 1388/1968.
- Ibn Mājja, *al-Sunan*, ed. M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1952-1954.
- Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, ed. 'A. Badawī, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1377 h.s./1998-99.
- Ibn Qasī, *Kitāb khal' al-na'layn wa iqtibās al-nūr min mawḍi' al-qadamayn*, ed. M. al-'Amrānī, s.l., 1997.
- Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903.
- Ibn Qutayba (attributed to), *al-Imāma wa l-siyāsa*, ed. M.M. al-Rāfi'ī, Cairo, 1322/1904.
- Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalaf al-ḥadīth*, Cairo, 1326/1908 (trans. fr. G. Lecomte, *Le traité des divergences du lḥadīth d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus, 1967).
- Ibn Rushd, *al-Kashf 'an manāḥij al-adilla fī 'aqā'id al-milla*, ed. M.'A. al-Jābirī, Beirut, 1998; ed. D. Ben Aḥmad, Tunis, 2009.
- Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau, *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefhärten und der späteren Träger des Islams, bis zum jahre 230 der Flucht*, 9 vols, Leiden, 1904-1928; ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1406/1985.
- Ibn al-Sā'ī, 'Alī b. Anjab Tāj al-Dīn, *al-Jāmi' al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. M. Jawād, Baghdad 1353/1934.
- Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-Madīna*, ed. M.F. Shaltūt, Qumm, 1410/1989-90, 3 vols. (reprint of Jadda ed., 1399/1979, 4 vols.)
- Ibn Shādhān, *Mi'at manqaba*, ed. N.R. 'Ulwān, Qumm, 1413/1993.
- Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, ed. M.S. Al Baḥr al-'ulūm, Najaf, 1380/1961.
- Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Tālib*, ed. M. Burūjerdī, Tehran, 1316-17/1898-99; 3 vols, Najaf, 1375-76/1956; Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Ibn Shu'ba, *Tuḥaf al-'uqūl*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, 1366 solar/1988.
- Ibn Sīnā, *Ilāhiyyāt al-shifā'*, ed. G. C. Anawati and S. Zayed, Beirut, 1960. Ibn Tāwūs, *al-Tarā'if fī ma'rifa madhāhib al-ṭawā'if*, Qumm, 1400/1979.
- Ibn Taymiyya, *Minḥāj al-sunna*, s.l.s.d..
- Ibn Tūmart, *A'azz mā yuṭlab*, ed. 'Ammār Tālibī, s.l. 2007.
- Iqbāl, 'A., *Khānedān-e Nawbakhtī*, Tehran, 1311 solar/1933.
- al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tabriz, reissued Qumm, 1381/1962. al-Iṣfahānī, Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 20 vols, Būlāq, Cairo, 1285/1868.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Abū l-Faraj, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyin*, ed. S.A. Saqr, Cairo 1949, reissued Qumm, 1416/1995.
- Ishqurt Dada, *Ṣalāt-nāma*, ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 1043, fol. 4b-52a.
- Ivanow, V., *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran, 1963.
- Ivanow, V., "Notes on the Ummu' l-kitāb of the Ismailis of Central Asia," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 6, 1932.
- Ivanow, V., *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden, 1948.
- Ivanow, V., *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay, 1946.
- Ivanow, V., "Ummu'l-kitāb," *Der Islam* 23, 1936 (the entire article and Persian text, 1-132). Ja'farī, S.M.M., *Sayyid Raḍī*, Tehran, 1378 solar/1998 (2nd ed.).
- Ja'far al-Sādiq (attributed to), *Tafsīr*, ed. P. Nwyia, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beirut), 43 (1968); ed. 'A. Zay'ūr, *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfi li l-Qur'ān 'ind al-Ṣādiq*, Beirut, 1979.
- Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (attributed to), *Kitāb al-kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann, London, 1952.
- Ja'fariyān, R., *Tārīkh-i tashayyu' dar Irān az āghāz tā ḥulū'-i dawlat-i ṣafavī*, Tehran 1388 s./[2009-2010].
- Jambet, Ch., *L'acte d'être. La philosophie de la révélation chez Mollā Sadrā*, Paris, 2002.
- Jambet, Ch., "L'Homme parfait. Métaphysique de l'âme et eschatologie selon Qāzī Sa'īd Qummī," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences religieuses*, vol. 125 (2016-2017), pp. 411-423.
- Jambet, Ch., *Le gouvernement divin. Islam and the political conception of the world*, Paris, 2016. Jambet, Ch., *What is Islamic philosophy*, Paris, 2011.

- Jambet, Ch., "Religion of the scholar and religion of the vulgar. Remarks on the intentions of Mullā Sadrā's commentary on the *Book of Proof*", *SI* 109-2 (2014), pp. 208-239.
- Jambet, Ch., "S'assimiler à Dieu dans la mesure du possible" ((*Theaetetus* 176b) : un impératif platonicien dans son interprétation en philosophie islamique", *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, t. CXI, no 4, 2017.
- See also M.A. Amir-Moezzi & Ch. Jambet.
- James, E.O., *The Nature and Function of Priesthood*, London, 1955.
- Jāmī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ*, ed. W. Chittick, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001-2.
- al-Jazā'irī, Ni'matullāh, *al-Anwār al-nu'māniyya*, Tabriz, 1378-82/1958-61.
- Jeffery, A., "Ghevond's text of the Correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III," *The Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944), pp. 269-332.
- Jeffery, A., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden, 1937.
- Jeffery, A., *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda, 1938.
- Jeffery, A., *The Qur'an as Scripture*, New York, 1952.
- Jomier, J., "L'Évangile selon Barnabé", *MIDEO* 6 (1959-1961), pp. 137-226.
- Joosten, J., "The Gospel of Barnabas and the Diatessaron," *Harvard Theological Review*, 95/1, January 2002, pp. 73-96.
- Jullien C. & Jullien, F., "At the frontiers of Iranianess: 'Naṣrāyē' and 'Krystyonē' of the inscriptions of the Mobad Kirdīr: a literary and historical survey," *Numen* 49 (2002), pp. 282- 335.
- al-Juwaynī, *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Nashshār-'Awn-Mukhtār, Alexandria, 1389/1969.
- Juynboll, G.H.A., "Some new ideas on the development of *sunna* as a technical term in early Islam," *JSAI* 10, 1987, pp. 97-118 (now in Id., *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadīth*, paper 5).
- Juynboll, G.H.A., *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadīth*, London, Variorum, 1996.
- Juynboll, G.H.A., *The authenticity of the tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden, 1969.
- al-Kaf'amī, Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, *al-Maqām al-asnā*, Qumm, 1412/1992.
- al-Kaf'amī Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, *al-Miṣbāḥ*, Tehran, 1321/1903.
- Kaḥḥāla, 'Umar Riḍā, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, Beirut, 1414/1993.
- Kahle, P., "Ein Futuwwa-Erlass des Kalifen en-Nāṣir aus dem Jahre 604 (1207)," *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim*, Ernst F. Weidner (ed.), Berlin 1933, pp. 52-58.
- Kantūrī, I'jāz J:Iusayn, *Kashf al-ḥujub wa l-astār*, Qumm, 1409/1988.
- Kara, S., *In Search of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib's Codex. History and Traditions of the Earliest Copy of the Qur'ān*, Berlin, 2018.
- Karamustafa, A.T., "In his own voice: what Hatayī tells us about Şah İsmail's religious views", *Shi'it e esotericism: its roots and extensions*, M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M. De Cillis, D. De Smet, O. Mir-Kasimov (eds.), Turnhout, 2016, pp. 601-611.
- Karamustafa, A. T., *Sufism: The Formative Period*, Edinburgh, 2007.
- Karīmīyān Sardashtī, N., "Pažūheshī dar bāre-ye ahl-e fotovvat," *Honar: ketāb-e māh* 31-32, 2001, pp. 40-45.
- al-Kashfī, Sayyid Ja'far, *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, s.l. (Iran), n.d. (litho. ed. in 2 vols.).
- al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifa akhbār al-rijāl*, Bombay, 1317/1899.
- Kasimirski, A.F.I. de Biberstein, *Le Coran*, Paris, 20108.
- Katsch, A.I., *Judaism and the Koran: Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and Its Commentaries*, New York, 1962.
- Kāẓim al-Rashtī, Sayyid, *Sharḥ al-khuṭba al-taṭanjīyya*, Tabriz, 1270/1853.
- Kessler, K., *Mani: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1889.
- Khalil Samir, Kh., "A Christian reflection on the prophetic mission of Muḥammad," in A.-M. Delcambre and J. Bosshard (eds.), *Enquêtes sur l'islam, in homage to Antoine Moussali*,

- Paris, 2004, pp. 263-292.
- al-Khāqānī, 'A., *Shu'arā' al-lfilla*, Najaf, 1372/1951.
- al-Khaṣībī/ al-Khuṣaybī, "al-Risāla al-Rāstbāshiyya," in *Rasā'il al-ḥikma al-'alawiyya*, ed. Abū Mūsā & al-Shaykh Mūsā, s.l. ("Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī"), 2006.
- al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Faqīh wa l-mutafaqqih*, ed. I. al-Anṣārī, Beirut, 1395/1975.
- Khayrkhāh Harātī, *Kalām-i pīr. A Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine*, ed. and trans. in English, W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1935.
- al-Khazzāz al-Rāzī, *Kifāyat al-athar*, ed. A. Kūhkamare'ī, Qumm, 1401/1980.
- al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, Beirut, 1411/1991 (reissued from Tehran, 1970-72). al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (= *Manāqib Amīr al-mu'minīn*), Najaf, 1385/1965.
- al-Khwārazmī, *Maqtal al-lfusayn*, Qumm, n. d.
- Kippenberg, H.G., "Ketmān. Zur Maxime der Verstellung in der antiken und frühislamischen Religionsgeschichte," in J.W. van Herten *et al.* (eds.), *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature. Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram*, Leiden, 1986, pp. 172-183.
- al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, ed. M. Ghālib, Beirut, 1983.
- Kister, M.J., "A Booth like the Booth of Moses...A Study of an Early *lfadīth*," *BSOAS* 25 (1962), pp. 150-155.
- Kister, M.J., "On 'Concessions' and Conduct. A Study in Early Islam," in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the First Century of Islam Society*, vol. 3, Carbondale, 1983, pp. 89-107.
- Kitāb allāh wa ahl al-bayt fī ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*, Qumm, reprint 1388/2009.
- Kiyā, S., "Agahīhā-yi tāza az ḥurūfiyān," *Majalla-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i dānishgāh-i Tihārān*, no. 2/2 (1333/1954), pp. 39-65.
- Kleiber, L., "Expression populaire et dévotion shi'ite", *La Revue des Musées de France. Revue du Louvre* 4, 2006, pp. 64-71.
- Klemm, V., "Image formation of an Islamic legend. Fāṭima, the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad," in S. Günther (ed.), *Ideas, images, and methods of portrayal. Insights into classical Arabic literature and Islam*, Leiden- Boston, 2005, pp. 181-208.
- Kohlberg, E., "Abū Turāb," *BSOAS* 41 (1978) (reprinted in id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum, Aldershot, 1991, article 6).
- Kohlberg, E., *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992.
- Kohlberg, E., "Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imāmī Shī'ism," in E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulluec (eds.), *Les retours aux Écritures: fondamentalismes présent et passé*, Leuven, pp. 295-312.
- Kohlberg, E., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 1991.
- Kohlberg, E., "Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period," in S. Amir-Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, New York, 1988, pp. 25-53 (= *Belief and Law*, article 13).
- Kohlberg, E., "In Praise of the Few," in G.R. Hawting, J.A. Mojaddedi and A. Samely (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions. In Memory of Norman Calder*, *Journal of Semitic Studies* Supplement 12 (2000), pp. 149-162.
- Kohlberg, E., "Raḍj'a," *EI2*.
- Kohlberg, E., "Shī'ī J:Iadīth," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 299-307.
- Kohlberg, E., "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī views on *taqiyya*," *JAOS* (1975), pp. 395-402 (= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, paper 3).
- Kohlberg, E., "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *JSAI* 5 (1984), pp. 143-175 (= *Belief and Law*, paper 9).
- Kohlberg, E., "Some Notes on the Imamite Attitude to the Qur'ān," in S. M. Stern *et al.* (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical tradition. Essays Presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 209-224.

- Kohlberg, E., "Taqiyya in Shī'ī Theology and Religion," in H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 345-380.
- Kohlberg, E., "The Term 'Muḥaddath' in Twelver Shī'ism," in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 39-47, (reprinted in Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī-Shī'ism*, article 5).
- Kohlberg, E., *In Praise of the Few: Studies in Shi'i Thought and History*, Leiden-Boston 2020 (collection of articles by the author that includes a number of the works cited above).
- Kohlberg, E. & Amir-Moezzi, M.A., *Revelation and Falsification. The Kitāb al-qirā'āt of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*, Leiden-Boston, 2009.
- See also I. Poonawala and E. Kohlberg.
- Kraus, P., *Jābir b. Iḥyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'islam*, Cairo, 1942 (reissued Paris, 1986).
- Krinis, E., *God's Chosen People: Judah Halevi's Kuzari and the Shī'ī Imām Doctrine*, Turnhout, 2014.
- Krinis, E., "The Arabic Background of the Kuzari," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 21/1 (2013), pp. 1-56.
- Kropp, M. (ed.), *Results of Contemporary Research on the Qur'ān: the Question of a Historico-critical Approach*, Beirut & Würzburg, 2007.
- al-Kulaynī, *al-Furū' min al-Kāfi*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1391/1971.
- al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfi*, text and Persian trans. by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran 1389/1969.
- al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. 4 (4 vols.), ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, Tehran, n.d., with Persian trans. (The 4th vol. translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī dates from 1386/1966).
- Kumayt see Horovitz, J., *Die Hāšimijāt des Kumait*, Leiden, 1904; Arabic text reprinted in Qumm, n.d. (circa 1970).
- Lafontaine-Dosogne, J., *Histoire de l'art byzantin et chrétien d'Orient*, Louvain, 1987.
- Lagardière, V., "La tariqa et la révolte des Murīdūn en 539 H / 1144 en Andalus", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 35 (1983), pp. 157-170.
- Lakhani, A., "The Metaphysics of Human Governance: Imam 'Ali, Truth and Justice," in Lakhani, A. (ed.), *The sacred foundations of justice in Islam: the Teachings of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Bloomington, 2006.
- Lammens, H., *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mu'āwīa 1er*, Paris, 1908.
- Lammens, H., *Fāṭima and the Daughters of Muhammad*, Rome, 1912.
- Lammens, H., *The Cradle of Islam: Western Arabia on the Eve of the Hegira*, Rome, 1914.
- Lammens, H., "Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites", *BIFAO* 17, 1919-1920, pp. 39-101.
- Laoust, H., "Le rôle de 'Ali dans la Sira chiite", *REI*, 30/1, 1962, pp. 7-26.
- Lawson, T., "The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī," in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, London-New York, 1992, pp. 261-276.
- Lawson, T., "The Hidden Words of Fayḍ Kāshānī," in M. Szuppe (ed.), *Iran: Questions and Knowledge. T. II, Medieval and Modern Periods*, Paris, 2002, pp. 427-447.
- Layish, A., "Taqiyya among the Druze," *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), pp. 245-281.
- Lecker, M., "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī," *JSS* 41.1 (1996), pp. 21-63 (reprinted in Id. in *Jews and Arabs* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), article 16).
- Lecker, M., *Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia*, Aldershot, 1998.
- Lévi, I., "L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel", *Revue des Études Juives* 68 (1914), 129-160; 69 (1919), pp. 108-121; 70 (1920), pp. 57-65.
- Levy, J., *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1876-1889.

- Lewis, B. "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History", *BSOAS* 13 (1950), pp. 308-338.
- Lewisohn, L., "Ali ibn Abi Talib's Ethics of Mercy in the Mirror of the Persian Sufi Tradition," in A. Lakhani (ed.), *The Sacred Foundations of Justice in Islam: The Teachings of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Bloomington, 2006, pp. 109-145.
- Litvak, M., "More harmful than the Jews: anti-Shi'i polemics in modern radical Sunni discourse," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M.M. Bar-Asher and S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmite shī'ism forty years later. A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 293-314.
- Livne-Kafri, O., "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect," *Arabica* 53 (2006), pp. 382-403.
- Lohmann, T., "Die Nacht al-Qadr. Übersetzung und Erklärung von Sure 97," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 15 (1969), pp. 275-285.
- Lory, P., *Alchemy and mysticism in the land of Islam*, Paris-Lagrasse, 1989.
- Lory, P. *Dix Traités d'alchimie. Les dix premiers Traités du Livre des Soixante-Dix*, Paris, 1983. Lory, P., "Les paradoxes mystiques (*shatahāt*) dans la tradition soufie des premiers siècles", *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Sciences Religieuses*, volume 102, 1994-95 and volume 103, 1995-96.
- Lory, P., "Suffering for the truth according to the Shiite esotericism of Rajab Borsi", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M.M. Bar-Asher & S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmite shī'ism forty years later: A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études vol. 137, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 315- 323.
- Lory, P. and Terrier, M., "*al-Insān al-kāmil*: l'Homme parfait dans la culture arabe classique," in H. Touati (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mediterranean Humanism*, Brill, 2017, online: <http://encyclopediae-humanisme.com/?Al-insan-al-kamil-248>.
- Lüling, G., *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation. The Rediscovery of reliable Reconstruction of a comprehensive pre-Islamic Christian Hymnal hidden in the Koran under earliest Islamic reinterpretation*, Delhi, 2002, pp. 147 ff (revised and expanded trans. of: Id., *Über den Ur- Qur'ān. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophennieder im Qur'ān*, Erlangen, 1974).
- Lüling, G., *Die Wiederentdeckung des propheten Muhammad. Eine Kritik am "christlichen" Abendland*, Erlangen, 1981.
- Luxenberg, C., "A New Interpretation of the Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (eds.), *The Hidden origins of Islam: New Research into Its Early History*, New York, 2010, pp. 125-151.
- Luxenberg, C., *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, Berlin, 2000.
- Luxenberg, C., "Noël dans le Coran", in A.M. Delcambre and J. Bosshard (eds.), *Enquêtes sur l'Islam. En hommage à Antoine Moussali*, Paris, 2004, pp. 117-138.
- Macchi, J.D., Römer, T. & Nihan, Ch. (eds.), *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Geneva, 2005.
- MacDonald, D.B., "Malāḥim," *EI2*.
- Madan, D.M., *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkart*, Bombay, 1911.
- Madelung, W., "'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and Shiite Law," in U. Vermeulen-J.M.F. van Reeth (eds.), *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*, Leuven, 1998, pp. 13-25.
- Madelung, W., "'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," *JNES* 40 (1981), pp. 291-305. Madelung, W., *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, 1965.
- Madelung, W., "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī's Synthesis of Kalām, Philosophy and Sufism" in *The Significance of the Late Middle Ages in the History and Culture of the Muslim World* (Proceedings of the 8th Congress of the European Union of Arabists and Islamists), Aix-en-Provence, 1978, pp. 147-156 (reprinted in Id., *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1985, article 13).
- Madelung, W., "'Introduction' to the section 'History and Historiography'," in F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London-New York, 2014, pp. 3-16.

- Madelung, W., "Kā'im Al Muhammad," *EI2*.
- Madelung, W., "al-Mahdī," *EI2*.
- Madelung, W., "Social Legislation in *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb* "in A. Cilardo (ed.), *Islam and Globalization. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Proceeding of the 25th Congress of the European Union of Islamists and Arabists*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2013, pp. 197-203.
- Madelung, W., "The *Hāshimīyyāt* of al-Kumayt and Hāshimi Shi'ism," *SI* 70, 1990, pp. 5-26.
- Madelung, W., *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997.
- Madelung, W., "The Sufyānī between Tradition and History," *SI* 63 (1984), pp. 1-48.
- Madelung, W. & Walker, P., *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness*. An Edition and English Translation of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt*, London, 2000.
- Magnin, J.M., *Notes on Ebionism*, Jerusalem, 1979.
- Mahé, J.-P. and Poirier, P.-H. (eds.), *Ecrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, Paris, 2007.
- Mahjub, M.J., "Chivalry and Early Persian Sufism", Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1999, pp. 549-582.
- al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 40, Tehran-Qumm, 1376-1392/1956-1972, 110 vols.
- al-Majlisī, *Mir'āt al-'uqūl*, Tehran, 1404/1984.
- Makārim, S., *al-Taḥiyya fī l-islām*, Beirut, 2004.
- al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, ed. S. Dederling, Istanbul, 1936.
- al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, Tehran, 1349/1930.
- Manzoor, S.P., "From the Night of Power to the Dawn of Peace," *Afkar Inquiry* 3 (1986), pp. 28-33.
- al-Maqdisī, Muṭahhar b. Tāhir, *Kitāb al-bad' wa l-ta'riḥ* (*The Book of Creation and History*), ed. and trans. fr. Cl. Huart, 6 vols, Paris, 1899-1919.
- al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā' bi mā li-rasūl allāh min al-abnā' wa l-amwāl wa l-ḥaḥaḍa wa l-matā'*, ed. M. 'A.J.I. al-Namīsī, 15 vols, Beirut, 1420/1999.
- al-Maqrīzī, *al-Nizā' wa l-takhāṣum fī mā bayna banī umayya wa banī hāshim*, ed. J.I. Mu'nis, Cairo, 1984.
- Marcotte, R.D., "Night of Power", *EQ*.
- Margoliouth, D.S., *The Relations Between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam*, London, 1924.
- Martinez, F.J., "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodus and Pseudo-Athanasius," unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1985.
- al-Mas'ūdī (attributed to), *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, Najaf, n.d.
- al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard revised by C. Pellat. Beirut 1968-1979.
- Masad, M. A., "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy and the End of Time in the 13th Century Eastern Mediterranean," PhD dissertation, Washington University, Saint Louis, MO, 2008.
- Massé, H., "L'imagerie populaire de l'Iran," *Arts Asiatiques* 7-3, 1960, pp. 163-178.
- Massi Dakake, M. & Kazemi Moussavi, A., "Ghadīr Khom," *In Ir.*
- Massi Dakake, M., "Hiding in Plain Sight: the Practical and Doctrinal Significance of Secrecy in Shi'ite Islam," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 24/2 (June 2006), pp. 324-355.
- Massi Dakake, M., *The Charismatic Community: Shi'ite Identity in Early Islam*, Albany, 2007.
- Massi Dakake, M., "Writing and Resistance: The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Early Shi'ism," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, part III.8, pp. 181-201.
- Massignon, L., "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1937, pp. 55-77 (reprinted in Id., *Opera minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 499-513).
- Massignon, L., "Der gnostische Kult der Fatima im schiitischen Islam", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1938, pp. 161-173 (= *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pp. 514-522).
- Massignon, L., *Écrits mémorables*, ed. under the direction of Ch. Jambet, Paris, 2009.

- Massignon, L., "Esquisse d'une bibliographie nuṣayrie," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, pp. 913-22 (= *Opera Minora*, 1, pp. 640-649).
- Massignon, L., *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1999 (reprint).
- Massignon, L., *La Passion de Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, vol. 4 (4 vols.), Paris, reed. 1975.
- Massignon, L., "L'Homme Parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique", in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, XV, 1948, pp. 287-314 (in *Opera Minora*, Paris, 1969, 1, pp. 107-125).
- Massignon, L., "Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien", *Société d'Études Iraniennes, Cahier 7*, Paris, 1934 (= *Opera Minora*, 1, pp. 443-83, now *Écrits mémorables*, dir. Ch. Jambet, Paris, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 576 ff).
- Masson, D., *Le Coran*, Paris, 1967.
- Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, ed. M.J. Maḥjūb, Tehran, 1345 solar/1967.
- al-Maybudī, Qāḍī Mīr J:lusayn, *Sharḥ-e Dīwān-e mansūb beh Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, ed. J:I. Raḥmānī and I. Ashkeshūrīn, Tehran, 1390 h.s./2011.
- Mazuz, H., *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*, Leiden, 2014.
- Mazzaoui, M., "Musha'sha'iyyān: A Fifteenth Century Shi'i Movement in Khūzistān and Southern Iraq," *Folia Orientalia* 22 (1981-1984): 139-162.
- McDermott, M.J., *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)*, Beirut, 1978.
- Melchert, C., "The Interpretation of Three Qur'anic Terms (*Siyāḥa*, *lfikma* and *Siddīq*) of Special Interest to the Early Renunciants," in S.R. Burge (ed.), *The Meaning of the Word. Lexicology and Qur'anic Exegesis*, London, 2015, pp. 89-116.
- Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., "L'Islam, le verbe et l'image", in Boesflug, F. and Lossky, N. (eds.), *Nicée II, 787-1987 : douze siècles d'images religieuses. Actes du colloque Nicée II, Collège de France, 2-4 octobre 1986*, Paris, pp.89-117.
- Melikoff, I., "Images and symbols among the Qezelbāš," in H. Beikbaghban (ed.), *Images et représentations en terre d'Islam. Proceedings of the international colloquium of the University of Strasbourg: 3 and 4 February 1994*, ed. Beikbaghban Hossein. Tehran, 1997, pp. 40-65.
- Melikoff, I., "The divinization of Ali among the Bektachi-Alevis", in Ocak, A.Y. (ed.), *From History to Theology. 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, Ankara, 2005, pp. 83-110.
- Melvin-Koushki, M., "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 5 (2017): 127-199.
- Melvin-Koushki, M., "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Sā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2012.
- Meyer, E., "Anlass und Anwendungsbereich der *taqiyya*", *Der Islam* 57(1980), pp. 246-280.
- Mez, A., *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg, 1922 (reprinted, Hildesheim, 1968).
- Michaud, H., *Jésus selon le Coran*, Neuchatel, 1960.
- Mīhandūst, M., "Pendāre hā va bāvardāsht hā-ye 'āmiyāne," *Honar: ketāb-e māh* 31-32, 2001, pp. 10-16.
- Milstein, R., "Light, Fire and the Sun in Islamic Painting", in Sharon, M. (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in honor of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem- Leiden, 1986, pp. 533-552.
- Mimouni, S.C., *Le judéo-christianisme ancien. Essais historiques*, Paris, 1998.
- Mimouni, S.C., "Les Nazoréens. Recherche étymologique et historique," *Revue Biblique* 105 (1998), pp. 232-244.
- Mingana, A., "The Transmission of the Qur'ān," *The Muslim World* 7, 1917, pp. 223-232 and 402- 414.
- Minorsky, V., "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I," *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942), pp. 1006a-1053a.
- al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, ed. 'A.M.Hārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962.
- Mīr Dāmād, *Jadhawāt wa mawāqīt*, ed. 'A. Owjabī, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001.

- Mīr Dāmād, *Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. M. Moḥaqqueq, Tehran, 1977.
- Mīr Dāmād, *Nibrās al-diyā' wa tiswā' al-siwā' fī sharḥ bāb al-badā' wa ithbāt jadwā al-du'ā'*, ed. J.I. N. Esfahānī, Tehran, 1374 h.s./1995.
- Mīr Dāmād, *Sharḥ ḥadīth tamthīl al-imam 'Alī bi-sūrat al-tawḥīd*, in dd., *Muṣannaḥāt Mīr Dāmād*, vol. 1, ed. 'A. Nūrānī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2003, pp. 560-564.
- Mīr Dāmād, *al-Rawāshih al-samāwiyya*, ed. Gh. Qayṣariyya-hā and N. al-Jalīlī, s.l., 1422/2001.
- Mīr Fāḍilī, *Risāla*, ms. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Farsça 1039, fol. 1b-70a.
- Mīr-'Abedīnī, A. and Afshārī, M., *Ayīn-e qalandarī*, Tehran, 1374/1995.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., "Faḍlullāh Astarābādī's 'Dream Diary': an edition and annotated translation", *St Ir* 38 (2009), pp. 249-304.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., "Notes on Two ḥurūfī Texts: the *Jāvdān-Nāma* of Faḍlallāh Astarābādī and one of its commentaries, the *Maḥram-Nāma* of Sayyid Ishāq," *Studia Iranica* 35/2, 2006, pp. 203-235.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., "Techniques of keeping secrets in Islam," *RHR* 228/2 (April-June 2011), pp. 265-287.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., "The Nizārī Ismaili Theory of the Resurrection (*Qiyāma*) and Post-Mongol Iranian Messianism," in O. Mir-Kasimov (ed.), *Intellectual Interactions in Islamic World: The Ismaili Thread*, London, 2020, pp. 323-352.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., "The Word of Descent and the Word of Ascent in the Spectrum of the Sacred Texts in Islam," in D. De Smet and M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds), *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam*, Paris, 2014, pp. 329-372.
- Mir-Kasimov, O., *Words of Power. Ifurūfī Teachings Between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam: the Original Doctrine of Faḍ Allāh Astarābādī*, London-New York, 2015.
- Modarressi, H., *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam: Abū Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and his Contribution to Imāmite Shī'ite Thought*, Princeton, 1993.
- Modarressi, H., *Tradition and Survival. A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2003.
- Moeller, E., *Beiträge zur Mahdilehre des Islams*, Heidelberg, 1901.
- Mohammad-Zadeh, M., *L'iconographie chiite dans l'Iran des Qādījārs : émergence, sources et développement*, Thèse de doctorat, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne) et Université de Genève, 2008.
- Molé, M., *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1963.
- Molé, M., "Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècle de l'hégire", *REI* 29 (1961), pp. 61-142.
- Momen, M., *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam. The History and Doctrine of Twelver Shi'ism*, Oxford, 1985.
- Monnot, G., *Islam and religions*, Paris, 1986.
- Monnot, G., "La transmigration et l'immortalité", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 14 (1980), pp. 149-166 (reprinted in Id., *Islam et religions*, Paris, 1986, chap.XII).
- Monnot, G., *Muslim thinkers and Iranian religions. 'Abd al-Jabbār et ses devanciers*, Paris, 1974.
- Moosa, M., *Extremist Shi'ites: the Ghulat Sects*, New York, 1988.
- Morimoto, K., "An Enigmatic Genealogical Chart of the Timurids: A Testimony to the Dynasty's Claim to Yasavi-'Alid Legitimacy?", *Oriens* 44 (2016), pp. 145-178.
- Morimoto, K., "The Earliest 'Alid Genealogy for the Safavids: New Evidence for the Pre-dynastic Claim to Sayyid Status," *Iranian Studies* 43/4 (2010): 447-469.
- Morimoto, K., "The Prophet's Family as the Perennial Source of Saintly Scholars: al-Samhūdī on 'ilm and nasab," C. Mayeur-Jaouen and A. Papas (eds.), *Family Portraits with Saints: Hagiography, Sanctity, and Family in the Muslim World*, Berlin 2014, pp. 106-124.
- Morton, H., "The History of the Sarbadars in the light of new numismatic evidence," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 16 (1976), pp. 255-258.

- Motzki, H., "Introduction," in Id. (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: the Issue of the Sources*, Leiden, 2000.
- Motzki, H., "The Collection of the Qur'ān. A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments," *Der Islam* 78 (2001), pp. 1-34.
- Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, ed. M. Ghālib, vols. I and III, Beirut, 1974 and 1984.
- Mubarak, Z., *La prose arabe*, Paris, 1931.
- Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsin al-kilam* (Los Bocados de oro), ed. 'A.R. Badawī, Madrid, 1958.
- Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabriz, n.d.; Tehran, 1967-70.
- al-Mufīd, al-Shaykh, *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, ed. 'A. Wajdī Wā'iz Carandābī, with introduction and commentaries by F. Zanjānī, 2nd ed., Tabriz, 1371/1952 = al-Mufīd, al-Shaykh, *Silsilat mu'allafāt al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*, vol. 4, ed. I. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khū'nī with the editor's comments and those of Faḍlallāh Zanjānī (reissue of the Tabriz ed.), 1993.
- al-Mufīd, al-Shaykh, *al-Irshād*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran, 1346 solar/1968.
- al-Mufīd, al-Shaykh, *Kitāb al-Jamal aw al-nuṣra fī ḥarb al-Baṣra*, Najaf, 1963.
- Mullā Sadrā, *Maḥāṣin al-ghayb*, ed. N. J. Iḥṣānī, Tehran, 2 vols. 1386 h.s./2007-2008.
- Mullā Sadrā, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, ed. M. Khājavī, 4 vols, Tehran, 1367 h.s./1988-89.
- Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1955; Istanbul, 2 vols. reprint. 1383/1963; Beirut, 5 vols. 1995.
- al-Nabā'ī al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm ilā mustahaqqī l-taqdīm*, ed. M.B. al-Bihbūdī, Najaf, 1384/1964.
- Naef, S., *Y a-t-il une "question de l'image" en islam*, Paris, 2004.
- Nagel, T., *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, Bonn, 1975.
- Nagel, T., *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam*, vol. I., Bonn, 1973.
- Nagel, T., *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des abbasidischen Kalifates*, Bonn, 1972.
- Nahj al-balāgha wa shurūḥuh*, Maktabat al-imām 'Alī Amīr al-mu'minīn, Najaf, 2016.
- al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, ed. al-Shubayrī al-Zanjānī, Qumm, 1407/1987.
- Naqā'id Jarīr wa l-Farazdaq*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden, 1905-1909.
- al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'iṣ amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, ed. al-Dānī b. Munīr Al Zahwī, Saida- Beirut, 1424/2004.
- al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut, 1971.
- Nau, F., "Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse sur la généalogie de la sainte Vierge", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1901), pp. 512-531.
- Nau, F., "Un colloque du Patriarche Jean avec l'Emir des Agaréens et faits divers des années 712 à 716", *JA* 11.5 (1915), pp. 225-279.
- al-Nawbakhtī, *Firqat al-shī'a*, ed., H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1931; trans. M.J. Mashkour, *Les sectes shiites*, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1980.
- Neuwirth, A., Sinai, N. & Marx, M.(eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010.
- Nevo, Y.D. and Koren, J., *Crossroads to Islam: the Origins of the Arab Religion and the Arab State*, Amherst, 2003.
- Newman, A.J., *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, London, 2009.
- Newman, A.J., *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond, 2000.
- Nöldeke, T., et al, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, (3 vols), Leipzig, 1909-1938.
- Nöldeke, T., "Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer?", *ZDMG* 12, 1858, pp. 699-708.
- al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1397/1977; text with Persian translation by M.J. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1363 solar/1985.

- Nūr 'Alī Shāh, "Manzūm-e khuṭbat al-bayān," in *Divān-e Nūr 'Alī Shāh Isfahānī*, Tehran, 1349 solar/1970.
- Nūr 'Alī Shāh, *Majmū'e-ye āthār-e N. 'A.sh. Isfahānī*, Tehran, 1350 solar/1971.
- Nūrbakhsh, Sayyid Muḥammad, *al-Risāla al-i'tiqādiyya*, ed. M. Molé in *Professions of Faith of Two Kubrāwīs: 'Alī-i Hamadānī and Muḥammad Nurbakhsh*, excerpted from *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 17, 1961-62.
- Nwiya, P., *Exegesis of the Koran and Mystical Language*, Beirut, 1970.
- O'Meara, D.J., *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 1989.
- Ocak, A.Y., (ed.), *From History to Theology: 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, Ankara, 2005.
- Ohlander, E., *Sufism in an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods*, Leiden-Boston, 2008.
- Osman, A., "'Adālat al-ṣaḥāba: The Construction of a Religious Doctrine," *Arabica* 60/3-4, 2013, pp. 272-305.
- Ouardi, H., *The Last Days of Muhammad*, Paris, 2016.
- Palmer, A., Brock, S. and Hoyland, R.G., (eds.), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool, 1993.
- Paret, R., "Das islamische Bildverbot und die Schia", in E. Von Graf (ed.), *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden, pp. 224-232.
- Paret, R., "Der Plan einer neuen, leicht kommentierten wissenschaftlichen Koranübersetzung", in Id. (ed.), *Orientalistische Studien. Enno Littmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Leiden, 1935, pp. 121-130.
- Paret, R., "Die Bedeutung des Wortes *baqīya* im Koran," in *Alttestamentliche Studien: Friedrich Nötscher zum 60. Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1950.
- Parpola, S., "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy," *JNES*, 52, no. 3, 1993, pp. 161-208.
- Parrinder, G., *Jesus in the Quran*, London, 1965.
- Pārsā, Khwāja Muḥammad, *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, ed. J. Mesgarnezhād, Tehran 1381/[2002-2003].
- Pāzūkī, Sh., "Taṣawwuf-i 'alawī: guftārī dar bāb-i intisāb-i salāsīl-i ṣūfiyya ba-ḥaḍrat-i 'Alī, *Faṣlnāma-yi andīshe-yi dīnī dānishgāh-i Shīrāz* 2/1-2 (2001), pp. 59-74.
- Pellat, C., "J:īlīf al-fuḍūl," *EI2*.
- Pellat, C., "Mas'ūdī and imāmism," in *Le shī'isme imāmīte*, pp.69-90.
- Peters, F.E., "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), pp. 291-315.
- Peterson, E., *'Alī and Mu'āwīya in Early Arabic Tradition*, Copenhagen, 1964.
- Peterson, S. R., *Shi'ism and Late Iranian Arts*, Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1981.
- Petitpièce, T., *Pentadic Redaction in Manichean Kephalaia*, Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies n. 66, Leiden, 2009.
- Petitpièce, T., "The Face of the Father: Pentadization in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* (Chapter 21)," *Vigiliae christianae*, 61, 2007, pp.470-477.
- Philonenko, M., *Les interpolations chrétiennes des douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân*, Paris, 1960.
- Pines, Sh., "Notes on Islam and on Arabic Christianity and Judaeo-Christianity," *JSAI* 4 (1984), pp. 135-152.
- Pines, Sh., "Shī'ite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*," *JSAI* 2 (1980), pp. 165-251.
- Pines, Sh., *The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a New Source*, Jerusalem (The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings II, 13), 1966.
- Plato, *Complete Works*, ed. L. Brisson, Paris, 2011.
- Pohlmann, K. F., *Militanz und Antimilitanz im Koran. Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur Korangenese und zu den Ursprüngen des militanten Islam*, Münster, 2018.

- Pohlmann, K.F., "Commentary on Suras 8 and 9", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi & G. Dye (eds.), *The Qur'an of Historians*, vol. 2a, pp. 335-375 and 377-417.
- Poirier, P.-H., *L'Hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas. Introduction, texte, commentaire*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981.
- Poonawala, I., "Ismā'īlī *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān," in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 199-222.
- Poonawala I. & Kohlberg, E., "'Alī b. Abī Tāleb," *Enc. Ir.*
- Popovic, A. and Veinstein, G. (eds.), *Bektachiyya: Studies on the Mystical Order of Bektachi and the Groups under Hajji Bektach*, Istanbul, 1995.
- Popp, V., "The Early History of Islam, Following Inscriptional and Numismatic Testimony," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (eds.), *The Hidden origins of Islam: New Research into Its Early History*, New York, 2010, pp. 17-124.
- Powers, D., *Muḥammad is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: the Making of the Last Prophet*, Philadelphia, 2009.
- Prémare, A.-L., de, *Aux origines du Coran. Questions d'hier, approches d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 2004.
- Prémare, A.-L. de, "'Comme il est écrit', l'histoire d'un texte", *SI* 70 (1989), pp. 27-56.
- Prémare, A.-L., de, *Les fondations de l'islam. Entre écriture et histoire*, Paris, 2002.
- Prémare, A.-L. de, "Prophétisme et adulère, d'un texte à l'autre", *REMMM* 58 (1990/4), pp. 101- 135.
- Pritz, R.A., *Nazarene Jewish Christianity: From the End of the New Testament Period until Its Disappearance in the Fourth Century*, Jerusalem-Leyde, 1988.
- Proksch, O., *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*, Leipzig, 1899.
- Puech, H.-C., *In Search of Gnosis. II. Sur l'Evangile selon Thomas*, Paris, 1978.
- Puech, H.-C., *Le manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris, 1949.
- Puech, H.-C., "le Manichéisme", in *l'Histoire des Religions, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, vol. 2, pp. 523-645.
- al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-riḍawiyya*, in Id. *al-Arba'īniyyāt li-kashf anwār al-quḍsiyyāt*, ed. N. J:Iabībī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2002-3.
- al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī, "Sharḥ J:Iadīth al-ghamāma," in Id. *al-Arba'īniyyāt li-kashf anwār al-quḍsiyyāt*, ed. N. J:Iabībī, Tehran, 1381solar/2003.
- al-Qummī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, ed. T. al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī, Najaf, 1386-87/1966-68, reissued. Beirut, 1411/1991.
- al-Qummī, al-Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Fawā'id al-riḍawiyya*, Tehran, 1327 solar/1949.
- Qummī, al-Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Kunā wa l-alqāb*, Tehran, 1397/1976.
- al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, Najaf, n.d.; Najaf, 1384/1965.
- Qutbuddin, T., "'Alī's Contemplations on This World and the Hereafter in the Context of His Life and Times," in A. Korangy et al. (eds.), *Essays in Islamic Philology, History, and Philosophy*, Berlin, 2016, pp. 333-353.
- Qutbuddin, T., "A Sermon on Piety by Imam 'Alī b. Abī Tālib: How the Rhythm of the Classical Arabic Oration Tacitly Persuaded," in S. Dorpmüller, J. Scholz, M. Stille, I. Weinrich (eds.), *Religion and Aesthetic Experience*, Heidelberg, 2018, pp. 109-123.
- Qutbuddin, T., "The Sermons of 'Alī ibn Abi Talib: At the Confluence of the Core Islamic Teachings of the Qur'an and the Oral, Nature-Based Cultural Ethos of Seventh Century Arabia," in Linda G. Jones (ed.), *La predicación medieval : sermones cristianos, judios e islámicos en el Mediterráneo*, special no. of *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42/1 (2012), pp. 201-228.
- Rabbath, E., *L'Orient chrétien à la veille de l'Islam*, Beirut, 1989.
- Radtke, B., "Iranian and Gnostic Elements in Early *Taṣawwuf*: Observations Concerning the *Umm al-kitāb*," in G. Gnoli and A. Panaino (eds.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of*

- Iranian Studies* (Serie orientale Roma 67/2), ii, Rome, 1990, pp.519-530.
- Radtke, B., *The Concept of wilāya in Early Sufism*, London, 1993.
- Ragg, L. & L., *The Gospel of Barnabas*, Oxford, 1907.
- Rajab al-Bursī, *al-Ash'ār* (Poems), published at the end of almost all editions of the *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*.
- Rajab al-Bursī, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī khams mi'a āya nazalat fī amīr al-mu'minīn*, ed. 'Alī 'Ashūr, Beirut, 1424/2003.
- Rajab al-Bursī, *Lawāmi' anwār al-tamjīd wa jawāmi' asrār al-tawhīd*, edited as the introduction to *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*.
- Rajab al-Bursī (Borsī), *Les Orientes des Lumières*, trans. H. Corbin, Paris-Lagrassse, 1996 (trans. established and completed by P. Lory).
- Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq al-amān wa lubāb ḥaqā'iq al-īmān*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasūl Zayn al-Dīn, Beirut, 1430/2009.
- Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, ed. Beirut, 1379/1959; ed. Alī 'Ashūr, Beirut, 1419/1999; ed. 'Abd al-Ghaffār Ashraf al-Māzandarānī, Qumm, 1426/2005.
- Rajab al-Bursī, *Tafsīr sūrat al-ikhlās/al-tawhīd*, ed. J:Iasan J:Iasanzādeh Amolī, *Waḥdat az dīdgāh-e 'arīf va ḥakīm*, Tehran, 1362 solar/1984, pp. 212-225; ed. Muhammad J:Iusayn Derāyatī, in *Afāq-e nūr* 2 (Pāyīz va zemestān-e 1384 solar [= autumn-winter 2006], pp. 25- 34.
- Raven W., "Sīra," *EI2*.
- al-Rāwandī, *al-Kharā'ij wa l-jarā'ih*, Qumm, 1409/1988-89.
- Rāz Shīrāzī, Abū l-Qāsim, *Sharḥ kitāb khuṭbat al-bayān* (sic., instead of *Kitāb sharḥ khuṭbat al- bayān*), Shiraz, n.d.
- Reeves, J.C.(ed.), *Bible and Qur'ān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, Atlanta, 2003.
- Reeves, J.C., *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader*, Leiden, 2006.
- Reynolds, G.S., "Jesus, the Qā'im and the End of the World," *RSO* 75 (2001), pp. 55-86.
- Reynolds, G.S., "Remembering Muḥammad," *Numen* 58 (2011), pp. 188-206.
- Reynolds, G.S., *The Quran and Its Biblical Subtext*, London, 2010.
- Reynolds, G.S., (ed.), *The Quran in Its Historical Context*, London, vol. 1, 2008 and vol. 2, 2011.
- Ridgeon, L., "'Alī ibn Abī Tālib in Medieval Persian Sufi-Futuwwat Treatises," in *Shi'ite Esotericism: Its Roots and Extensions*, M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M. De Cillis, D. De Smet and O. Mir-Kasimov (eds.), Turnhout, 2016, pp. 665-685.
- Ridgeon, L., "Futuwwa (in Sūfism)," *EI3*.
- Ridgeon, L., *Jawānmardī: A Sufi Code of Honour*, Edinburgh, 2011.
- Ridgeon, L.(ed.), *Javanmardi. The Ethics and Practice of Persianate Perfection*, London, 2018.
- Ries, J., "Elchasaism," in *Dictionnaire des religions*, Paris, 1984.
- Ries, J., "Les Kephalaia. La catéchèse de l'Eglise de Mani," in D. De Smet, G. de Callataÿ and J. Van Reeth (eds.), *Al-Kitāb. La sacralité du texte dans le monde de l'Islam*, Brussels, 2004, pp. 143-158.
- Rippin, A., "Occasions of Revelation," *EQ*.
- Rippin, A. "The Commerce of Eschatology," in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as Text*, Leiden, 1996, pp. 125-136.
- Rizvi, S., "'Seeking the Face of God': the Safawid *lfiḳmat* Tradition's Conceptualization of *Walāya Takwīniyya*," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, pp. 391-410.
- Rizvi, S., "Shi'i Political Theology and Esotericism in Qajar Iran. The Case of Sayyid Ja'far Kashfī," in Amir-Moezzi et al. (eds), *Shi'i Esotericism, its Roots and Extensions*, Turnhout, 2016, pp.687-712.
- Rizzardi, G., *Il problema della cristologia coranica. Storia dell'ermeneutica cristiana*, Milan, 1980.
- Robertson Smith, W., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1903 (2nd ed.).

- Robertson Smith, W., *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Edinburgh, 1914 (2nd ed.).
- Robin, C.J., "Pre-Islamic Arabia," in Amir-Moezzi & Dye (eds.), *The Quran of Historians*, vol. 1, pp. 51-154.
- Robin, C.J., "The signs of prophecy in Arabia in the time of Muḥammad (late 6th and early 7th century CE)," in S. Georgoudi, R. Koch-Piettre, and F. Schmidt (eds.), *La raison des signes. Omens, rites, destiny in ancient Mediterranean societies*, Leiden- Boston, 2012, pp. 433-476.
- Robin, C.J., "Recension de J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus. L'Islam de Mahomet*", in *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 18, 2002, pp. 15-21.
- Robinson, C., *'Abd al-Malik*, Oxford, 2005.
- Rogers, M. J., "The Genesis of Safawid Religious Painting," *Iran* 8, 1970, pp. 121-141.
- Roggema, B., *The Legend of Sergius Baḥrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*, Leiden, 2009.
- Roncaglia, M.P., "Elements of Ebionites and Elkasaites in the Koran", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 21 (1971), pp. 101-125.
- Rosenthal, F., *Knowledge triumphant. The concept of knowledge in medieval Islam*, Leiden, 1971.
- Rossi E. & Bombaci, A., *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani (fondo mss. Vaticani Cerulli)*, Vatican, 1961.
- Rubin, U., "Apes, Pigs and the Islamic Identity," *IOS* 17 (1997), pp. 89-105.
- Rubin, U., *Between Bible and Qur'ān: the Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-image*, Princeton, 1999.
- Rubin, U., "Pre-existence and light: Aspects of the concept *Nūr Muḥammad*," *IOS* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119.
- Rubin, U., "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shī'a Tradition," *JSAI* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65.
- Rubin, U., *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad As Viewed by the Early Muslims*, London, 1995.
- Rubin, U., "The *īlāf* of Quraysh. A study of sūra CVI," *Arabica*, 31-2, 1984, pp. 165-188.
- Rubin, U., "The Ka'ba: aspects of its ritual functions and position in Pre-Islamic and early Islamic times," *JSAI* 8, 1986, pp. 97-131.
- Rubin, U., "The Seal of the Prophets and the Finality of Prophecy. On the Interpretation of the Qur'ānic Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33)," *ZDMG* 164/1 (2014), pp. 65-96.
- Ruska, J., *Arabische Alchemisten*, t. 2: *Ga'far al-Ṣādiq, der Sechste Imam*, Heidelberg, 1924. Rūzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ-e shaḥīyyāt*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mo'in, Paris - Tehran, 1966 (repr. 2004).
- Sachedina, A.A., *Islamic Messianism. The Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shi'ism*, New York, 1981.
- Sadiqī, Gh. J.I., *Jonbesh hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī* (version completed and updated by the author of his doctoral dissertation: G. H. Sadighi, *Iranian Religious Movements in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hegira*, Paris, 1938), Tehran, 1372 solar/1993.
- al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mīrzā Kūčebāghī, Tabriz, 2nd ed. s. d. (ca. 1960); new edition by 'A. Zakīzādeh Ranānī, (2 vols.), with Persian transl., Qumm, 1391/2012.
- Sāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. J:Ianbal, *Sīrat al-imām Aḥmad b. Iḥanbal*, ed. F. 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad, Alexandria 1981.
- Samson, *Relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1695.
- Santillana, D., *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, Rome, 1938.
- al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Beirut, n.d.
- al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt/al-Tanzīl wa l-tahrīf*, ed. E. Kohlebrg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*.
- Sayyid Muṣṭafā Al J:Iaydar, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, Tehran, n.d.
- Schacht, J., "A revaluation of islamic tradition", *JRAS*, 1949, pp. 140-152.

- Schacht, J., *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950.
- Schaeder, H.H., "Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen", *ZDMG*, 79, 1925, pp. 192-268.
- Scheffczyk L., (ed.), *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes*, Darmstadt, 1969.
- Schimmel, A., "Secrecy in Sufism", in K.W. Bolle (ed.), *Secrecy in Religions*, Leiden, 1987, pp. 81-102.
- Schlutz, K., *Isaias 11,2 (Die sieben Gaben des Heiligen Geistes) in den ersten vier christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Münster, 1932.
- Schmidtke, S., "New Sources for the Life and Work of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī," *Studia Islamica* 38 (2009), pp. 49-68.
- Schmidtke, S., "The Doctrine of the Transmigration of the Soul according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (killed 587/1191) and his Followers," *St Ir* 28.2 (1999), pp. 237-254.
- Schmidtke, S., *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838/1434-35 - nach 906/1501)*, Leiden, 2000.
- Schmucker, L., "Mubāhala," *EI2*.
- Schoeps, H.-J., *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums*, Tübingen, 1949.
- Segovia, C., "Thematic and Structural Affinities Between 1 Enoch and the Qur'ān: A Contribution to the Study of the Judaeo-Christian Apocalyptic Setting of the Early Islamic Faith" in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter*, pp. 231-267.
- Segovia, C., *The Quranic Noah and the Making of the Islamic Prophet*, Berlin-Boston, 2015.
- Segovia C., & Lourié, B.(eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where and to Whom? Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansbrough*, Piscataway (USA), 2012.
- Seidensticker, T., "The Authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Umayya ibn Abī al-Salt", in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, Richmond, 1996, pp. 88-102.
- Sells, M., "Sound, Spirit and Gender in *Sūrat al-Qadr*," *JAOS* 111/2 (1991), pp. 239-259.
- Serjeant, R.B., "*Ifāram* and *Ifawṭah*, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia," in A.R. Badawi (ed.), *Mélanges Taha Husain*, Cairo, 1962, pp. 41-50 (now in Id., *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation*, paper no. 3).
- Serjeant, R.B., *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation*, London, Variorum, 1981.
- Serjeant, R.B., "The 'Constitution' of Medina", *The Islamic Quarterly* 8, 1964, pp. 3-16 (now in Id., *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation*, paper no. 5).
- Serjeant, R.B., "The Saiyids of J:Idrama," in *An Inaugural Lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1956*, London, 1957, pp. 3-29 (now in *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation*, paper 8).
- Serjeant, R.B., "The *Sunnah Jāmi'ah*, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the *tahrīm* of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-called 'Constitution of Medina,'" *BSOAS* 41, 1978, pp. 1-42 (now in *Studies in Arabian History and Civilization*, paper 6).
- Sfar, M., *The Koran, the Bible and the Ancient East*, Paris, 1998.
- Shaddel, M., "Quranic *Ummī*: Genealogy, Ethnicity and the Foundation of A New Community," *JSOI* 43 (2016), pp. 1-60.
- Shafī'ī Kadkanī, M.R., "J:lemāse-yī shī'ī az qarn-e panjom," *Majalle-ye Dāneshkade-ye Adabiyāt va 'Olūm-e Ensānī-ye Mashhad*, 33rd year, no. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1379/2000), pp. 425-491.
- Shah-Kazemi, R., "A Sacred Conception of Justice: Imam 'Ali's Letter to Malik al-Ashtar", in Lakhani, M.A. (ed.), *The sacred foundations of justice in Islam: the Teachings of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Bloomington, 2006.

- Shah-Kazemi, R., *Justice and Remembrance. Introducing the Spirituality of Imam Ali*, London, 2006.
- Shahrastānī, 'Abd al-Karīm, *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-nihāl*, ed. W. Cureton, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, London, 1846; ed. M. Badrān, 2 vols, Cairo, 1366/1947- 1375/1955; Shahrastānī, *The Book of Religions and Sects*, vol. 1, trans. fr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Paris-Louvain, 1986; vol. II, trans. J. Jolivet and G. Monnot, Louvain, 1993.
- Shahrastānī, S. 'A., *Mawsū'at al-adhān bayn al-aṣāla wa l-tahrīf*, Qumm, 1395 solar/2016, 3 vols. al-Shahrazūrī, Shams al-Dīn, *Rasā'il al-shajara al-ilāhiyya fī 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya*, ed. J:Iabībī, 3 vols, Tehran, 1383 h.s./2004-05.
- al-Shahrazūrī, Shams al-Dīn, *Sharḥ lfikmat al-ishrāq*, ed. H. Qiyā'ī, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001. Shaked, Sh., *Dualism in Transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, London, 1994. Shani, R.Y., "La Fata illa 'Ali la Sayf illa Dhu'l-Faqar: Epigraphic Ceramic Platters from Medieval Nishapur Documenting Esteem for 'Ali ebn Abi Taleb as the Ideal Fata," in Ridgdon, L. (ed.), *Javanmardi. The Ethics and Practice of Persianate Perfection*, London, 2018, pp. 28-65.
- al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, Beirut, 1406/1986.
- Sharon, M., "Ahl al-Bayt - People of the House," *JSAI* 8, 1986, pp. 169-184.
- Sharon, M., *Black Banners from the East*, Leiden-Jerusalem, 1983.
- Sharon, M., "The 'Abbasid Da'wa reexamined on the basis of a new source," *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Bar Ilan University, 1973.
- Sharon, M., "The development of the debate around the legitimacy of authority in early Islam," *JSAI* 5, 1984, pp. 121-142.
- Sharon, M., "The Umayyads as ahl al-bayt", *JSAI* 14, 1991, pp. 115-152.
- al-Shaybī, K.M., *al-Fikr al-shī'ī wa l-naza'āt al-ṣūfiyya ḥattā maṭla' al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar al-hijrī*, Baghdad, 1386/1966.
- al-Shaybī, K.M., *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa l-tashayyū'*, Baghdad, 1966.
- al-Shaybī, K.M., "al-Taḥiyya uṣūluḥā wa taṭawwuruḥā," *Journal of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Alexandria* 16 (1962-1963), pp. 14-40.
- Shaykh Bahā'ī (Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Amilī), *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīthan*, Qumm, 1431/2009-2010.
- Shaykh Bahā'ī, *Kashkūl*, ed. 'A. al-Namrī, 2 vols, Beirut, 1418/1998.
- Shī'isme imāmīte (le)*, *Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 May 1968)*, Paris, 1970.
- Shoemaker, S.J., "The Lives of Muhammad," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (eds.), *The Qur'an of Historians*, Paris, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 183-245.
- Shoemaker, S.J., *The Apocalypse of Empire. Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Philadelphia, 2018.
- Shoemaker, S.J., *The Death of a Prophet: the End of Muhammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia, 2012.
- Shoemaker, S.J., "'The Reign of God Has Come': Eschatology and Empire in Late Antiquity and Early Islam," *Arabica* 61.5, 2014, pp. 514-558.
- Silvestre de Sacy, A.I., *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris, 1806.
- Simon, R., "Mānī and Muḥammad," *JSAI* 21 (1997), pp. 118-141.
- Sinai, N., "Religious poetry from the Quranic milieu: Umayya b. Abī al-Salt on the fate of the Thamūd," *BSOAS* 74/3 (2011), pp. 396-419.
- Sinai, N., "'Weihnachten im Koran' oder 'Nacht der Bestimmung'? Eine Interpretation von Sure 97," *Der Islam* 88 (2012), pp. 11-32.
- Smith, J.M., *The History of the Sarbadār Dynasty*, The Hague- Paris, 1970.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C., "Der Mahdi," *Revue coloniale internationale* 1 (1886), pp. 239-273.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C. "Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 15, no. 30 (1894), pp. 48-70 and 149-178.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, ed. A. J. Wensinck, Bonn-Leipzig, 1923-1927.

- Sorūsh, 'AK., *Bast-e tajrebe-ye nabavī*, Tehran, 3rd ed., 1379 solar/2000.
- Sufi, D.L., *Fāṭima in Classical Muslim Thought*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Princeton, 1997.
- Sourdel, D., *L'Imamisme vu par le Cheikh al-Mufīd*, Paris, 1974.
- Speyer, H., *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Berlin, 1931.
- Spitaler, A., "Was bedeutet *baqīja* im Koran?", in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi zum 70 Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 137-146.
- Sprenger, A., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1861-1862 (18692).
- St Clair-Tisdall, W., "Shi'ah Additions to the Koran", *The Moslem World* 3 (1913), pp. 227-241.
- Stauffer, E., *Jesus. Gestalt und Geschichte*, Bern, 1957.
- Steigerwald, D., "The Concealment (*Taqiyya*) of Faith in Ismaili Shī'ism," *Studies in Religion* 27/1 (1998), pp. 39-59.
- Strothmann, R., *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg, 1912.
- Stroumsa, G.G., "Jewish Christianity and Islamic Origins", in B. Sadeghi, A.Q. Ahmed, A. Silverstein and Robert G. Hoyland (eds.), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honour of Patricia Crone*, Leiden, 2015, pp 72-96.
- Stroumsa, G.G., "'The Seal of the Prophets': the Nature of a Manichean Metaphor", in Id., *Savoir et salut*, Paris, 1992, chap. XV (trans. of "Seal of the Prophets: the Nature of A Manichean Metaphor", *JSAI* 7(1986), pp. 61-74).
- Suermann, H., "Muḥammad in Christian and Jewish Apocalyptic Expectations," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 5 (1994): 12-27.
- Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt al-lawḥiyya wa-l-'arshiyya*, in *CEuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, vol. I, ed. H. Corbin, Paris - Tehran, 1952; 2nd ed. 2001.
- Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, in *CEuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, tome II, ed. H. Corbin, Paris - Tehran, 1952, 2nd ed. 2001 (Sohravarīdī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā, *Book of Oriental Wisdom*, partial trans. by H. Corbin, ed. Ch. Jambet, Paris, 2003).
- Suhrawardī, 'Umar, *A'lām al-hudā wa 'aqīdat arbāb al-tuqā*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sayrawān, Damascus 1996.
- Sulaym b. Qays (attributed to), *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, ed. M. B. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khū'nī, Qumm, 1426/1995, 3 vols.
- Suleman, F. (ed.) 2015. *People of the Prophet's House. Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam*. London, 2015.
- Sundermann, W., "Der Paraklet in ostmanichäischen Überlieferung," in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichean Studies. Proceeding of the First International Conference on Manichaeism*, Lund, 1988, pp. 201-212.
- al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi l-ma'thūr*, re-iimp. Beirut, n.d. (Dār al-thaqāfa); Beirut, 1411/1990.
- Tā'ī, N. *Shamā'il-e amīr al-mu'minīn*, Persian trans. by F. Ardalān, Tehran, 1393 solar/2014.
- al-Tabarānī Sulaymān b. Aḥmad, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, ed. 'A. Muḥammad, Medina, 1388/1968. al-Tabarānī, Maymūn b. Qāsim, *Majmū' al-a'yād*, ed. R. Strothmann in *Der Islam* 27 (1944-46). al-Tabarānī, Maymūn b. Qāsim, "al-Masā'il al-khāṣṣa" in *Rasā'il al-ḥikma al-'alawiyya*, ed. Abū Mūsā & al-Shaykh Mūsā, s.l. ("Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī"), 2006.
- al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, ed. M.M. Shākir and A.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1373-1388/1955-1969.
- al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, ed. De Goeje *et al*, Leiden, 1879-1901; ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1960-1969.
- al-Tabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, ed. M.B. al-Kharsān, 2 vols, Najaf, 1386/1966.
- Taeschner, F., *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam: Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa*, Zurich-Munich, 1979.
- Takeshita, M., *Ibn Arabi's Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought*, Tokyo, 1987.

- Takim, L.N., *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam*, New York, 2006.
- Tardieu, M., *Écrits gnostiques. Codex de Berlin*, Paris, 1984.
- Tardieu, M., *Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1981.
- Tāwūsī Masrūr, S., *Pažūheshī pīrāmūn-e Jābir b. Yazīd Ju'fī*, Tehran, 1389ff./2010.
- Taylor, J.B., "Ja'far al-Sādiq, spiritual forbear of the sufis," *Islamic Culture*, 1966.
- Taylor, J.E., *Christians and the Holy Places: the Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*, Oxford, 1993.
- Tendler Krieger, B., "'Abd Allāh b. Saba' and the Role of the Nuṣayrī Bāb. Rehabilitating the Heresiarchs of the Islamic Tradition," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi et al. (eds.), *Shi'ite Esotericism, its Raciness and Extensions*, Turnhout, 2016, pp. 441-472.
- Terrier, M., "Amulī, Sayyid J:Iaydar," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_585-1.
- Terrier, M., "Anthropogony and eschatology in the work of Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī: Shi'ite esotericism between tradition and syncretism", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Shi'ite esotericism, its roots and extensions*, Turnhout, 2016, pp. 743-780.
- Terrier, M., "Bursī, al-J:Iāfiz Rajab al-," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_586-1.
- Terrier, M., "Dawānī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2019, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_589-1.
- Terrier, M., "History of Wisdom History in Islam. Summary of the 2015-2016 lectures", *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences religieuses*, t. 124, 2017, pp. 363-372.
- Terrier, M., "History of Wisdom History in Islam. Summary of the 2016-2017 lectures." *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences religieuses*, vol. 125, 2018, pp. 395-404.
- Terrier, M., "History of Wisdom History in Islam. Summary of the 2017-2018 lectures", *Yearbook of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences religieuses*, t. 126, 2019, pp. 365-374.
- Terrier, M., *History of Shi'ite wisdom and philosophy. Quṭb al-Dīn Aṣkevarī's Beloved of Hearts*, Paris, 2016.
- Terrier, M., "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'i," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_588-1.
- Terrier, M., "Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631), philosopher and *mujtahid*. Spiritual authority and legal authority in Safavid Shi'ite Iran," *SI* 113/2 (2018), pp. 121-165.
- Terrier, M., "Noms divins et hommes divins dans la gnose shi'ite imamite (VIIIe/XIVe et XIe/XVIIe siècles) ", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 150/IV, 2018, pp 335-356.
- Terrier, M., "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars of Early Modern and Modern Times: Topics and Arguments," in D. Hermann and M. Terrier (eds.), *Shi'i Islam and Sufism: Classical Views and Modern Perspectives*, London, 2020, pp. 27-63.
- Terrier, M., "Political violence, canonical writings and doctrinal developments in Islam," *JSOI* 40 (2013), pp. 401-427.
- al-Tha'ālibī, *Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'A. M. Mu'awwaḍ et al, Beirut, 1418/1997.
- al-Thaqafī, *Kitāb al-ghārāt*, ed. J. al-Muḥaddith al-Urmawī, Teheran, 1395/1975.
- Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, English translation of *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, Oxford, 1883, by C. Mango and R. Scott, Oxford, 1997.
- Thomas, D., Roggema, B. et alii (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, Volume I (600-900)*, Leiden-Boston, 2009.
- al-Tihrānī Aghā Bozorg, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'a*, 25 vols, Tehran-Najaf, 1353-1398/1934-1978.

- Tijdens, E.F., *Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund des "Umm al-kitāb"*, *Acta Iranica* 16, 1977, pp. 241-526.
- Tillier, M., "Abd al-Malik, Muḥammad and the Last Judgment: the Dome of the Rock as an expression of Islamic orthodoxy," in *Les vivants et les morts dans les sociétés médiévales*, Paris, 2018, pp. 341-365.
- al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ/Sunan*, ed. A.M. Shākir, 5 vols, Cairo, 1356/1937.
- Tobin, T.H., *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, Washington D.C., 1983.
- Toral-Niehoff, I., *Al-lfira. Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext*, Leiden, 2013.
- Tortel, C., *L'ascète et le bouffon. Qalandars, vrais et faux rençants en islam*, Arles, 2009.
- Trimingham, J. S., *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, London-New York, 1979.
- Trimingham, J. S., *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971.
- Tritton, A.S., *Muslim Theology*, London, 1947.
- Tucker, W.F., *Mahdis and Millenarians: Shiite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, New York, 2008.
- al-Turayḥī, *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa maṭla' al-nayyirayn*, Tehran, 1321/1903.
- al-Tūsī, Shaykh al-tā'ifa, *Amālī*, vol. 2, Qumm, 1993.
- al-Tūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, trans. fr. Ch. Jambet: *La convocation d'Alamut: Rawdat al-taslim*, Lagrasse, 1996; English translation by Jalal Badakhchani: *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought*, London, 2005.
- Tyan, E., *Institutions du droit public Musulman*, Paris, 1954-1956.
- Ubierna, P., "Recherches sur l'apocalyptique syrienne et byzantine au VII^e siècle : la place de l'empire romain dans une histoire du salut", *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre (BUCEMA)*, hors série n° 2 (2008).
- Umayya b. Abī l-Salt, *Umajja ibn Abi ṣ-ṣalt. Die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente*, ed. Schulthess, Leipzig, 1911.
- Urvoy, M.-T., "Annonce de Mahomet", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, Paris, 2007, pp. 55-56.
- al-Uṣul al-sittat 'ashar*, Qumm, 2nd ed. 1405/1984.
- Vajda, G., "Le problème de la vision de Dieu (*ru'ya*) d'après quelques auteurs shī'ites duodécimains", in *Le shfisme imāmīte. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, mai 1968*, Paris, 1970, pp.31-53.
- Vajda, G., "The Testimony of al-Māturīdī on the Doctrine of the Manichaeans, Dayṣānites and Marcionites," *Arabica* 11 (1964), pp. 1-38 and 113-128.
- Van den Berg, G., "Literary afterlives: Medieval Persian poets and strategies of legitimation in the oral poetry of the Ismā'īlīs of Tajik Badakhshan," *JSAI* 45, 2018, pp. 355-380.
- Van den Berg, G., *Minstrel poetry from the Pamir mountains. A study on the songs and poems of the Ismā'īlīs of Tajik Badakhshan*, Wiesbaden, 2004.
- Van Der Kam, J.C. and Adler, W.(eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, Minneapolis, 1996.
- Van Donzel, E. and Schmidt, A.B., *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources: Sallām's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Leiden-Boston, 2009.
- Van Ess, J., "Das Kitāb al-irjā' des J:Iasan b. Muḥammad b. al-J:Ianafiyya," *Arabica*, 21, 1974 and 22, 1975.
- Van Ess, J., "Das Siegel der Propheten: die Endzeit und das prophetische im Islam", in M. Riedl & T. Schabert (eds) *Propheten und Prophezeiungen*, Berlin, 2005, pp. 53-75.
- van Ess, J., *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, Berlin-New York, 2011.
- Van Ess, J., "The Qadarites and the Ghailānīya of Yazīd III," *SI* 31, 1970, pp. 285-305.
- Van Ess, J., *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* (6 vols), Berlin-New York, 1991-1997.
- Van Gennep, A., *The rites of passage*, Paris, 1909.

- Van Koningsveld, P.S., "The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas", *JSAI* 20 (1996), pp.200-228.
- Van Lierde, P.C., *Doctrina s. Augustini circa dona Spiritus sancti ex textu Isaia XI, 2-3*, Würzburg, 1935.
- Van Reeth, J., "Bardaysān's cosmology," *Word of the East* 31 (2006), pp. 133-144.
- Van Reeth, J., "La typologie du prophète selon le Coran : le cas de Jésus", in G. Dye and F. Nobilio (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Brussels, 2011, pp. 81-105.
- Van Reeth, J., "La zandaqa et le prophète de l'islam", *Acta Orientalia Belgica* XX (2007), "Disbelief and Religious Dissent. Jacques Ryckmans in memoriam", pp. 65-79.
- Van Reeth, J. " *The silent Qur'an and the speaking Qur'an: new perspectives on the origins of Islam*," *RHR* 230/3 (July-September 2013), pp. 385-402.
- Van Reeth, J., "The Muslim prophet as Nāṣir allāh and his antecedents: the evangelical 'Nazōraios' and the Book of Jubilees," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 23 (1992), pp. 251-274.
- Van Reeth, J., "The Hegira and the End of the World," *Oriens Christianus* 100 (2017), pp. 188-226.
- Van Reeth, J., "Oracular prophecies in the Qur'an and their antecedents: Montan et Mani", in D. De Smet and M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds.), *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam*, Paris, 2014, pp. 77-145.
- Van Reeth, J., "Melchisedek the Eternal Prophet according to John of Apamea and Muslim Monarchianism," *Oriens Christianus* 96 (2012), pp. 8-46.
- Van Reeth, J., "Muḥammad: the first to raise his head," in A. Fodor (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic 26-27)* (2003), pp. 83-96.
- Van Reeth, J., "Ville céleste, ville sainte, ville idéale dans la tradition musulmane", *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, special issue "Décrire, nommer ou rêver les lieux en Orient. Geography and toponymy between reality and fiction. Jean-Marie Kruchten in memoriam", 24 (2011), pp. 121-131.
- Van Reeth, J., "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", in C. A. Segovia & B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where and to Whom? Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansbrough*, Piscataway, 2012, pp. 423-452.
- Van Vloten, G., *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le khalifat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam, 1894.
- Veccia Vaglieri, L., "'Alī b. Abī Tālib," *EI2*.
- Veccia Vaglieri, L., "Ghadīr Khum," *EI2*.
- Veccia Vaglieri, L., "Observations on the Nahj al-balāgha," *Proceedings of the 24th Congress of Orientalists*, Munich, 1957, pp. 318-339.
- Veccia Vaglieri, L., "Sul 'Nahj al-Balāgha' et sul suo compilatore ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī," *AIUON*, special issue 8, 1958.
- Ventura, A., "La presenza divina nel cuore", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 3, 1985, pp.123-134.
- Ventura, A., "L'invocazione del cuore", in Amoretti, B.M. & Rostagno L., (ed.), *Yād Nāma in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Rome, 1991, pp. 475-495.
- Versteegh, K., *Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam*, Leiden, 1993.
- Villey, A., *Psalms of the Wanderers. Manichean Writings of the Fayyūm*, Paris, 1994.
- Vilozny, R., "Pre-Būyid *lfadīth* Literature: The Case of al-Barqī from Qumm (d. 274/888 or 280/894) in Twelve Sections," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam. History, Theology and Law*, London/New York, 2014, pp. 203-230.
- Von Grunebaum, G.E., *Muhammadan Festivals*, London-Ottawa, 1976.
- Von Soden, W., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, reprint. Wiesbaden, 1965.
- Wagendonk, K., *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden, 1968.
- Walbridge, J., "A Persian Gulf in the Sea of Lights: the Chapter on Naw-Rūz in the *Bihār al- Anwār*," *Iran* 35, 1997, pp. 83-92.

- Walker, P., "Cosmic Hierarchies in Early Ismā'īlī Thought. The View of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī." *Muslim World* 66 (1976), pp.14-28.
- Wansbrough, J., *Quranic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford, 1977.
- Wansbrough, J., *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford, 1978.
- Wasserstrom, S.M., "The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of its Rejection," *History of Religions* 25/1 (1985): 62-90.
- Wasserstrom, S.M., "The Shī'īs are the Jews of our Community: An Interreligious Comparison within Sunnī Thought," *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1994), pp. 297-324 (now in Id., *Between Muslim and Jew: the Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*, Princeton, 1995, chap. 3).
- Watt, W.M., "Created in His Image: A Study of Islamic Theology," in *Transactions of Glasgow University Oriental Society*, 18, 1959-60, pp. 36-49.
- Watt, W.M., *Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh, 1973.
- Watt, W.M., *Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, 1968.
- Watt, W.M., "Mu'ākhāt," *EI2*.
- Watt, W.M., *Muḥammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953.
- Watt, W.M., *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford, 1961.
- Weismann, I., *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition*, London-New York, 2007.
- Wellhausen, J., "Die Ehe bei den Arabern", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen* 11, 1893.
- Wellhausen, J., *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1884.
- Wensinck, A.J., "Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Nieuwe reeks*. Deel 25/2, Amsterdam, 1925, pp. 1-17.
- Wensinck, A.J., *Concordance and Indices of the Muslim Tradition*, Leiden, 1936-1950.
- Wensinck, A.J., *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden, 1927.
- Widengren, G., *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart, 1965.
- Widengren, G., *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God: Studies in Iranian and Manichean Religion*, Uppsala, 1945.
- Windisch, H., "Die fünf johanneischen Parakletprüche", in *Festgabe für A. Jülicher*, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 110-137.
- Witton Davies, T., *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, London, 1933, reprint. Baghdad, n.d. (ca. 1960).
- Wood, P. J., "J:Ira and her saints," *Analecta Bollandiana* 132 (2014).
- Woods, J. E., "Timur's Genealogy," *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (eds.), Salt Lake City, 1990, pp. 85- 125.
- al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, ed. Houtsma. Leiden, 1883.
- Yahia, M., "Circumstances of the Revelation", in M. A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, Paris, 2007, pp. 168-171.
- Yahia, M., *Shāfi'ī and the Two Sources of the Law*, Turnhout, 2009.
- al-Yazdī al-J:Iā'irī, 'Alī, *Ilzām al-nāṣib fī ithbāt al-ḥujja al-ghā'ib*, Isfahan, 1351/1932, reprint. Tehran, n.d.
- Zakeri, M., *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society. The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa*, Wiebaden, 1995.
- Zaman, M.Q., *Religion and Politics under the Early 'Abbāsids*, Leiden, 1997.
- Zarrīnkūb, 'A:I., *Arzesh-e mīrāth-e ṣūfiyye*, Tehran, 1343 solar/1965.

- Zellentin, H., *The Qur'ān's Legal Culture: the Didascalia Apostolorum as a Point of Departure*, Tübingen, 2013.
- Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara nasab Quraysh*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1381/1961. al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-Mawāhib al-laduniyya li l-Qaṣṣallānī*, Cairo, 1329/1911.
- Zwemer, S.M., *The Moslem Christ: An Essay on the Life, Character and Teachings of Jesus Christ According to the Koran and Orthodox Tradition*, Edinburgh-New York, 1912.

General index

Proper names, book titles, place names, technical terms...

In this index, the Arabic article "al", the abbreviation b.= ibn (i.e. "son of") and the diacritical characters are not taken into account in the alphabetical order. Furthermore, words that are used too often in the book (e.g. 'Alī, Qur'an, Hadith, imam, Islam, Shi'ism, Shi'ites, Sunnism, Sunnis, etc.) are not indexed.

A

Aaron: 119-120, 233-234
'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: 121, 126, 128, 132, 140
Abbasids: 32, 60, 101, 139, 243, 280, 323, 348
'Abd al-Malik: 100-101
'Abd al-Malik Marwān: 322
'Abd al-Mu'min: 350
'Abd al-Raḥīm Damāvandī: 59
'Abd al-Raḥmān: 207
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kathīr al-Hāshimī: 204
'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhījī: 59
'Abd Manāf: 120

'Abd Shams: 120, 125, 318, 359, 367
 Abdal Musa : 344
 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr: 84, 125, 139
 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya: 83, 101, 243
 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa: 192
 'Abdallāh b. Saba': 185, 191
 'Abdallāh b. 'Aṭā: 41
 Ablaq : 94
 Abraham: 52, 56, 81, 119-120, 167, 279
 Abū al-J:lasan 'Alī: 351
 Abū Bakr: 17-19, 35, 95, 110-112, 115, 122, 206, 208, 243, 261, 271, 273, 279, 328, 331, 366, 379
 Abū Baṣīr: 157-158
 Abū Dāwūd: 125, 135
 Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: 192, 378
 Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī: 35, 37, 86, 115-116, 138, 164, 266, 302
 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb: 60, 187, 230, 232
 Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Balkhī: 235-236
 Abū Lahab: 45
 Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī: 232
 Abū Mikhnaf: 107
 Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī: 35, 37, 86, 115-116, 138, 164, 266, 302
 Abū Riyāsh al-Qaysī: 241 Abū
 Sa'īd Abū l-Khayr: 287 Abū
 Tālib: 126, 137, 139, 369
 Abū Turāb: 102-103, 108
 Abū Yaḥyā 'Umar b. Tawba al-San'ānī: 204
 Abyssinia: 316-317
Acta Archelai : 181
 Acts of Thomas: 89, 180, 182
 Adam: 47, 49, 51-52, 118, 160, 166-167, 205, 208, 279, 306, 339, 374, 379
 Adī (clan of Quraysh): 107, 115
 Afandī/Efendī: 253-255, 258-260
 North Africa: 325-326, 349 Aghā
 Bozorg: 163
aḥadiyya : 367
ahl al-bayt: 23, 32, 39, 102, 119, 126-127, 138-139, 259, 261, 289, 301, 331
ahl al-ḥaram: 86, 124
ahl al-iḥrāt : 255
ahl al-kisā' : 127
ahl al-tafrīt : 255
ahl al-walāya : 50
 Ahl-ḥaqq/Yāresān: 13
 Aḥmad: 19, 31, 37, 45, 81, 85-86, 112, 235-236, 313, 326, 329-330, 349
 Ahurā Mazdā: 184
 'A'isha: 20
Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya: 111
ākhīr: 55, 103, 171, 213
ākhīra: 76, 381
akthar: 245, 259, 280
āl al-nabī: 32, 158, 215, 230, 233, 239, 265, 318

āl al-rasūl: 32, 71, 89, 157, 159, 196, 215, 230, 239, 287, 342
āl Muḥammad: 205, 274
'ālam al-aẓilla: 51, 206
'ālam al-dharr: 206
'ālam al-ghayb: 170, 268, 359, 364, 366, 382
'ālam ṣaghīr: 31, 375 Syrian
 Alawites: 13 Alevi/Turkish
 Alevis: 343 Alevis: 344
 'Alī al-Hādī (10th imam): 303
 'Alī al-Riḍā (8th imam): 45, 153-154, 170, 213, 254, 257, 294-295, 298, 342
 'Alī b. Anjab Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Sā'ī: 330
 'Alī ilāhī: 340, 343, 372
'Alī posht o panāhat: 306
 Alides: 19, 22, 31-32, 35, 60, 62, 81, 95, 99, 103, 105, 108, 111, 113, 115, 127, 138, 140, 204, 271, 322
alif-lām-mīm: 169
ālim: 130, 142, 171
 Almohads: 325-326, 350-351
 Almoravids: 325, 349
Amal al-'āmil: 256
amīr al-mu'minīn: 95, 355
al-'amma: 280
 'Ammār b. Yāsir: 35, 106, 192
amr: 49-50, 65-66, 70, 95, 171, 196-197, 201, 210-212, 216, 228, 318, 373
amr al-dīn : 50
 'Amr b. Yathribī al-Qabbī al-rājiz, : 106
amr ilāhī: 49
 Amulī: 59
 Amulī/Amolī, Sayyid J:laydar: 252, 334, 361, 363, 366, 369, 371, 374, 376-380
 Anatolia: 223, 343, 345
Old Testament : 183
 Andalusia: 325, 354
 Andrae, T.: 56, 68, 76, 87
 Anthony, S.: 82, 86, 107, 190-191, 232
 Late Antiquity: 26-27, 56, 188, 194, 198, 206, 245, 247, 268, 304, 315
 Apocalypse of Baḥīra: 74 Apocalypse
 of Zorobabel: 73 Apocalypse of
 Pseudo-Athanasius: 74 Apocalypse of
 Pseudo-Esdras: 74 Apocalypse of
 Pseudo-Methodius: 74 *aqall*: 245
al-'aql : 194
 Arabia: 75, 78, 122-124, 127, 130, 133, 242, 314, 316, 320
 Aramaic: 78, 94, 138, 315
 Arianism : 76
 Arius : 56
Asad allāh: 286
asbāb al-nuzūl: 40, 153, 265
 al-Aṣḥab b. Nubāta [companion of 'Alī]: 45, 297

aṣḥāb al-yamīn/aṣḥāb al-shimāl: 279
ashbāḥ al-khamṣa: 267
 al-Ashkevarī Quṭb al-Dīn: 26, 112, 141, 162, 207, 222, 252, 258-259, 269, 300, 312, 330-331, 335-336, 339-340, 353, 357-359, 361, 365, 367, 371, 374-375, 377
al-asmā' al-ḥusnā: 153 *asmā'*
wa ṣifāt: 276, 292 *Asrār al-hurūf*: 257
Asrār al-nabī wa Fāṭima wa l-a'imma: 259
 al-Aswad al-'Ansī: 243
 al-Aṭīyya b. Bilāl: 106
 Augustine: 79
 Auxiliaries (the Anṣār): 17-18, 42, 118
 Avicenna: 255, 372, 376, 382
awwal: 55, 103, 159, 170, 213, 305
Ay al-Qur'ān al-munazzala fī amīr al-mu'minīn: 265
āya: 43, 53, 55, 75, 96, 159, 266
āya al-mubāhala: 121, 273
āyat al-kubrā: 310
al-Ayāt al-nāzila fī ahl al-bayt: 32, 39, 121, 127-128, 138-140, 263, 265-267, 329
al-Ayāt al-nāzila fī dhamm al-jā'irīn 'alā ahl al-bayt by lḥaydar 'Alī al-Shīrwānī: 266
ayin-i cem : 343
'ayn al-yaqīn: 162, 170, 258, 267, 346, 366, 374, 377, 379, 382
 Ayoub, M.: 39, 97, 99, 264
 al-'Ayyāshī: 34, 46-47, 53-54, 151, 154, 157, 159
āzīfa/yawm al-āzīfa: 66, 98
A'azz mā yuṭlab attributed to Ibn Tūmart: 350
 A'shā Maymūn: 131

B

Bāb: 196, 232, 260
bāb allāh: 55
bāb madīna al-'ilm: 368
 Badr (battle): 99, 115, 169, 261, 319
 Baffioni, C.: 25, 31
 al-Baghawī : 130
 Baghdad: 147, 174, 195, 205, 231, 294, 348
 al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir: 37, 93-94, 379
 Baḥīra/Baḥīrā: 240
 Baḥrānī 'Alī b. Sulaymān: 31, 35, 43, 177, 208-209, 296, 334
 Baḥrānī, Hāshim b. Sulaymān: 35, 43, 46-47, 52-53, 95, 207, 209, 211-212, 215, 253, 266, 296, 353, 356, 358-359, 361, 363, 365
 Baḥrānī, Mītham: 363
 Bahrain: 334
 Balādhurī: 18, 108, 110, 114-116, 125, 128, 139
 Banū Hāshim: 32, 35, 43, 99, 115, 125, 128, 142, 208-209, 253, 296, 318
 Banū Isrā'īl: 118
 Banū l-Muṭṭalib: 125-126, 128
 Banū Nawfal: 125
 Banū Sā'ida: 17
 Banū 'Abd Shams: 32

baqiyya : 120
 Bar Penkayē, Jean : 82
baraka/tabarruk : 136
baraqlītus : 85
 Burdock (Bardaysān): 56, 185
 Bardesaniens: 320
Başā'ir al-darajāt: 191
 Bashear, S.: 68, 70-71, 98-101, 317
Basmala : 267
 Başra: 185
 al-Bastāmī: 155
bāṭin: 37-38, 48, 50, 55, 57-58, 154, 171, 186, 245, 281, 291-292, 321, 360, 382
 bāṭinism: 90 Bauer,
 W.: 104
 Bayān b. Sam'ān: 232
 Bayhoum-Daou, T.: 91
bayt: 23, 32, 39, 119, 126, 171, 289, 301
 Beeston, A.F.L.: 59, 123, 127, 225
 Bektashis: 313, 344
 Beluchistan: 135 Benkheira,
 M.H.: 86 *Cradle of Islam*:
 123
 Berque, J.: 63, 84, 128, 201-202, 294, 376
Bihār al-anwār: 34, 95-96, 106, 141, 147, 154, 159, 175, 197, 205, 253, 256, 310, 368, 370, 376,
 380
 al-Bīrūnī: 235
 al-Bistāmī 'Abd al-Raḥmān: 141, 336, 381
 Bobzin, H.: 237
 Bolūkbāshī, 'A.: 289
 Bouyide/buwayhide: 326
 Boyarin, D.: 79 Bravmann,
 M.M.: 109-111 Brock, S.,:
 74, 82-83, 315
 Bruce: 180
 al-Bukhārī: 135-136, 233, 238, 360
Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān of al-Baḥrānī: 296
 Busse, H.: 76, 101, 123
buṭūn: 378
 Byzantium, Byzantine: 73, 316, 322

C

Caetani, L.: 20, 107, 131
 Casanova, P.: 61, 68, 70-72, 81, 97-99, 239, 317
 Caesarea : 81
 Chabbi, J., 14, 110, 126-127, 129-130, 316
 Camel (battle): 20, 106, 108, 115
 Chelhod, J.: 123, 131, 133, 136
 Chelkowski, P.: 289
 Chishtis (Sufis): 333
 Chittick, W.: 158, 381

Christians: 94
 Christ: 13, 25, 56, 60, 62, 80, 83-84, 86, 88-90, 92-93, 103, 169, 179, 192, 194, 202, 217, 232, 236, 309, 316, 318
 Christianity, Christians: 13, 60-61, 67, 73, 75, 79, 101, 104, 192, 203, 237, 245-246, 304, 316
Chronography: 82, 321
 Five of the Coat: 42, 191, 265, 273 Cirillo,
 L.: 192-193
 Cirillo, L.: 193
 Clement of Alexandria: 224
 Colpe, C.: 145, 236
Commentary on the Book of Wisdom of the Enlightenment:
 366
 Commentary on John of Origen: 56
 Companion (of the Prophet): 20, 35, 39, 108, 235, 323, 342
 Conte, E.: 123, 128, 131-133
Against Celsus of Origen: 79
Against the heresies of Irenaeus : 79
 Cook, D.: 14, 65, 68, 71, 73-74, 76, 78, 80-82, 99, 101-102, 314
 Cook, M.: 14, 65, 68, 71, 73-74, 76, 78, 80-82, 99, 101-102, 314
 Corbin, H.: 24, 57, 78, 146, 148, 153, 155, 157, 161-165, 169, 186, 193, 218, 223-224, 251-252, 254-255, 257, 276-277, 302, 312, 321, 334, 363, 366, 370-371, 373-374, 378, 380
corporales sensus : 182
 Crone, P.: 14, 63, 68, 73-76, 78, 80-82, 99-102, 232, 314, 317, 326
 Crow, D.K.: 16, 173-174, 177-178, 184, 188-189
 Cuypers, M.: 72, 202-203
 Cyril of Jerusalem: 224
 Cyrus the Second: 183

D

al-Dajjāl: 71
dār madīna al-ḥikma: 368
ḍarūra: 221
ḍarūriyyāt al-madhhab: 161
Das Siegel der Propheten: 236-238
dast-e 'Alī negahdārat: 306
 David: 119-120, 122, 138, 197, 287, 350
 al-Dawānī: 365, 370
dawr al-kashf: 92, 164, 242, 369
dawr al-sitr: 159, 242
dayyān yawm al-dīn: 93, 170
da'wa ḥādiyya: 331
 De Smet, D.: 23, 26, 38, 43, 47-48, 56-57, 77, 146, 186, 190, 223-224, 226, 236, 247-248, 266, 292, 311, 321
 Flood: 93, 119, 167
 Demiéville, P.: 181
Dēnkart: 183-184
Deus Revelatus: 154
 Dhahabī: 21
 Dhahabiyya: 298
dharr : 206
dhāt: 276, 292

dhihn : 188-189
dhikr: 121, 175, 189, 195, 259, 267, 290, 293, 296, 299-300
dhikr-e 'Alī: 289
Dhu l-faqār: 24, 287, 299, 328
Dhū l-qarnayn: 167, 170
dhu l-qurbā: 120, 124
dhukā': 188
ḍidd, pl. *aḍḍād*: 279
dīn l-fasan: 140
dīn l-fusayn: 140
al-dīn huwa ma'rifat al-rijāl: 264
dīn 'Alī: 23, 33, 91, 99, 104-105, 343
disciplina arcani: 224
Djebli, M.: 21-22, 222
Doctrina Jacobi = Didascalia of Jacob: 81
Donner, F.: 71, 80-82, 90, 95, 97, 99, 101, 317
Druze: 23, 56, 58, 223, 311
al-Du'alī : 138
Dubois, J.D.: 27, 173, 182
dunyā: 76, 158, 356, 381
Durr al-thamīn: 43, 257-260, 266-267, 278, 379
al-Du'alī Abu l-Aswad : 116
Dye, G.: 15, 57, 63, 75, 77, 80, 83, 202, 210, 236, 314, 317
dyophysitis: 79

E

Ebionites : 78
Ebstein, M.: 193, 224, 245, 326, 349-350
Edebali : 333
Egypt: 78
Elijah: 119, 209, 216
Elisée : 119
elkasaïte : 78
Enneads: 194, 304
Epicurus: 356
Epiphanes: 79, 180
eschaton : 318
Spain: 193
Spirit: 57, 84-85, 88-89, 178-180, 194-195, 197-198, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 213-214, 218-219, 229, 231, 246, 292
holy spirit: 26, 175-177, 179, 181-182, 191, 194-198
Gospel of Barnabas: 192-193
Gospel of John: 27, 56, 82, 84-86, 88-89, 92-93, 120, 182, 184, 193, 306, 321, 339, 360
Gospel according to Thomas: 74, 76, 180

F

al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. 'Utba b. Abī Lahab: 115
Faḍl innā anzalnāh: 204
Faḍl sūrat innā anzalnāh: 204
Faḍlallāh Astarābādī: 251-252, 301, 312, 339

Fahd, T.: 15, 123, 126-127, 129, 133, 157, 187
fahm: 177, 188, 197
 Faivre, A.: 227
falsafa: 247, 353-355, 358-359, 369, 373
 al-Fārābī: 255
 Farazdaq: 111, 241
 Fārūq: 14, 68, 94, 99
fārūq al-akbar: 54, 158
faṣl al-khiṭāb: 54, 158, 171
Faṣl al-khiṭāb of Muḥammad Pārsā: 329
Faṣl al-maqāl: 360
fath: 189, 192, 287
 Fath 'Alī Shāh: 165
 Fāṭima: 15-17, 32, 40, 42, 47, 98, 121-122, 127-128, 134, 137, 139-140, 191, 217-218, 261, 263, 265, 267, 273, 286, 294, 296, 331, 336, 342, 347-352
 Fatimid: 325-326
fayḍ : 371
 al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī: 46-47, 59, 162, 253, 255, 270, 364, 366, 368-370, 374-375, 380-381, 384
fay' : 124
 Fez: 348, 352
fikr: 189, 296, 374
 Fillipani-Ronconi, P.: 190
 End of the World,: 61, 63, 66, 96-98, 309, 318-319
fiṭna: 177, 188
 Friedländer, I.: 185
 Friedmann, Y.: 230, 233, 238-242, 246-247
 Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī: 44, 47, 52, 54, 96, 107, 151, 158, 218, 227, 261
Fuṣūs al-ḥikam: 374
futuwwa: 24, 58, 306, 327-332, 345, 348

G

Gabriel (angel): 53, 96, 166, 175, 194, 198, 203, 205, 207, 212, 214, 229, 231, 287, 295, 342
 Gallez, E.-M.: 68-69, 78, 80, 82, 86-87, 89, 100, 102
 Ganjaviyān: 291
gēti: 184
 Ghadīr Khumm: 41, 114, 253, 256, 259, 273-274, 321, 351-352
Ghawr al-umūr: 188
 al-Ghazālī Abū J:Iāmid: 359-360, 365-366
 Ghevond : 102
 Ghudar : 271
ghulāt: 23
ghuluww : 91
 Gilliot, C.: 36, 40, 76, 87, 126, 130, 134-135, 140, 239-240
 Gimaret, D.: 34, 50, 152, 160, 167, 221, 278, 290, 299, 319
 Gnosis : 27
 Gnostics: 185
 Gobillot, G.: 76, 178, 188-189, 247, 292
 Gobineau, Count Arthur de : 223, 286
 Goldziher, I.: 55, 123, 127-129, 138, 159, 222, 238, 271, 350
Golshan-e rāz: 296

Grenet, F.: 184
Grimme, H.: 68

H

ḥadīth al-labina: 238
ḥadīth al-manzila: 233
ḥadīth al-thaqalayn: 31-32, 53, 96, 208, 211, 215, 263, 273
ḥadīth of the walāya: 41
ḥadīth of the two fingers: 69
ḥadīth mā al-ḥaqīqa: 366
ḥadīth qudsī: 247, 369
Hagarism,: 68, 73-74, 76, 80-82, 99, 101-102
ḥajj: 75
al-J:Iajjāj b. Yūsuf: 99, 102
al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī: 36-37, 43-44, 96, 261-262, 266, 270
al-J:Iākīm al-J:ushamī al-Bayhaqī: 267
al-J:Iakīm al-Tirmidhī: 135, 173, 188-189, 194, 246
al-J:Ialabī al-Shāfi'ī: 164
al-J:Iallāj: 232, 369
Halm, H.: 23, 28, 56-57, 91, 185-187, 190, 218, 232, 311, 321
hamaj : 142
ḥamalat al-'arsh: 168
Hāmān: 271
ḥaqīqa: 367
ḥaqq: 43
al-ḥaram: 171
al-J:Iārith b. Sa'īd: 243
Hartmann, A.: 331
al-J:Iasan: 17, 32, 40, 42, 47, 49, 94, 99, 106, 116, 128, 130, 134, 136, 164, 191, 204, 207, 209, 212, 247, 253, 256-257, 265, 267, 273, 342, 348-351, 389, 406, 414-415
al-J:Iasan (b.) al-Sabbāḥ: 164, 191
al-J:Iasan al-Baṣṭī: 130, 265
al-J:Iasan al-Khaṭīb al-Kirmānī: 224, 257
al-J:Iasan al-'Askarī (11th Imam): 227, 247-248, 342
J:Iasanide, : 350
Hāshim b. al-J:Iakīm al-muqanna', : 243
Hāshim,: 35, 43, 115, 120, 124-125, 128, 142, 208-209, 253, 296, 318
Hāshimīyyāt of al-Kumayt,: 125-127, 138, 241
hashw, : 148
J:Iassān b. Thābit, : 124
ḥawāmīm, : 169, 171
Hawāzin, : 132
J:Iaydar Amolī/ Amulī: 163-164, 251, 302, 312
J:Iaydar Shaykh, : 38, 218, 253, 255, 259, 265-266, 281, 293-294, 338, 368, 375
J:Iaydar, : 59, 147, 163-164, 251, 286, 302, 312, 334, 345, 363, 366, 371, 374
Henninger, J.: 123, 131
Heraclius, : 73
Hermes : 355
Time: 65-67, 69-72, 83-84, 93, 95, 97-99, 167
al-J:Iibarī, al-J:Iusayn b. al-J:Iakam: 39-44, 46, 260-261, 265, 273

al-Hidāya al-kubrā: 37, 116, 150, 189, 272
 J:Iidjāz: 321
ḥifz: 177, 188-189
ḥifz al-sirr : 225
ḥijāb: 54, 159, 341
ḥijāba: 124
 J:Iijāz: 75, 80, 102
ḥikāyāt-e darvīshī / ḥikāyāt-e ḥaqīqī : 306
ḥikma: 121, 218, 311, 356, 358, 360-361, 370
al-lfikma al-khālida: 355-356
al-ḥikma al-khalqiyya: 362
 J:Iilf al-fuḍūl: 125
lfilla: 253-254, 259, 338
 J:Iilmī Dede Bābā: 301
 Hind b. 'Amr al-Jamalī: 106
 J:Iira: 57, 185, 320-321
 Hirschfeld, H.: 87, 238
ḥirz: 370
 Hishām b. al-J:Iakam: 303
 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik: 234
 Hodgson, M.G.: 107, 141, 147, 149, 185, 335
 Perfect man: 145, 177, 354, 373, 375, 379, 381, 383-384
 Horowitz, J.: 238, 241
ḥubb: 53, 96, 269
ḥubb ahl al-bayt: 275
 Hūd b. Muḥkim/Muḥakkam: 130
ḥujja: 46-47, 52, 96, 153, 163, 170, 174-175, 195, 205, 207, 228, 230, 277
ḥukm: 121
 J:Iunayn (battle): 132, 169, 355-356
 J:Iunayn b. Ishāq: 355-356
 al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī: 95, 253-255, 259
ḥurūb al-ridda: 243
 al-ḥurūf: 171
 J:Iurūfiyya: 58, 251, 301, 312, 338
 al-J:Iusayn: 15-17, 32, 39-40, 42-43, 47, 49-50, 99-100, 128, 134, 136, 141, 152, 154, 159, 191, 207,
 212, 253, 265-267, 273-274, 293, 303, 326, 339, 344, 349, 390, 393, 399, 403, 406, 415-416,
 420
 huwa (= 'Alī): 85, 92, 159, 241, 294, 312, 340, 342
Anthem of the Pearl : 89

I

Ibn 'Abbās: 135-136, 274
 Ibn Abī Jumhūr: 59, 251-252, 369, 372-374, 377-379
 Ibn Abī l-J:Iadīd: 21, 108
 Ibn Abī l-Thalj: 265
 Ibn Abī Shayba: 35, 70-71, 108-109, 239
 Ibn Abī Ya'lā: 111-112
 Ibn al-Athīr: 71, 116, 130
 Ibn al-Biṭrīq: 43, 54, 96, 266
 Ibn al-Faḥḥām al-Nīsābūrī: 31, 35, 267

Ibn al-J: Iaḍramī: 130, 141
 Ibn al-J: Iarīsh: 206
 Ibn al-J: Iarīsh al-Rāzī: 204
 Ibn al-Juḥām: 209, 213, 265
 Ibn al-Murtaḍā: 235-236 Ibn
 al-Nadīm: 183
 Ibn 'Arabī: 251, 254-255, 334, 366, 373
 Ibn A'tham: 107
 Ibn 'Ayyāsh al-Jawharī: 265
 Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq: 142, 151, 158, 227, 234, 263, 290, 294
 Ibn Qab'ān al-Kalbī: 108
 Ibn Durayd Muḥammad b. al-J: Iasan: 106-107
 Ibn J: Iabīb: 132
 Ibn J: Iajar al-'Asqalānī: 87
 Ibn J: Ianbal: 35, 69-71, 112, 115, 135, 239
 Ibn Hishām: 18, 85, 131-132, 240, 303
 Ibn Ishāq: 85-86, 135, 165, 301, 340
 Ibn Kathīr: 135-136, 204, 239
 Ibn Khaldūn: 350-351
 Ibn Khallikān: 21, 350
 Ibn Miskawayh: 356
 Ibn Qasī: 326, 349-350
 Ibn Qutayba: 87, 114, 239
 Ibn Rushd: 359-360
 Ibn Saba': 94
 Ibn Sa'd: 70, 86, 121, 239
 Ibn Shahrāshūb: 52, 59, 95-96, 106, 141, 162-163, 265-266
 Ibn Taymiyya: 222
 Ibn Tūmart: 350
 Ibrāhīm: 42-43
 Ibrāhīm, (son of Muḥammad): 46, 60, 93, 106, 108, 115, 150-151, 157-159, 170, 209, 215, 218, 239-240, 269
Iconografia dell'Ahl al-bayt: Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo by M.V. Fontana: 289
 Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh: 348
 Idris II : 352
 Idrissid of Morocco: 348
iḥdāth al-nubuwwa: 213
ijmā': 360
ijtihād: 380
al-Ikhtiṣāṣ: 297
 Ikhwān al-ṣafā: 375
ilhām: 168
 Ilkhans: 333
al-'ilm: 213, 216, 218, 228, 341
Ilm al-awliyā': 188
al-'ilm al-awwal wa l-'ilm al-ākhir: 213, 305
ilm al-ghayb: 170, 232, 268, 359, 364, 366, 382
ilm al-ḥurūf: 257, 336 *al-*
'ilm al-mustafād: 216
'ilm ladunī: 365-366

iltifāt: 89
Ilzām al-nāṣib of al-Yazdī al-lfā'irī: 163-164
Popular images in Islam : 289
imām al-muttaqīn: 170, 274
imām ma'sūm: 267, 349
imām nūrānī: 311
imām-e nūrānī: 290
īmān: 298
 Imbert, F.: 75, 314
imitatio Christi : 236
'ināya ilāhiyya: 359, 369, 371, 384
al-insān al-kāmil: 146, 163, 256, 375, 381
insān kabīr: 375
Institutions of Muslim public law: 123
intellectuales uires : 182
 Iraq: 57, 99, 138, 185, 254, 294, 320, 342
 Iran: 55, 74, 105, 146, 162, 164-166, 169, 184, 223, 232, 254, 256, 258, 285-286, 289, 293, 300-301, 303, 306, 312, 316-317, 320, 322, 333-336, 342-343, 345-346, 354, 358, 370, 372, 375, 385
 Irenaeus: 79, 180, 182
 Isaac : 119
 Isaiah: 119, 178-180, 183, 193
 Isfahan: 163, 255
ishāra: 367
Islamic Political Thought : 123
al-ism al-a'zam/ al-ism al-akbar: 272
ism allāh al-a'zam/al-akbar: 58
 Ismael: 119
 Ismā'il Safavi: 346
 ismā'liīen: 151
 ismā'liīan/ismaelīan: 36, 92, 224, 358
 Israel / Israelites: 233, 235, 274
Ithbāt al-hudāt: 47, 253, 256
 Ivanow, W.: 164, 190-191

J

Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī: 187, 264
 Jabrites: 282
Jacob: 81, 86, 119-120, 122
 James of Edessa: 84
jadd: 189, 192
al-jāhiliyya: 75, 123, 125
 al-Jāhiz: 353, 356
jahl: 110, 188-189
 al-Jalūdī al-Baṣrī: 130, 265
Jāmāsp Nāmag: 73
 Jambet, Ch.: 22, 49, 149, 191, 214, 217, 244, 276, 279, 311, 334, 365, 371, 383
Jāmi' al-asrār of J:Iaydar Amolī: 163, 302, 312, 366, 371, 377-378, 380
janb : 153-154
 Jānī (or Jā'ūnī) Qurbān: 337
 Jarīr,: 111, 241

Jāvidān-nāma-yi kabīr: 338-340
al-Jawāhir al-saniyya: 253
 Jazūlī, Abū 'Abdallāh: 351
 al-Jazūliyya (Sufis): 351
 Ja'far al-Sādiq (6th Imam): 51, 91, 141, 154-155, 157, 186, 190, 205-206, 214, 225, 234, 264, 384
 Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman: 92, 173,
 189 John the Stylite: 84
 John the Baptist: 119-120, 237
 Jeffery, A.: 94-95, 102, 210, 235, 238
 Jerusalem: 68, 73, 77-78, 82-83, 86, 99, 108, 110, 139, 151, 169, 178, 183, 192-193, 195, 206, 317
 Jesus: 83, 88, 100-101, 118, 192, 237, 239, 318
jihād: 35, 135
 Jirjīs: 168
 Job: 119, 167
 Johnson, P.C.: 90, 227
 Jonah: 52, 119
 Joosten, J.: 192-193
 Joseph: 119, 225
 Joshua: 168
 Jubayr b. Muṭ'im: 125
 Jewish, Judaism: 81, 94,
 138
 Julien : 73
 Junayd: 345, 379
junūd al-rūḥ/al-qalb/al-ma'rifa: 188
junūd al-'aql: 188
junūd al-'aql wa-l-jahl: 177, 188
 Justin : 56
 Juynboll, G.H.A.: 74, 109-110, 223
juz' ilāhī: 92

K

al-Kāfī of al-Kulaynī: 44-47, 52, 90, 96, 151-154, 157-158, 160, 174-177, 189, 191, 194-195, 198,
 205, 207-210, 212-213, 215-217, 220, 225, 227-230, 234, 259, 262-263, 277, 287, 303, 353,
 358, 368
 al-Ka'fāmī Taqī al-Dīn: 253, 255, 260
kahāna: 133
kāhin: 129-131, 133
Kalām al-mahdī: 341-342
kalām allāh al-nāṭiq: 39, 58, 156, 217, 338, 357, 376, 381
kalima: 272, 353, 356, 358-359, 365
kalimat allāh al-kubrā: 92
Kalimāt maknūna: 162, 253, 255, 364, 366, 369-370, 374-375, 380-381, 384
karāmāt: 363
 Karbalā: 100, 141, 339
 Karīm b. 'Afīf al-Khath'amī: 107
 al-Kashfī Ja'far: 55, 165
Kashkūl of Shaykh Bahā'ī: 368
 al-Kashshī Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 141, 150
 Kasimirski: 63, 202
 Kawthar: 23, 313

kaysānite: 151
 Kaysāniyya,: 58, 147, 149, 186, 321
 Kāzīm al-Rashtī: 147, 162
 Ka'ba: 124, 126, 160, 168
Kephalaia : 181
 Khadīja: 130
 Khaḍīr/Khidr : 365
Khaḍī/Akhfā al-asrār: 257
 Khāksār/Khāksāriyya (Sufis): 301
khalīfa: 159, 170, 326, 371 *khalīfat*
allāh: 55
 Khalil Samir, S.: 237
khāliq: 55, 170, 268
 Khārijites: 20, 94, 110, 139, 221, 274
Khaṣā'is al-wahy al-mubīn: 43, 96, 266
khāṣṣa: 218, 245
khātām/khātim al-nabiyyin: 235-236, 238, 240
khātim: 199
khātim al-waṣiyyīn: 274
khatm al-nubuwwa: 27, 86, 234, 240, 242, 245
khayāl: 189, 192
 Khaybar (battle): 125, 287
khayr: 43, 241
khirqā : 379
al-Khiṭaṭ of al-Maqrīzī: 70
khums : 120, 124
 Khurāsān: 254
khuṭba: 92, 162, 364
al-khuṭba al-taṭanjīyya: 147, 161-162, 165, 256
khuṭba al-ashbāḥ : 163
khuṭba al-bayān: 37, 55, 128, 139, 147, 150, 161, 163-165, 170, 209
khuṭba al-iftikhār: 161, 163, 165, 256, 379
 Khuzistān: 342
 Khwānsārī: 253, 255-256
 al-Kindī : 70
 Kippenberg, H.G.: 223-224
kırklar cemī: 343
 al-Kirmānī, J:Iamīd al-Dīn: 36, 224
 Kister, M.J.: 65, 70-71, 108, 123, 223
kitāb: 45-47, 52, 121, 135, 158, 164, 171, 175, 190-191, 203, 214, 217, 230, 262, 267-268, 270, 287
Kitāb al-ghārāt: 114, 265
Kitāb al-Haḥḥ wa-l-aẓilla: 186
Kitāb al-hujja: 46-47, 52, 96, 153, 163, 174-175, 195, 205, 207, 228, 230
Kitāb al-ishtiḳāq: 106-107
Kitāb al-sunna: 111-112
Kitāb al-tanbīh wa l-radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā' wa l-bida': 222
Kitāb al-tanzīl fī l-naṣṣ 'alā amīr al-mu'minīn: 265
Kitāb al-'aql wa-l-jahl: 177, 188
Kitāb ḥikma al-ishrāq: 367, 370-372
kitāb nātiq: 58, 104, 217, 264

kitāb ṣāmit: 104

Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays: 34, 42, 95, 122, 141

Kitāb thawāb innā anzalnāh: 204

kitmān: 156, 221, 223, 226

Kohlberg, E.: 16, 19, 23-25, 33, 36-38, 42, 44, 58-59, 81, 91, 94-95, 102-103, 105, 108, 139-140, 149, 151, 170, 185-186, 195, 197, 204, 206, 210, 213, 216, 222-227, 229-230, 233, 245, 252-253, 261-262, 265-266, 270-271, 279, 312

Krinis, E.: 49, 193

Kubrawī/Kubrāwiyya (Sufis): 341

Kūfa: 33, 45, 54, 57, 108, 112, 116, 134, 138, 158, 166, 185, 234, 254, 297, 320

al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb: 44-47, 52, 90, 96, 151-154, 157-158, 160, 174-177, 187-189, 191, 195, 198, 204-205, 207-210, 212-213, 215-217, 220, 225, 227-231, 234-235, 259, 262-263, 277, 287, 290, 303, 368

Kumayl b. Ziyād: 366-368, 372, 378

Kumayt b. Zayd: 125-127, 138, 241

kunya: 102-103, 108, 158, 214

Kuthayyir 'Azza: 138

L

Lā fatā illā 'Alī, lā sayf illā Dhū'l-faqār: 328

Mecca: 112, 316

laban al-fahl: 133

lāhūt: 56, 103, 152, 158, 272, 277

Lammens, H.: 20, 114, 123, 127

Lawāmi' al-nūrāniyya fī asmā' amīr al-mu'minīn al-qur'āniyya: 43, 258, 266

Lawson, T.: 36, 162, 174, 224, 252, 254, 256, 272

laylat al-qadr: 27, 171

Leo III: 102

Letter on heresies to Quodvultdeus : 79

liqāh wāhid: 133

lisān: 153-154, 170, 214, 341, 376

Logos : 56

Lory, P.: 150, 156, 162, 164, 187, 252-254, 269, 381

Lot: 119, 121

Lüling, G.: 57, 202, 314

M

Mā nazala fī l-khamsa: 265

Mā nazala fī 'Alī min al-Qur'ān: 265

Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn: 39, 43, 259, 265-267

Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ṣāhib al-zamān: 265

al-Mabsūt of al-Sarakhsī: 221-222

Madelung, W.: 16, 20, 32, 47-48, 60, 84, 99, 105, 107, 111, 113-115, 117-118, 120-122, 125-128, 138, 140, 239, 252, 319, 372

al-madhhab : 347

Madyan : 120

Maghreb: 135, 335, 347-349, 351

Maḥajja fī mā nazala fī l-qā'im l-ḥujja: 266

Maḥbūb al-qulūb: 357, 359, 361, 366, 374-375

Mahdī: 84, 168-169, 310, 341-342, 348, 352, 374

Mahgraye : 84
 Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj: 243
 House of David: 138
majlā: 92, 272, 292
 al-Majlisī: 34, 46-47, 51-55, 95-96, 106, 108, 141, 147, 154, 159, 170, 175-177, 197-198, 205-208, 211-215, 253, 256, 258, 270, 274-275, 310, 368, 370, 376, 380
majma' al-nūrayn: 134
malak muqarrab: 232
malaka: 362
 al-Malaṭī: 222
malḥama, pl. malāḥim: 71, 150, 163, 165, 239, 318
 Mandala : 305
 Mani: 56, 77, 90, 185, 235-236
 Manichaeans, Manichaeism: 57, 183, 185, 320
 al-Maqdisī : 150
 al-Maqrīzī: 70-71, 125, 134, 318
 Marcion (Marqiyūn): 56, 185
 Marcionites: 320
 Mary: 83, 89-90, 92, 94, 139, 217, 235, 309, 321
 Mary the Copt: 239
 Marīnides: 351
 Marwān: 102
al-Masā'il al-maknūna: 188
Mashāriq al-amān: 258, 260, 267, 312
Mashāriq al-anwār: 162, 251-252, 254, 312
masīḥ: 62, 80-81, 83, 92, 171
al-masīḥ al-thānī: 93, 171
maskh : 269
 Massi Dakake, M.: 33, 41-42
 Massignon, L.: 56-57, 146-147, 149-150, 155, 163, 186, 192, 217, 321, 380
 Masson, D.: 89
mathāl: 275
al-mathal al-a'lā: 55, 272
Mathnavī: 296
mawlā: 41, 46, 256, 351
 Mawlavī Jalāl al-Dīn Balkhī Rūmī: 296
Mawlid al-nabī wa 'Alī wa Fāṭima: 259
 Maybudī: 375
maẓhar: 92, 149, 170, 272, 292, 300
Ma'ānī l-akhbār: 52, 111, 150, 153-154, 213, 215, 230, 234, 253, 294-295, 361
ma'rifa al-rijāl dīn allāh: 264
ma'rifatī bi l-nūrāniyya: 293
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhī: 379
ma'sūm: 49
 Ma'sūma: 293
 Medina: 17, 31, 57, 101, 113, 131-132, 243, 316, 320
 Melvin-Koushki, M.: 335-336
membra dei : 182
 Messiah: 25-26, 62-63, 68, 73, 80-81, 83-84, 89, 95-97, 103, 112, 114, 137, 166, 170, 179, 213, 309, 317-319, 321-322, 339

Metaphysics of the Shifā': 372, 376, 382
 miaphysites : 79
 Michael (angel): 166 Michel
 (angel): 198, 229
 Mimouni, S.C., : 78-79, 104
 Mingana, A.: 37, 82-83
Minhāj al-sunna al-nabawiyya fī naqḍ kalām al-shī'a: 222
 al-Miqdād b. Aswad: 192
 Mīr Dāmād: 367-368, 370, 376-377, 380-382
 Mir-Kasimov, O.: 24, 26, 28, 58, 146, 224, 247, 252, 301, 311-312, 325, 334, 338-340
mīthāq: 51, 166, 206
mīzān: 43, 171, 267
mi'rāj: 313, 378, 381, 384
 Mogul: 325
 Moses: 52, 119-120, 168-169, 233, 237, 275-277, 279
 monarchianism/monarchianists: 76, 92
 Morimoto, K.: 335, 337, 346
 Motzki, H: 14-15, 100
mu'ākhāt: 131-133
 Mu'āwiya: 20, 35, 100, 102, 107-108, 113-115, 122, 128, 134, 140-141, 274
 Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī: 93, 156, 162, 164, 380
mu'jizāt: 363
mubāhala: 273
 Mubashshir b. Fātik: 358
 Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fī: 187, 264
muḥaḥham: 195, 229
 al-Mufīd: 38, 265, 297
mufrīṭūn: 269
 al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd: 186, 243-244
muḥaddath: 195, 206, 215, 229-230, 245
muḥaddathūn: 205
muhājirūn: 317
 Muḥammad (the Prophet): 13-17, 19-20, 22, 25-27, 31-32, 34-36, 38, 41-42, 44-50, 52-54, 58, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69-72, 74-77, 80-84, 86-90, 95-101, 104-105, 107, 110, 112-113, 115, 117, 120-126, 128-129, 131-133, 135, 137, 139, 159, 169, 176, 191, 195-198, 203, 208, 210, 213-216, 218-220, 228-231, 233, 235-243, 247, 259-263, 265, 267-271, 274-276, 279-280, 283, 286-287, 295, 297-298, 309, 313, 315-322, 337, 339, 343-344, 348, 351, 353, 355, 358, 370, 373, 380, 382-384
 Muḥammad al-Bāqir (5th Imam): 41, 43, 51, 91, 111, 141, 150, 175-176, 185, 187, 191, 209, 212, 215-216, 225, 234, 253, 368
 Muḥammad b. Falāḥ: 341-342
 Muḥammad b. J:assān al-Rāzī al-Zaynabī: 204
 Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl: 243, 300, 346-347
 Muḥammad b. Makkī: 338
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī (9th imam): 205-206, 212, 219
 Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd: 112
 Muḥammad Bek: 337 Muḥammad
 son of Abū Bakr: 115 Muḥammad
 ibn Falāḥ: 342
Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men : 241

Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh: 341
 Muḥammad Taqī Mīrzā (Qajar prince): 165
muḥkam/mutashābih: 36
 Muḥammad b. al-J:lanafiyya: 109, 149, 361
mujāhid: 35, 264
 al-Mukhammisa: 58, 192
Mukhtār al-ḥikam: 358
 Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd: 243
mulk: 121, 134
 Mullā Na'imā Tāliqānī: 59
 Mullā Sadrā /Mollā Sadrā: 35, 59, 214, 264, 302, 328, 358-359, 364-366, 375, 381-383
mu'min: 157, 175, 277, 317
mu'min mumtaḥan : 232
mu'minūn: 101
munāfiqūn: 320
mundhir : 96
munḥamannā: 85, 87
Munqidh min al-ḍalāl: 359
muqarrabūn: 51
muqātil: 35, 264
Muqtaḍab al-athar: 265
 Murji'ites: 282
mursalūn : 51
 Murtaḍā 'Alī : 347
 Mūsā al-Kāzim (7th imam): 263, 347
muṣāfaḥa: 230
muṣāhara: 128
al-Muṣannaf: 35, 70-71, 108-109, 239
 Musaylima : 243
muṣḥaf 'Alī: 37, 103
mushāfahatan: 53
mushāhada: 366
 Musha'sha'iyya: 58, 341
muslim: 25, 36-37, 65, 68, 70-71, 74, 76, 81, 85, 97-98, 101, 128, 135, 139, 147, 157, 174-175, 186, 190, 202, 204, 217, 232-233, 238-239, 244, 265, 271, 286, 306, 310, 321, 335, 348
muslimūn: 101, 317
al-Musnad by Ibn J:lanbal: 35, 69-71, 115, 135
musūkh: 169, 269
 Mu'tazilite: 21, 282
muwālāt: 46
 al-Muṭṭalib: 120, 124, 126, 128

N

al-Nabā'ī al-Bayāḍī: 312
al-naba' al-'aẓīm: 272
nabī: 33, 205, 230, 239, 280
nabī /rasūl al-malḥama: 61
nabī /rasūl al-malḥama or nabī al-malāḥim: 71, 158, 215, 230, 233, 239, 265, 318
nabī ākhir al-zamān: 71, 93, 152, 155, 338
nabī al-ḥaram: 86, 124

nabī mursal: 232
nabī/anbiyā': 158, 215, 230, 233, 239, 265, 318
nadwa : 124
nafas-e raḥmānī: 380
al-nafs al-nāṭiqā: 381
al-nafs al-'aqliyya: 383
Nagel, T.: 111-112, 125-126
Nahj al-balāgha: 21-22, 34, 108, 113, 147, 155, 163, 234, 353-355, 357-359, 361, 363-364, 372
Nahrawān: 20
Najm al-Dīn Kubrā: 255
namṭ al-awsaṭ: 255
naqqāl: 285
Naqshbandis : 333
nasab: 123, 125, 128, 335
naṣārā: 78
nāsikh/mansūkh: 36
Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh: 286, 300
Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh: 330-332
Naṣṣ al-jalī fī arba'in āya fī sha'n 'Alī: 43, 266
nāsūt: 56, 103, 152, 158, 277
nāṭiq: 39, 156, 217, 338
Nativity of Jesus: 202, 217
al-Nawbakhtī, al-J:Iasan b. Mūsā: 94, 149, 222
Nawfal : 120
Nazarenes/Nazoreans: 78
neoplatonism, neoplatonists: 186, 255
Nestorianism : 76
Nestorius : 56
Nizārites: 334
ni'ma : 43
Ni'mat Allāh Walī: 335
Ni'matullāhi/ Ni'matullāhiyya (Sufis): 164
Noah: 52, 84, 93, 118-119, 167
Nöldeke, T.: 37, 85, 110, 130
New Testament: 75, 85, 88, 192
Nowrūz: 321
nubuwwa: 27, 50, 86, 104, 176, 228, 234, 240, 245, 280, 334
nubuwwa takwīniyya: 246
nubuwwa tashrī'iyya: 59, 246
nubuwwat 'amma/muṭlaqa: 247
Night of Qadr/Night of Decree: 27,
168 al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān: 108
nuqṭa : 312, 340
Nuṭṭawīyya : 58
nūr: 49, 53, 96, 133, 170, 208, 211, 214-215, 234, 258, 276, 279, 300, 349
nūr al-walāya: 49, 92
nūr al-waṣīyya: 49
Nūr 'Alī Shāh: 164
nūrāniyyat al-imām: 311
nūrāniyyat-e imām: 290

Nūrbakhsh Sayyid Muḥammad: 164
Nūrbakhshiyya: 341
Nuṣayrī: 223
Nuṣayri-Alaouites: 58
Nuṣayriyya Ishāqiyya: 58
Nuzūl al-Qur'ān fī sha'n amīr al-mu'minīn: 266
al-Nu'mānī: 45, 213, 225, 234, 262
Nyberg: 182

O

Umayyads: 17, 20, 32, 80, 82-83, 97, 99, 101, 139-140, 209, 243, 261, 280, 320, 322, 326, 339, 348
Origen: 56, 79, 179, 224
Ottoman: 222, 301, 325, 333
Ouardi, H.: 15

P

Palestine: 73
Panarion of Epiphanes : 79
Papyrus of Deir el-Bala'izah : 180
Paraclete: 26, 57, 63, 85-89, 92, 186, 236, 246, 321, 339
paraklētos : 85
parda dār: 285
parda-ye darvīshī: 306
Paret, R.: 120, 127, 288
Pellat, C.: 35, 114, 125, 166, 189
pēriklutos : 85
Persia, Persians: 86, 321-322
Peshiṭta/Peshiṭtā: 85, 178
Pharaoh: 169, 271, 273, 279
Philo of Alexandria: 56 Pines,
Sh.: 49, 78-79, 192-193
pīr: 164, 344
Pistis Sophia : 180
Plato : 362
Plotinus: 194, 304, 371
Powers, D.S.: 238, 241, 336
Prémare, A.-L., of : 73, 77, 79, 85, 89, 94, 100, 102, 314
Coptic Psalter: 180
Pseudo-Denys the Areopagite: 224
Puech, H.-C.: 88, 90, 146, 180-182, 236
Pythagoras: 385

Q

al-qābiḍ : 55
Qadarites: 140, 282
al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī: 164
Qādirī (dervishes): 135
Qadr: 27, 201-215, 217-219
Qajar: 165, 289, 301
qalb: 51, 153, 188, 214, 290

Qanbar b. Kādān: 192
qarāba: 114, 116, 128, 137, 141
qasīm: 23, 93, 158-159, 170, 384
 Qawwālī: 313
qayyim al-qiyāma: 93, 171
qiyāma: 158, 334
 Qizilbash: 343, 345
 Qumm: 32, 34, 43, 46, 50-54, 95-96, 106, 111, 116, 122, 125, 147, 153-154, 175, 198, 205, 207, 209, 225, 248, 254, 266-267, 293, 297, 353, 364, 369-370, 374-375
 al-Qummī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm: 46-47, 51, 86, 96, 142, 151, 153, 157, 164, 170, 195, 205, 209, 211, 215, 225, 229-231, 234, 253, 255, 259, 264, 269-270, 274, 287, 294, 369, 384
 Quraysh: 45, 123-127, 206, 262, 318, 320
Qur'ān/kitāb nāfiq: 39, 156, 217, 338, 357, 376, 381
Qur'ān/kitāb šāmit: 39, 217, 263
 Quşayy : 124
quṭb: 256, 371, 379
al-quwwa al-ghaḍabiyya: 362
al-quwwa al-shahawiyya : 362

R

rabb: 275, 277
rabb al-bayt: 126
rabbān insāniyyan: 377
 Rafī'ā Nā'inī: 59
 Ragg, Lonsdale & Laura: 192-194
raḥim: 133
raḥmān: 55, 171, 377
 Rajab al-Bursī: 28, 43, 59, 162-164, 251-253, 255, 257, 259, 312, 374, 377, 379, 382
rajjaz : 106
 Ramadan/Ramaḍān: 202-203, 224, 226
rāshidūn: 111-112
rasūl: 71, 89, 100, 157, 159, 171, 196, 215, 230, 239, 280, 287
 Rāwandiyya: 94
 Rayy : 341
 Rāz Shīrāzī: 298
Reconquista: 192, 326
 Reitzenstein: 182
 Retsö, J.: 75 Reynolds,
 Gabriel: 87 Ries, J.:
 90, 236
rifāda: 124
 Rippin, A.: 39-40, 71, 245, 264
risāla: 104, 234
Risāla of Mīr Fāḍilī: 159, 218, 224, 258, 302, 347, 363, 366
Risāla fī kayfiyyat al-tawḥīd wa l-ṣalāt 'alā l-rasūl wa l-a'imma: 259
Risāla fī l-ṣalawāt 'alā l-nabī wa ālihi l-ma'sūmīn: 259
Risālat al-mi'rāj: 313, 378, 384 *Risālat*
al-mukhtaṣara fī l-tawḥīd: 259 *Rīsh*
mellē: 82
ri'āsa: 371

Robin, C.: 70, 75-76, 123, 242, 314, 316
Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch: 289, 300
 Rubin, U.: 49, 57, 76, 84, 87, 92, 110, 123-124, 126, 129, 167-168, 186, 206, 233, 238-242, 246, 268-269, 321, 344
 Rufā'a b. Shaddād al-Hamdānī: 108
rūḥ: 26, 160, 175-176, 182, 188, 191, 194-196, 213
rūḥ al-amīn: 194, 203
rūḥ al-badan: 176
rūḥ al-fikr: 189, 191, 374
rūḥ al-ḥayāt: 176, 191, 252
rūḥ al-hifz: 177, 188-189, 191
rūḥ al-īmān: 51, 175, 191, 214, 225, 270
rūḥ al-jabarūt: 191
rūḥ al-madraj: 175, 182
rūḥ al-quds: 26, 85, 175-176, 191, 194-197, 229
rūḥ al-quwwa: 175, 191
rūḥ al-shahwa: 175, 182, 194
rūḥ al-'aql: 177, 181-182, 188-189, 191
rūḥ al-'ilm: 37, 98, 176-177, 188, 191, 196, 213-216, 226, 270, 335
rukḥṣa : 221
al-ru'ya bi l-qalb : 292

S

Saba'iyya : 149
sabb al-ṣaḥāba: 271, 280
sabīl: 43, 158
sābiq: 189
sābiqa: 114, 116 *sab'at*
aḥruf: 36 Sachau, E.:
 70, 86, 235
 Sacy, Silvestre de : 150
ṣadaqa : 120
 Sadighi, Gh. J.I. : 23, 140, 149, 243
ṣadr: 214
 Safavid: 325, 333, 342, 345
 al-Saffār al-Qummī: 46-47, 51, 86, 96, 142, 151, 153, 157, 164, 170, 175, 187-188, 195, 204-205, 209, 211, 215, 225, 227, 229-231, 234, 253, 255, 259, 264, 269-270, 274, 287, 290, 294, 368-369, 383-384
 Safī al-Dīn Ardabīlī: 345
ṣāhib al-amr: 49, 65, 70, 196, 201, 210-212, 216, 219, 318
ṣāhib al-arḍ: 157, 170, 212, 341
ṣāhib al-ta'wīl: 282
sāhir: 129
 Saint Basil : 224
 Holy Family: 126, 139, 142, 278
 Sajāḥ: 243
saj' : 63
sakīna : 120
ṣalāt: 75, 211
ṣalāt-nāma: 347

Sālih: 112, 120
sālik: 379
 Salmān the Persian: 192
 Solomon: 119-120, 122, 197
 Samaritan: 274
 Samson, apostolic missionary: 86
sāqī (from Kawthar): 23
 Saracens: 81
Sarā'ir wa-asrār al-nuṭaqā': 189
 Sarbadār/Sarbedār: 337-338, 345
sāye-ye Murtaḍā 'Alī bar sarat: 306
 al-Sayyārī: 19, 37, 45-48, 81, 95-96, 209-210, 227, 262, 269, 274, 312
sayyid al-fityān: 24, 327
sayyid al-mu'minīn: 170, 274
sayyids : 335
sā'a: 65, 84, 93, 98
 Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib: 125
 Seal of the Prophets: 86, 232, 235, 239, 241, 244, 247
 Schaeder: 146, 182
 Sebêos : 73, 80
 Secrets of Rabbi Shim'on ben Yoḥai: 73, 82
 Segovia, C.: 57, 71, 76, 78-79, 84, 86, 93
 Seraphiel (angel) : 295
 Serjeant, R.B.: 109, 123-124, 132
 Sermon on the End of Time: 74
 Seth/Shīth: 168, 205
 Shabistārī: 296
 Shādhilī/Shādhiliyya (Sufis): 351
shafī': 23
 Shāh Sulaymān: 257
 al-Shahrastānī: 23, 34, 221, 235, 356-357
 Shahrāzūrī: 366
 Shāhrukh: 341
shajā'a: 362
shamā'il: 285-286, 294, 304
shaqq al-qamar : 214
sharḥ al-ṣadr: 214
sharḥ/inshirāḥ al-ṣadr: 164, 374, 382
sharīf: 351
 al-Sharīf al-Raḍī: 21, 34, 37, 147, 234, 354
sharīfs: 335
 Sharon, M.: 32, 111, 125-128, 138-140, 286
shar' : 358, 360
shaṭaḥāt: 155, 272
 Shaṭṭāris: 333
Shawāhid al-tanzīl: 36-37, 43-44, 96, 261, 266, 270
 Shaykh J:Iasan Jūrī: 337
 Shaykh Khalīfa: 337-338
 Shaykhiyya: 58, 162, 303
shayṭān: 94

shay'iyya : 152
shā'ir: 129
 Shiblī: 379
 Shimr/ Shamir : 339
 Shoemaker, S.: 15, 65, 69-75, 80-82, 95, 97-98, 102, 315, 317, 322
shūrā : 121
ṣibgha : 271
 Siddīq: 94-95
 Siffīn: 20, 35, 108, 110, 114-115, 122, 134
silsila: 328
 Simmel, G.: 227
 Simon: 78, 168
siqāya: 124
Sīra: 15, 71, 85, 135, 139
al-Sīra al-nabawīyya: 132, 240
ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm/al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm: 44, 47, 268, 312
ṣirāṭ allāh: 55
sitr: 54, 159, 242
siyāsa: 373
 Snouck Hurgronje: 67-68
 Socrates: 357, 362, 371, 385
Sophia of Jesus Christ: 182 Sprenger,
 A.: 69-70, 78, 87, 98, 130
 Strothmann, R.: 92, 127, 218, 222
 Stroumsa, G.G.: 78, 223, 236-237, 317
 Suhrawardī Abū Hafs: 330
ṣulb : 133
sunnat 'Alī : 111
sūra: 75, 124, 272
ṣūrat i fikriyya: 296, 300, 340
 Syria: 78, 321

T

al-Tabaqāt: 37, 70, 86, 111-112, 116, 121-122, 125, 130
 al-Tabarī: 18, 93, 106-111, 114-115, 122, 128, 132, 134, 139, 150, 209, 239
tabdīd al-'ilm: 156, 226
tafakkur : 296
tafsīr: 34-36, 46, 208-209, 212, 239, 270, 296
 Tafsīr al-J:ībarī: 39-44, 46, 260-261, 265, 273
Tafsīr Furāt al-Kūfī: 44, 47, 52, 54, 96, 107, 151, 158, 218, 261, 265
Tafsīr sūrat al-ikhlās/al-tawhīd: 258
Tahāfut al-falāsifa: 359
taḥnīk: 134-136
taḥrīf: 23, 45, 81, 102, 209, 261
tāj: 345
taklīf: 365
tālī: 189
 Tamerlane: 336, 341
tanāsukh: 92, 94
Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn: 267

Tanqīḥ al-maqāl: 150, 161
tanzīl: 34, 38, 46, 130, 245, 260, 265, 278, 281
taqdīr: 210
 Taqī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-J:īalabī: 253, 260
taqiyya: 27, 36, 108, 111, 156, 214, 221-226, 228, 244, 247-248, 266
taqlīd : 358
 Tardieu, M.: 88, 182-183, 236-237
tashbīḥ: 152-153, 158, 276
Tavārīkh-i Al-i 'Othmān: 333
tawḥīd: 152-154, 160, 258, 277-278, 303, 312, 364, 367, 376
 Taym (clan of Quraysh): 206
ta'tīl: 152, 276
 Tā'if: 316
ta'wīl: 34, 38, 245, 279, 281, 340
Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-ẓāhira fī faḍā'il al-'itrat al-ṭāhira: 266
Ta'wīl mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ahl al-bayt: 265
 Tehran: 293
 Terrier, M., 20, 24, 28, 59, 312, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363-366, 369-370, 372, 375, 379, 381-382
 Tertullian: 182, 237
 Testament of the Twelve Apostles: 74
 Thalia of Arius: 56
 Thamūd: 120, 240
 al-Thaqafī: 114, 265
Thawāb innā anzalnāh: 204
The succession to Muḥammad: 113, 117, 239
 Theophanes the Confessor: 321
 Tjeldens, E.F.: 186, 190-191
 Timurids: 333, 337
 Tirmidh : 188
 Tourfan : 181
 Chavannes-Pelliot Treaty: 181
 Trebizond: 223
 Tūbā (tree): 383
Tuḥfat al-mulūk of Ja'far al-Kashfī: 55, 164-166
 Tulayḥa b. Khuwaylid: 243
 Turābiyya Saba'iyya: 108
 Turka Iṣfahānī: 335-336
 Tūs/Mashhad: 254
 Tyan, E.: 123

U

'Ubayd b. al-Khaḍir: 130, 365
 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād: 102
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-J:īurr al-Ju'fī: 107
 Ubayy b. Ka'b: 235
udhn: 153-154, 214
 Uḥud (battle): 24
'ulamā' ummatī ka-anbiyā' banī isrā'īl: 233
al-'ulamā' warathat al-anbiyā': 233
 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb): 14, 17, 19, 35, 60, 99, 110-111, 130, 187, 206, 230, 271, 273, 319

Umayya Ibn Abī al-Salt: 240
Umm al-kitāb: 186, 190-192
Umm Jalīl bint al-Mujallal: 135
Urbach, E.E.: 246
al-'urwa al-wuthqā: 55, 154, 310
al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi: 45-46, 96, 152, 160, 189, 205, 207, 209, 215, 225, 228, 259, 262, 277, 287,
302-303
Uṣūlī /uṣūliyya: 246
'Uthmān: 19

V

Van Ess, J.: 60, 283
Van Reeth, J.: 20, 57, 77-78, 83, 86, 88-89, 92, 95, 236, 246, 321-322
vaqt-i zuhūr: 338
Golden Calf: 273, 279
Veccia Vaglieri, L.: 16, 20-21, 23, 33, 41, 113-114, 147, 274, 354
vejhe/ wijha: 289-291, 294, 296-297, 299-300
Vesel, Z.: 285, 288, 291, 299, 303, 305
vision by heart: 214, 278, 289-292, 297, 300, 303 True
Prophet/verus propheta: 57
Vulgate of 'Uthman: 101
'uthmānian Vulgate: 44, 260-261

W

wahhābites: 222
al-Wāhidī: 69
wahy: 43, 96, 168, 171, 173, 234, 245
wajh: 153, 170, 293-294, 296, 301
walāya: 23, 33, 42, 45-53, 58-59, 96, 171, 219, 245-246, 251, 260, 270-271, 273-277, 279-280, 282,
295, 297-298, 310, 334, 341, 373, 377
al-walāya bātin al-nubuwwa: 50
walāya takwīniyya: 59, 246
walāya tashrī'iyya/i'tibāriyya: 59, 246
walī: 33
walī al-amr: 49, 65, 70, 196, 201, 207, 210, 212, 215-216, 219, 318
Wansbrough, J.: 57, 71, 78, 238, 314
wāqifite: 151
wāqi'a: 66, 98
waṣī /awṣiyā': 113, 115-116, 176, 205, 305, 341, 349
waṣiyya: 49-50, 52, 57, 92, 189, 206, 245
Waṣiyyat-nāma: 339
Wasserstrom, S.M.: 186, 243-244
Watt, W.M.: 123, 125, 132-133, 146, 148, 160
Wellhausen, J.: 123, 129, 131
Widengren, G.: 87-89 Woods,
J.: 335-336

X

Xuāstvānīft: 236
xwarnah/farrah : 184

y

yā 'Alī madad: 306

yad: 153, 170

yatīm: 192

yawm al-raj'a : 270

al-Yazdī J:Iā'irī: 163-164

Yazīd: 100, 140-141, 187, 339, 344

ya'sūb: 54, 159, 171

Yemen: 72, 78, 198, 231, 316-317

z

Zechariah: 94, 119-120, 122

zaḡhab : 230

zāhir: 37-38, 48, 50, 55, 57-58, 154, 171, 186, 245, 281, 291-292, 321, 360, 373, 382

zahr: 36

zakāt: 75, 120, 135

Zand-ī Wahman Yasn: 73

Zayd: 45, 135, 138

Zayd b. Sūḥān: 106

ziyāra: 213, 259, 294

Zoroastrians: 223

al-Zubayr: 84, 115, 125, 139

al-Zuhrī : 100

zuhūr: 147, 378

Zurayq: 271

Acknowledgements

I am particularly pleased to express my deep appreciation to those who have made this publication possible. My friends and colleagues Camille de Belloy o.p. (*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*), Carol A. Bromberg (*Bulletin of Asia Institute*), Hervé Danési (*Le Journal des savants*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), Stefan Heidemann (*Der Islam*), Jean-Pierre Mahé (*Journal Asiatique*), Emmanuel Pisani o.p. (*Mélange de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales*), Andrea Schmidt (*Le Muséon*), the editors of the Brepols and Vrin editions as well as the editors of scientific collective works: Carlo Altini, Hinrich Biesterfeldt, Carlo De Angelo, Iyas Hassan, Philippe Hoffmann, Andrea Manzo, Jörg Rüpke, Antonella Straface and Verena Klemm. Guy Stavridès who, years ago, sparked in my mind the idea of a book on Imam 'Alī. The section of religious sciences of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in the person of its dean Vassa Kontouma and the Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes in the person of its director Sylvio de Franceschi. Finally, my friends at CNRS Éditions, its director Blandine Genthon and my editor Maurice Poulet. May they all be warmly thanked.

*The Divine Guide in Original Shi'ism. To the sources of esotericism in Islam Places of
Islam. Cults and cultures from Africa to Java*

The initiatory journey in the land of Islam. Celestial ascents and spiritual itineraries

The East in the religious history of Europe. The invention of the origins

What is Shi'ism?

Discrete religion: beliefs and spiritual practices in Shi'a Islam

*A short history of Islam Dictionary
of the Koran*

Revelation and Falsification: The Kitâb al-Qirâ'ât of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Sayyârf Il

Corano. Analisi e commenti

The silent Quran and the speaking Quran. Scriptural sources of Islam between history and fervor

Shi'ite esotericism, its roots and extensions

The Proof of God. Shi'ite mysticism through the work of Kulaynf (9th-10th century)

{1} 'Umar was apparently regarded as the eschatological Savior by a number of the faithful but the phenomenon was very short-lived; see P. Crone & M. Cook, *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge (England), 1977, index p. 268 *sub* 'Umar al-Fārūq and especially pp. 5 and 34; A. Hakim, "'Umar b. al-Hattāb, Caliph by the Grace of God," *Arabica* 54/3, 2008, pp. 317-336; Id. at "'Umar b. al-Hattāb: religious and moral authority," *Arabica* 55/1, 2008, pp. 1-34.

{2} J. Chabbi, "Histoire et tradition sacrée. La biographie impossible de Mahomet," *Arabica* 43 (1996), pp. 189-205. For somewhat less skeptical views, see also F.E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muḥammad," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), pp. 291-315; G. Hagen, "The Imagined and the Historical Muḥammad," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129/1 (2009), pp. 97-111; A. Görke, H. Motzki & G. Schoeler, "First Century Sources for the Life of Muḥammad? A Debate," *Der Islam* 89/2 (2012), pp. 2-59; for a synthesis of methods and the impossibility of reaching the historical Muḥammad see now S. J. Shoemaker, "The Lives of Muḥammad," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (eds.), *The Qur'an of Historians*, Paris, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 183-245.

{3} H. Motzki, "Introduction," in Id. (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: the Issue of the*

Sources, Leiden, 2000, p. XIV ("On the one hand, it is not possible to write a historical biography of the Prophet without being accused of using the sources uncritically, while on the other hand, when using the sources critically, it is simply not possible to write such a biography"). The multiple difficulties of establishing a historical life of Muḥammad are also outlined, for example, in the collection of articles edited by T. Fahd, *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Travaux du center d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg), Paris, 1983; in W. Raven, art.

"Sīra," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (EI2), s.v. and more recently in H. Ouardi, *Les derniers jours de Muḥammad*, Paris, 2016, which aptly shows the countless contradictions and implausibilities of the official "biographies" of Muḥammad.

{4} The articulation between these historical events is the subject of M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant. Sources scripturaires de l'Islam entre histoire et fveur*, Paris, 2011; Id, "Le shi'isme et le Coran," in *Le Coran des historiens*, vol. 1, pp. 919-967.

{5} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, op. cit. chapter 1; W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997, *passim*; id, "Social Legislation in *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*," in A. Cilardo (ed.), *Islam and Globalization. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Proceeding of the 25th Congress of the European Union of Islamists and Arabists*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2013, pp. 197-203; Id, "Introduction" to the section "History and Historiography," in F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London-New York, 2014, pp. 3-16; Jane Dammen McAuliffe, "Chosen of All Women: Mary and Fatima in Qur'anic Exegesis," *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981): 19-28; B. Beinhauer-Köhler, *Fāṭima bint Muḥammad. Metamorphosen einer frühislamischen Frauengestalt*, Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 39-56; V. Klemm, "Image formation of an Islamic legend. Fāṭima, the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad," in S. Günther (ed.), *Ideas, images, and methods of portrayal. Insights into classical Arabic literature and Islam*, Leiden-Boston, 2005, pp. 181-208 (especially pp. 184-190); C. P. Clohessy, *Fāṭima, Daughter of Muḥammad*, Piscataway, 2013; see also.

D. K. Crow, "The Death of al-J: Iusayn b. 'Alī and Early Shī'ī Views of the Imamate," *Al-serāt* 12 (1986), pp. 71-116 (reprinted in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 2003, article no. 3); T. Hylén, *Ifusayn, the Mediator*, Uppsala, 2007.

{6} As has already been pointed out, there is a plethora of hagiographic and apologetic works, even encyclopedias, on 'Alī, written by Muslim authors, but the critical history of the sources on him and the problems of all kinds that they pose remain to be written. In the present state of research, recourse may be had to the excellent synthetic articles in the EI2 (L. Veccia Vaglieri), the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (I. K. Poonawala and E. Kohlberg), the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (A.

S. Asani) or *EI3* (2008-2, pp. 62 ff. by R. Gleave), s.n. See also the collective work: A. Y.

OCAK (ed.), *From History to Theology: 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, Ankara, 2005.

{7} On the following subjects see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*.

{8} E.g. Ibn Hishām, al-Balādhurī, al-Tabarī or Ibn Shabba; in contrast, Ibn Sa'd's silence on conflicts is, in this respect, significant (see bibliography at the end of the volume).

{9} As has been pointed out, the question of sources concerning the death of the Prophet and the events immediately following it is a very complex one. On almost every sequence of different episodes, there are multiple accounts, sometimes very divergent depending on the theological and political orientation of the authors. Scholarly research has extensively studied these sources and the related bibliography is plethoric. Wanting to avoid scholarly discussion at this level, we offer here only a dense synthesis of the most plausible theses.

{10} On the question of the Qur'an and its falsification according to the Shi'ites, see now E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification. The Kitāb al-qirā'āt of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*, Leiden-Boston, 2009, Introduction; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 2.

{11} See also H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mo'āwīa Ier*, Paris, 1908; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, Milan, 1905-1926 (the last two volumes - IX and X dating from 1926 - are devoted to 'Alī and his caliphate); E. Peterson, *'Alī and Mu'āwīya in Early Arabic Tradition*, Copenhagen, 1964. It is interesting to note that these now "classic" studies, richly documented, say almost nothing about the spiritual figure of 'Alī nor about the religious dimension of the conflicts concerning him. The same remark seems to be valid for other less monographic studies. The works of the author of these lines and of W. Madelung mentioned above (notes 4 and 5) seek, among other things, to fill this gap; see on this subject, J. Van Reeth,

"The silent Qur'an and the speaking Qur'an: new perspectives on the origins of Islam," *RHR* 230/3 (July-September 2013), pp. 385-402; M. Terrier, "Political violence, canonical writings and doctrinal developments in Islam," *JSOI* 40 (2013), pp. 401-427.

{12} See now N. Husayn, "The Rehabilitation of 'Alī in Sunnī J:ladīth and Historiography," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29.4 (2019), pp. 565-583.

{13} M. Djabli, "Nahj al-Balāgha," *EI2*.

{14} L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Observations on the Nahj al-balāgha," *Proceedings of the 24th Congress of Orientalists*, Munich, 1957, pp. 318-339; and especially id, "Sul 'Nahj al-Balāgha' et sul suo compilatore ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī," *AIUON*, special no. 8, 1958. On the apocryphal nature of parts of the book see also W. al-Kāḍī, "An early Faṭimid political document," *SI* 48, 1978, pp. 71- 108.

{15} See e.g. Z. Mubarak, *La prose arabe*, Paris, 1931, pp. 2 ff, 128 ff, 185 ff; R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1952-1966, vol. 2, pp. 30 ff, vol. 3, pp. 721 ff;

M. Djabli, "Again on the Authenticity of the *Nahj al-balāgha*," *SI* 75, 1992, pp. 33-56. On the prose attributed to 'Alī see now the numerous monographic works of Tahera Qutbuddin, in particular, "The Sermons of 'Alī ibn Abi Talib: At the Confluence of the Core Islamic Teachings of the Qur'an and the Oral, Nature-Based Cultural Ethos of Seventh Century Arabia," in Linda G. Jones (ed.), *La predicación medieval: sermones cristianos, judíos e islámicos en el Mediterráneo*, special no. of *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42/1 (2012), pp. 201-228; Id, "Alī's Contemplations on This World and the Hereafter in the Context of His Life and Times," in A. Korangy et al. (eds.), *Essays in Islamic Philology, History, and Philosophy*, Berlin, 2016, pp. 333- 353; Id, "A Sermon on Piety by Imam 'Alī b. Abī Tālib: How the Rhythm of the Classical Arabic Oration Tacitly Persuaded" in S. Dorpmüller, J. Scholz, M. Stille, I. Weinrich (eds.), *Religion and Aesthetic Experience*, Heidelberg, 2018, pp. 109-123.

{16} J.I. Al-'Amilī, *Shurūḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, Beirut, 1983; also M. J:Iusaynī, *Maṣādir Nahj al- balāgha*, Najaf, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 247-314. See now *Nahj al-balāgha wa shurūḥuh*, Maktabat al-imām 'Alī Amīr al-mu'minīn, Najaf, 2016.

{17} On these two traditions and their conflict see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin dans le shi'isme originel*, Paris-Lagrasse, 1992, Introduction; on the positioning of al-Raḍī, *ibid*, pp. 57 and 69; also M.A. Amir-Moezzi & Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme?*, Paris, 2006, Parts 2 and 3; S.M.M. Ja'fārī, *Sayyid Raḍī*, Tehran, 1378 solar/1998 (2nd ed.), especially chap. 9.

{18} Gh. J.I. Sadīqī, *Jonbesh hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī* (version completed and updated by the author of his doctoral dissertation: G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux ^{IIe} et ^{IIIe} siècles de l'hégire*, Paris, 1938), Tehran, 1372 solar/1993, pp. 225 ff; E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), pp. 143-175, esp. pp. 145 ff (now in id, *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 1991, article no. 9); on *dīn 'Alī* see here, chap. 3. L. Veccia Vaglieri believes that this "semi-divine halo" is due to 'Alī's deeply religious spirit and his social and economic reforms during his caliphate in which he shared, until they were exhausted, the assets of the state *bayt al-māl* (EI2, pp. 393b and 397a). In light of the image of 'Alī as it emerges through the corpus we will examine, the argument does not seem to measure up.

{19} See E. Kohlberg, art. "'Alī b. Abī Tāleb, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," Among extremist Shi'ites", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 845-846; see also e.g. H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982; M. M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion: An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, 2002; D. De Smet, *Les Epftres sacrées des Druzes: Rasā'il al-lfikma*, Leuven, 2007, introduction; and here chap. 4.

{20} J. Eliash, "On the Genesis and Development of the Twelver-Shī'ī Three-Tenet *shahāda*," *Der Islam* 47, 1971, pp. 265-272; See now the great monograph on the subject by Sayyid 'Alī Shahrastānī, *Mawsū'at al-adhān bayn al-aṣāla wa l-tahrīf*.

{21} On Sufism see E. Kohlberg, art. "'Alī b. Abī Tāleb, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," Among Sufis," *op. cit.* pp. 846-847; see also R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden, 1965-1981, esp. vol. 1, pp. 13-26; K. M. al-Shaybī, *Al-ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa l-tashayyu'*, Baghdad, 1966; H. Corbin, *In Iranian Islam. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris, 1971-1972, especially vol. 3 (subtitle: *Les fidèles d'amour. Shfisme et soufisme*); and now D. Hermann & M. Terrier (eds.), *Shi'i Islam and Sufism. Classical Views and Modern Perspectives*, London, 2020. On the *futuwwa* and the moral figure of 'Alī, see especially F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam: Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa*, Zurich-Munich, 1979 (the author's *magnum opus* which takes up and completes his very numerous earlier works on the *futuwwa*); A. Mir-'Abedīnī and M. Afshārī, *Ayīn-e qalandarī*, Tehran, 1374/1995, index. s.n. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib; M. Ali Lakhani (ed.), *The sacred foundations of justice in Islam: the Teachings of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Bloomington, 2006, (composite volume of A. Lakhani, "The Metaphysics of Human Governance: Imam 'Ali, Truth and Justice"; R. Shah-Kazemi, "A Sacred Conception of Justice: Imam 'Ali's Letter to Malik al-Ashtar"; L. Lewisohn, "'Ali b. Abi Talib's ethics of mercy in the mirror of the Persian Sufi tradition"; R. Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance. Introducing the Spirituality of Imam Ali*, London, 2006; L. Ridgeon, *Jawānmardī: A Sufi Code of Honour*, Edinburgh, 2011, index s.v.; Id. (ed.), *Javanmardi. The Ethics and Practice of Persianate Perfection*, London, 2018; and especially in this volume: R.Y. Shani, "La Fata illa 'Ali la Sayf illa Dhu'l-Faqar: Epigraphic Ceramic Platters from Medieval Nishapur Documenting Esteem for 'Ali ibn Abi Taleb as the Ideal *Fata*," pp. 28-65; Issue 40/1 (2013) of the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* is primarily devoted to the *futuwwa*. See also here, the contribution of O. Mir-Kasimov (Appendix 1). On the figure of 'Alī among philosophers, see the contribution of M. Terrier (Appendix 2).

{22} E. Kohlberg, art. "'Alī b. Abī Tāleb, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," In popular thought", *op. cit.* pp. 843-844; see also M. R. Shafī'ī Kadkanī, "J:emāse-yī shī'ī az qarn-e panjom," *Majalle-ye Dāneshkade-ye Adabiyāt va 'Olūm-e Ensānī-ye Mashhad* 33rd year, no. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1379/2000), pp. 425-491; the introduction by J.I. Esmā'īlī to his edition of *Abū Muslim Nāmeḥ*,

Tehran, 2001; the editor's introduction to Rabī' (sic), *'Alī Nāmeḥ*, ed. R. Bayāt-Gholāmī, Tehran, 2010; E. Rossi and A. Bombaci, *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani (fondo mss. Vaticani Cerulli)*, Vatican, 1961, index s.n. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. See also here chap. 9.

{23} "'Alī and the Qur'an (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XIV)," *Journals of Philosophical and Theological Sciences* 98.4 (Oct.-Dec. 2014), pp. 669-704 (also appeared in A. Straface, C. De Angelo & A. Manzo (eds), *Labor Limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni. Studi Magrebini*, Nuova Serie vol. XII-XIII, Naples 2014-2015 -in fact 2018-, volume 1, pp. 1-39).

{24} "Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah. New Remarks on the Origins of Islam and Shi'i Imamology" edited by M.A. Amir-Moezzi, co-edited with D. De Smet, O. Mir- Kasimov, and M. De Cillis, *L'esotérisme shi'ite, ses racines et ses prolongements/Shi'i Esotericism, its Roots and Developments*, Turnhout (Belgium), 2016, pp. 19-54 (English translation: "Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah: New Remarks on the Origins of Islam and of Shi'ite Imamology," *Der Islam* 95.1, 2018, pp. 30-64).

{25} "Considerations on the expression *Dīn 'Alī*. Aux origines de la foi shi'ite," in *ZDMG* 150/1 (2000), pp. 29-68. This article was reprinted in my book *La religion discrète. Croyances et pratiques spirituelles dans l'islam shi'ite*, Paris, 2006 (20152), chap. 1. Reasonably, this study could not be absent from a book devoted to the spiritual figure of 'Alī.

{Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine I : remarques sur la divinité de l'Imam", in *Studia Iranica*, XXV (2), 1996, pp. 193-216. This article became chapter 3 of *La religion discrète*. Like the study presented in the previous note, the presence of this study seemed to me indispensable in the present volume.

{27} "The Five Spirits of the Divine Man (Aspects of the Duodecimal Imamology XIII)", *Der Islam* 92.2 (2015), pp. 297-320 (also appeared in *Gnosis and Manichaeism. Between the oases of Egypt and the Silk Road. Hommage à Jean-Daniel Dubois*, A. Van Den Kerchove & L.G. Soares Santoprete (eds.), Turnhout, 2017, pp. 377-398; abridged version: "Les cinq membres intellectifs de l'homme de Dieu entre l'Antiquité tardive et l'islam shi'ite", *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Avril-Juin 2015 II, pp. 609-625).

{28} "The Night of *Qadr* (Qur'an, Sura 97) in Early Shi'ism (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XV)," *MIDEO* 31 (2016), pp. 181-204.

{29} "Tactical Concealment (*taqiyya*) and the Sealing of Prophecy (*khatm al-nubuwwa*) (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XII)," *Asian Journal* 302.2 (2014), pp. 411-438 (English translation: "New Remarks on Secrecy and Concealment in Early Imāmī Shi'ism: the Case of *khatm al-nubuwwa* - Aspects of Twelver Shi'i Imamology XII" in Sh. Raei (ed.), *Islamic Alternatives. Non-Mainstream Religion in Persianate Societies*, Göttinger Orientforschungen Iranica, Neue Folge 16, Wiesbaden, 2017, pp. 3-27).

{30} "*Al-Durr al-Thamīn* attributed to Rajab al-Bursī. An example of Shi'ite 'personalized Qur'anic commentaries' (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XVI)," *The Museon* 130 (1-2), 2017, pp. 207-240 (also published in Iyas Hassan (ed.), *La littérature aux marges du 'Adab. Regards croisés sur la prose arabe classique*, Paris, Diacritiques Editions, Paris, 2017, pp. 218-266).

{31} "Icon and Contemplation: Between Folk Art and Sufism in Imamite Shi'ism (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology XI)," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, University of Michigan, New Series/vol. 20, 2006 [actually 2010], pp. 1-12 (also published in H. Biesterfeldt und V. Klemm (hrsg.), *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 473-490 and updated in C. Altini, Ph. Hoffmann and J.Rüpke (eds.), *Issues of Interpretation. Texts, Images, Rites*, Stuttgart, 2018, pp. 87-103. English translation: 'Icon and Meditation: Between Popular Art and Sufism in Imami Shi'ism', in P. Khosronejad (ed.), *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism. Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, London-New York, 2012, pp. 25-45).

{32} '*Alī ma'a l-Qur'ān wa l-Qur'ān ma'a 'Alī*... (literally: "'Alī is with the Qur'an and the Qur'an is with 'Alī"); al-Tabarānī Sulaymān b. Aḥmad, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, ed. 'A. Muḥammad,

Madinah, 1388/1968, p. 255; al-J. Iākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, Haydarabad (Riyadh reprint), n. d., p. 124.

{33} Now see the collection of all known sources of this hadith in the anonymous collective work *Kitāb allāh wa ahl al-bayt fī ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*, Qumm, reprint 1388/2009; see also M. M. Bar-Asher *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*, Leiden, 1999, pp. 93-98; Id.,

"Shi'ism and the Qur'ān," in J. D. MacAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, s.v.; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'ān*, *op. cit.*

{34} For discussions of the different meanings given to the phrase "Prophetic Family" in early Islam see M. Sharon, "Ahl al-bayt - People of the House," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986), pp. 169-184; Id., "The Umayyads as ahl al-bayt," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), pp. 115-152; W. Madelung, *Succession to Muḥammad*, introduction; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Considerations on the Expression of *dīn 'Alī*," pp. 39-51 (= *The Discrete Religion*, pp. 28-37); here same chap. 3.

{35} L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Alī b. Abī Tālib," *EI2*, vol. 1, pp. 393a and 396b; I. K. Poonawala, "Alī b. Abī Tālib, i. life," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 843a and E. Kohlberg, "Alī b. Abī Tālib, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," art. cited, p. 843b; A. S. Asani, "Alī b. Abī Tālib," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 1, p. 63.

{36} The term *walī* and that which designates the status of the latter namely *walāya*, roughly equivalent to imam and imamate, are of capital centrality in Shi'ite Islam. The doctrinal meaning of the notion is complex: very quickly stated, *walāya* designates first the covenant or closeness of the imam to God and hence his status and function; secondly the covenant or love of the Shi'ite faithful towards his imam and/or co-religionists; thirdly the theological nature of the figure of the imam as a place of manifestation of the Names of God; see on this subject M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on the Imamite *Walāya* (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology X)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/4 (2002), pp. 722-741 (= *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 7); M. Massi Dakake, *The Charismatic Community: Shi'ite Identity in Early Islam*, Albany, 2007, *passim*. N. Haider, *The Origins of the Shi'a: Identity, Ritual and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa*, Cambridge, 2011, index, s.v.

{37} *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, tradition no. 31, vol. 2 (3 vols), ed. M. B. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khū'īnī, Qumm, 1426/1995, p. 802; see also al-Tūsī, *Amālī*, vol. 2, Qumm, 1993, p. 136; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 40 (110 vols), Tehran-Qumm, 1376-1392/1956-1972, p. 186. With regard to the *tanzīl/ta'wīl* pair, the revelation of Scripture and the search for its hidden meaning, Daniel Gimaret translates them as "the letter" and "the spirit" of the Qur'an, using the famous Pauline pair (see Shahrastānī, *Book of Religions and Sects*, vol. 1, translated by D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Louvain-Paris, 1986, p. 543). In the remainder of this study, I will have recourse to this translation, which seems to me to be the most relevant. Moreover, in ancient times, terms such as *ta'wīl*, *tafsīr*, *ta'bīr*... seem to be equivalent (except when the text explicitly specifies it) and they could be translated indifferently by "hermeneutics", "commentary", "interpretation", "exegesis", "explanation", etc.

{38} 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (attributed to), *Nahj al-balāgha* (compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī), ed. 'A. N. Fayḍ al-Islām, Tehran, 4th ed. 1351/1972, sermon no. 157, p. 499. These kinds of traditions are the basis of the Shi'ite doctrinal couplet that calls the Qur'an 'the silent guide' and the imam 'the speaking Qur'an.' I will come back to this.

{39} Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Qumm, 1360/1960, p. 15; al-Khazzāz al-Rāzī, *Kifāyat al-athar*, ed. A. Kūhkamare'ī, Qumm, 1401/1980, pp. 76, 88, 117, 135 (on p. 66 of this work, in a tradition attributed to the Prophet, it is the *qā'im*, the eschatological savior, who is presented as "the fighter of spiritual hermeneutics"); al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 19, pp. 25-26; al-Baḥrānī Ḥāshim b. Sulaymān, *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (5 vols.), Tehran,

n.d., p. 17. See also M. M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, *op. cit.* p. 88, note 1. It is interesting to note that a large number of Sunni sources also report this tradition and that, in addition, at the Prophet's first statement, Abū Bakr and 'Umar ask him one after another

the other if they, themselves, are that "fighter of the *ta'wīl*"; to which Muḥammad replies that it is 'Alī; see e.g. Ibn J:lanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1313/1896, pp. 31, 33, 82; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḡ*, vol. 8 (9 vols), ed. S. M. al-Laḥḥām, Beirut, 1409/1989, p. 64; al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, no. 156, ed. al-Dānī b. Munīr Al Zahwī, Saida-Beirut, 1424/2004, pp. 116-117; al-J:Iākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-ṣaḥīḥayn* (above note 1), vol. 3, p. 122; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *l-filyat al-awliyā'*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1351/1932-1933, p. 67.

{40} See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, § 1676, ed. C. Pellat, Beirut, 1965-1979, (trans. C. Pellat, *Les Prairies d'or*, vol. 3, Paris, 1962-1997, p. 655 : " By Him who holds my life in his hand, just as we fought them (in the past) in the name of the revelation (of the Koran), we certainly fight them today for its interpretation ").

{41} *Jihād* (conventionally translated as "holy war") is the action noun of the active participle *mujāhid*, a term found (alongside the term *muqātil*) in the title of the hadith of the "Fighter of the *ta'wīl*". This hermeneutical conception of the battles of 'Alī is admirably defended, several centuries later, by the great philosopher Mollā Sadrā (d. 1050/1640) in his poetry, which shows the great longevity of the doctrine; see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "The Fighter of the *Ta'wīl*: A Poem by Mollā Sadrā on 'Alī (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology IX)," *Asian Journal* 292/1-2 (2004), pp. 331-359 (*The Discreet Religion*, chap. 9; also appeared in T. Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought. Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, London-New York, 2005, article no. 31).

{42} Al-Kirmānī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, ed. M. Ghālib, Beirut, 1983, p. 156.

{43} Al-J:Iākim al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1393/1974, p. 35. The doctrinal affiliation of al-J:Iaskānī is not certain. He seems to have been a Sunni ḥanafī with strong Shi'ite and mystical sympathies or even more likely a crypto-Shi'ite practicing *taqiyya* (the duty of secrecy); see E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992, pp. 150-151.

{44} On the complexity of the term *ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*, *aḥruf*, (letter, reading, expression, theme...) in the context of Quranic sciences see C. Gilliot, "Les sept "Lectures". Corps social et Écriture révélée," *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985), pp. 5-25 and (1986), pp. 49-62; Id, *Exegesis, language and theology in Islam: the Qur'anic exegesis of Tabari (d. 311/923)*, Paris, 1990, chap. V, Part 1, pp. 112-126 ; K. Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar and Qur'anic Exegesis in Early Islam*, Leiden, 1993, index s.v.; V. Comero, *Traditions on the constitution of the muṣḥaf of 'Uthmān*, Beirut, 2012, pp. 119 sqq. ("The theme of the seven *aḥruf*").

{45} Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *l-filyat al-awliyā'*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1351/1932, p. 65 (tradition attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd); al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, Najaf, n. d., p. 448 (tradition attributed to Ibn 'Abbās).

{46} Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Faqīh wa l-mutaḥaqqiq*, vol. 2, ed. I. al-Anṣārī, Beirut, 1395/1975, p. 167; al-J:Iākim al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, pp. 30-31; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, Beirut (facsimile of the Cairo litho. edition of 1328/1910), n.d., p. 509; Id., *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa faḍlihi*, vol. 1, Cairo, n. d., p. 114; Ibn J:Iajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, Haydarabad, 1325/1907, p. 7, no. 338.

{47} Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1376/1956, vol. 2, p. 338; al-J:Iākim al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 33; Abū Nu'aym, *l-filyat al-awliyā'*, vol. 1, p. 68; al-Khwārazmī, *al-Manāqib (= Manāqib Amīr al-mu'minīn)*, Najaf, 1385/1965, p. 46.

{48} Al-J:Iākim al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 36 (tradition attributed to 'Amir al-Sha'bī); see also al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Khaṣā'is amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, Beirut, 1406/1986, p. 41; on 'Alī as the first to seek to assemble a Qur'anic codex, see A. Mingana, "The Transmission of the Qur'ān," *The Muslim World* 7, 1917, pp. 223-232 and 402-414 (citation p. 226).

{49} I. K. POONAWALA, "'Alī b. Abī Tālib; i. Life," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 839b; now E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification. The Kitāb al-Qir'āt of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*, Leiden, 2009, introduction, *passim*. The assumption that the

codex of 'Alī would have been very different from the Qur'an as we know it is plausible, and the thesis of T. Nöldeke, rejecting the very existence of such a codex elaborated by 'Alī, is no longer tenable (T. Nöldeke *et al.*, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, vol. 2 (3 vols.), Leipzig, 1909-1938, pp. 8-11); see now S. Kara, *In Search of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib's Codex. History and Traditions of the Earliest Copy of the Qur'ān*, Berlin, 2018.

{50} See especially E. Kohlberg, "Some Notes on the Imamite Attitude to the Qur'ān," in S. M. Stern *et al* (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical tradition. Essays Presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 209-224; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin dans le shfisme originel. Aux sources de l'ésotérisme en islam*, Paris, 1992 (20072), pp. 200-227; Id, *Le Coran silencieux, op. cit.*, chapters 1 and 2; E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, Introduction, pp. 24 ff (with the mention of all the studies on the subject in notes 116-119)

{51} Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, ed. 'A. Wağdī Wā'iz Carandābī, with introduction and commentaries by F. Zanjānī, 2nd ed., Tabriz, 1371/1952, pp. 54-56; also in *Silsilat mu'allafāt al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*, vol. 4, ed. I. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khū'nī with the editor's comments and those of Faḍlallāh Zanjānī (reissue of the Tabriz ed.), 1993, pp. 80-82; see also D. Sourdél, *L'Imamisme vu par le Cheikh al-Mufīd*, Paris, 1974, pp. 73-75; E. Kohlberg, "Some Notes on the Imamite Attitude to the Qur'ān," art. cited, pp. 215-216; M. J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)*, Beirut, 1978, pp. 96-98; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "al-Sayḥ al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and the Question of Falsification of the Qur'ān," in D. De Smet and M.A. Amir-Moezzi(eds.), *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam*, Paris, 2014, the section on the first passage of the *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, pp. 210-213. After al-Mufīd, many other Shi'ite authors supported the same doctrine.

{52} M. Ayoub, "The Speaking Qur'ān and the Silent Qur'ān: A Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Tafsīr," in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 177-198; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'ān*, *passim* and esp. chap. 3; on the necessity of the imam's hermeneutics for a proper understanding of the Qur'an see also M. M. Bar-Asher, "The Authority to Interpret the Qur'an," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London, 2014, pp. 149-162.

{53} *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, ed. M. R. al-J:Iusaynī, Beirut, 1408/1987. The book is known by several titles: *Tanzīl al-āyāt al-munzala fī manāqīb ahl al-bayt* (The Revelation of the Verses Concerning the Virtues of the People of the Prophetic Family), *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn* (What was revealed in the Qur'an about the Commander of the Believers, *i. e.* 'Alī), *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ahl al-bayt* (What was revealed in the Qur'an about the People of the Prophetic Family), etc. On this author and his work, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "The *Tafsīr* of al-J:Iibarī (d. 286/899). Qur'anic Exegesis and Early Shi'ite Esotericism," *Journal of Scholars*, January-June 2009, pp. 3-23 (English transl. in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, Part II, chap. 5). A modified version of this article constitutes the third chapter of M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 101-125.

{54} On the *asbāb al-nuzūl*, see A. Rippin, "Occasions of Revelation," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 3, pp. 569-573; M. Yahia, "Circumstances of Revelation," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionary of the Qur'ān*, Paris, 2007, pp. 168-171. On the figure of Ibn 'Abbās, see the seminal article by C. Gilliot, "Le portrait "mythique" d'Ibn 'Abbās," *Arabica* 32/2 (1985), pp. 127-184.

{M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 115-117. The "personalized commentary", perhaps the oldest form of esoteric exegesis of the Qur'an in Shi'ism, identifies this or that personage of early Islam under the veil of Qur'anic verses. In this distribution, 'Alī wins by far the lion's share. See here, chap. 8.

{56} *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, tradition no. 6, p. 238.

{57} *Ibid*, tradition no. 8, pp. 240-241.

{*Ibid*, tradition no. 12, p. 247. On this verse see P. Ballanfat and M. Yahia, art. "Ordalia," in *Dictionary of the Qur'an*, op. cit. pp. 618-620; on the concept see L. Schmucker, art. "Mubāhala," *EI2*, vol. 7, p. 278.

{59} *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, tradition no. 22, p. 260.

{60} *Ibid*, tradition no. 24, pp. 262-263. The sentence, attributed to the Prophet, is called in Shi'ism, "the hadith of *walāya*" (on this term, see above note 5 and below). Delivered in Ghadīr Khumm, it is supposed to proclaim 'Alī as the successor of Muḥammad (on this location, highly emblematic for the Shi'ites, see L. Veccia Vaglieri, *EI2*; Massi Dakake & A. Kazemi Moussavi in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10, pp. 246-249; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, vol. 5, pp. 123-128). On the exegesis of this verse 5:67, see also note 53 below and the related text.

{61} The story implies that during the Prophet's lifetime, his opponents, hypocrites and tacticians, were present among his followers and that the question of his succession was a source of extreme tension.

{62} *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, tradition no. 41, pp. 285-287.

{*Ibid*. tradition no. 32, p. 272.

{*Ibid*. tradition no. 34, p. 274.

{65} *Ibid*, tradition no. 42, p. 288. On the *walāya* of 'Alī in the Qur'an see below.

{*Ibid*. traditions nos. 50-59, pp. 297-311. This exegesis, particularly prized by the Shi'ites, has again numerous occurrences, including in Sunni sources; see *ibid*, pp. 502-533 (the editor's notes). See also above notes 2 and 3 and related texts.

{67} For references to this work, see note 6 above. On this book, whose early parts are said to be among the oldest Islamic sources, see H. Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2003, pp. 82-86; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Bibliographical Note on the *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*. The Oldest Existing Shi'ite Work," in Id, M.M. Bar-Asher & S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmite Shi'ism Forty Years Later. A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 33-48 (Chapter 1 of *The Silent Qur'an* is an amplified version of this article); M. Massi Dakake, "Writing and Resistance: The Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Early Shi'ism," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, op. cit. part III.8, pp. 181-201; R. Gleave, "Early Shiite hermeneutic.

{68} *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, vol. 2, pp. 643-644 (tradition no. 11).

{69} *Ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 832-833 (tradition no. 41).

{70} *Ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 885-886 (tradition no. 54).

{71} *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 903 (tradition no. 60).

{72} M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Le *Tafsīr* d'al-J:Iibārī...", art. cit. pp. 15-17 = Id, *The Silent Quran*, p. 116-117). Among the works, which have come down to us and been published, are: al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī (d. after 470/1077-1078), *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, ed. M. B. Maḥmūdī (already cited); Ibn al-Bīṭrīq al-J:Iillī (d. 600/1203-1204), *Khaṣā'is al-wahy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn*, M. B. Maḥmūdī, Tehran, 1406/1986; al-J:Iāfīz Rajab al-Bursī (^{8th/14th} c.), *al-Durr al-thamīn fī khams mi'a āya nazalat fī amīr al-mu'minīn*, ed. al-Sayyid 'A. 'Ashūr, Beirut, 1424/2003 (see here chapter 8); al-Baḥrānī Hāshim b. Sulaymān (^{11th-12th/17th-18th} c.), *al-Lawāmi' al-nūrāniyya fī asmā' amīr al-mu'minīn al-qur'āniyya*, Qumm, 1394/1974-1975; al-Burūjirdī al-J:Iusayn b. Bāqir (^{13th/19th} c.), *al-Naṣṣ al-jalī fī arba'in āya fī sha'n 'Alī*, Tehran, 1320/1902-1903; the contemporary scholar, S. M. J:Iusaynī Bahārānchī, *Ayāt al-faḍā'il yā faḍā'il-e 'Alī dar Qur'ān*, Qumm, 1380/2001. For Qur'anic allusions to 'Alī among Ismaili Shi'ites see D. De Smet, "The Qur'an, Its Origin, Nature and Falsification. Controversial Ismaili Positions," in Id. and M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds.), *Controversies on the Canonical Scriptures of Islam* (above note 20), subchapter entitled "The presence of 'Alī in the Qur'an," pp. 258-262.

{73} See e.g. E. Kohlberg, "'Alī b. Abī Tālib, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," art. cited, p. 843 b.

{74} See, e.g., *Tafsīr al-lfībarī*, tradition ^{no.} 2, p. 233; Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. M. al-Kāzim, Tehran, 1410/1990, pp. 45ff; al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, nos. 57ff. The tradition is also attributed to the Prophet.

{75} Al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī, *op. cit.*, 1, pp 39 ff (tradition dating back to Ibn 'Abbās).

{76} *Ibid*, 1: 43 (tradition going back to Mujāhid).

{See above. Also E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, especially the introduction; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, especially chapters 1-3; Id., *La Preuve de Dieu. La mystique shi'ite à travers l'oeuvre de Kulaynī (IXe-Xe siècle)*, Paris, 2018, pp. 12 ff and 26 ff.

{78} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, vol. 4 (4 vols), ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, Tehran, n. d., with Persian translations (the 4th vol., translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī dates from 1386/1966), kitāb faḍl al-Qur'ān, bāb al- nawādir, ^{no.} 3570, pp. 440-441.

{79} Al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1397/1977, chap. 21, ^{no.} 5, p. 452. In Sura 111 (al-Masad), Abū Lahab is indeed presented as a highly negative character.

{80} Al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt/al-Tanzīl wa l-tahrīf*, ed. E. Kohlebrg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, p. 20, ^{no.} 62 (Arabic text), commentary in English, p. 80, ^{no.} 62. On mentions of *walāya* in the Qur'an, see also Amir-Moezzi, *Proof of God*, pp. 126ff.

{81} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, kitāb al-ḥujja, bāb fīhi nukat wa nutaf min al-tanzīl fī l-walāya, vol. 2, p. 285, ^{no.} 31.

{82} Al-Sayyārī, *op. cit.* p. 20, ^{no.} 61 (Arabic text); see also Commentaries, pp. 79-80, ^{no.} 61 (English commentary).

{83} Al-Qummī 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, ed. al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī, Najaf, 1386-87/1966-68, vol. 1, p. 159; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, Qumm, 1380/1960, vol. 1, p. 285; al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 295, ^{no.} 59; al-Baḥrānī, *al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 428; al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Ṣāfi fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (2 vols.), Tehran, n. d., p. 414; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 36, p. 99.

{84} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 45, ^{no.} 165 (Arabic text), pp. 115-116 (English commentary); al- Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 201; al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Ṣāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 460, 462-63; al-Baḥrānī, *Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 501 (where instead of *fī 'Alī* - "about 'Alī" there is *anna 'Aliyyan mawlā l-mu'minīn* - "about 'Alī being the patron saint of believers"-; *mawlā* belongs to the same root as *walāya*). On *mu'min* - literally "believer" - with the technical meaning of an initiate in the teachings of the imams, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. See also supra notes 29-31 and related texts (the exegesis of this same verse in al-J:Iibarī does not mention an explicit mention of 'Alī by the Qur'an, probably because this author seems to avoid explicitly addressing the issue of Qur'anic falsification; see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*, p. 113).

{85} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 52, ^{no.} 195 (and p. 53, ^{no.} 196, with the variant: '*Alī is not his legatee?*'), pp. 125-126 (commentary); al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 41; al-Baḥrānī, *Burhān*, vol. 2,

p. 50; al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Ithbāt al-hudāt*, republished Tehran, 1364/1985, vol. 3, p. 545; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 9, p. 256. On this verse see R. Gramlich, "Der Urvertrag in der Koranauslegung (zu Sura 7,172- 173)," *Der Islam* 60 (1983), pp. 205-230.

{86} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 74, nos. 282 and 286 (Arabic text), pp. 155-17 (commentary). A very large number of Shi'i sources, both Duodecimal and Ismaili, have reported this version of the verse. In general, the reading of this verse has posed many problems for medieval Muslim scholars as well as for orientlists and Islamists. Madelung and Walker translated it as: "This is the straight path of 'Alī" (in W. Madelung & P. Walker, *The Advent of the*

Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness. An Edition and English Translation of Ibn al-Haytham's Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt, London, 2000, p. 85 (English text = p. 29 Arabic text); see also D. De Smet, "The Qur'an, its Origin, Nature and Falsification. Controversial Ismaili Positions" (above note 41), p. 259.

{87} Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, p. 234; al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 383; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 257; al-Baḥrānī, *Burhān*, vol. 2, p. 363; al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Šāfi*, vol. 1, p. 920; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 9, p. 102 and vol. 36, p. 104.

{88} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 21, no. 65 (Arabic text) and p. 87, no. 339 (Arabic text), pp. 80-81 (commentary). In al-Sayyārī, unlike almost all other sources the name of Fāṭima is not mentioned (beginning with al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, kitāb al-ḥujja, vol. 2, p. 283, no. 23).

{89} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 111, no. 428 (Arabic text), p. 202 (commentary); al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 198; al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, *ibid.* 2, p. 279, no. 8; al-Baḥrānī, *Burhān*, vol. 3, p. 340; al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Šāfi*, vol. 2, p. 369.

{90} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 111, nos. 425 and 426 (Arabic text), pp. 201-202 (commentary).

{91} Al-Sayyārī, *Qirā'āt*, p. 134, no. 501 (Arabic text), pp. 223-224 (commentary). For Ismaili authors see Madelung-Walker, *op. cit.* (above note 55), p. 85 ("In the mother of the Book wick is with us, he is 'Alī, full of wisdom" = p. 29 of the Arabic text); D. De Smet, "Le Coran, son origine...", art. cit.

{92} See M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 210-214; Id, "Notes on the Imamite *walāya*," art. cited, pp. 723-726 (= *The Discrete Religion*, pp. 178-183); M. M. Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings and Additions of the Imāmī-Sī'a to the Quran," *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993), pp. 39-

74. Moreover, in the commentaries on al-Sayyārī's *Kitāb al-qirā'āt* (Kohlerg & Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*), numerous occurrences of the traditions are indicated.

{93} On these data see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, parts II/1 and 2 ("The Worlds before the World. The Light-Guide" and "Adamic Humanity. The "Journey" of the Light"), *op. cit.*, pp. 73-112; Id, "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Twelver Shi'ism", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 317-322; Id. *La Religion discrète*, chap. 4 ("La pré-existence de l'Imam"), pp. 109-133; Id. and Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme ?*, Paris, 2004, parts I-1, pp. 27-40; II-2, pp. 104-110 and 121-129.

{94} Apart from the references given in the previous note, see my monograph, "Notes on the Imamite *walāya*" (also above note 5 and related text); two seminal articles by U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and light. Aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119; Id, "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shī'a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65; on *amr* see the classic study by S. Pines, "Shī'ite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's Kuzari," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980), pp. 165-251 and now E. Krinis, *God's Chosen People: Judah Halevi's Kuzari and the Shī'ī Imām Doctrine*, Turnhout, 2014, index s.v. Order (*amr*).

{95} D. Gimaret, *Les Noms divins en Islam*, Paris, 1988, index s.v. 'alī.

{96} Ibn Shādhān, *Mi'a manqaba*, Qumm, 1413/1993, "manqaba" 7, p. 48; al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, vol. 1, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tabriz, republished Qumm, 1381/1962, p. 291; al-Khwārazmī, *Maqṭal al-lfusayn*, vol. 1, Qumm, n. d., p. 46.

{97} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mirzā Kūčebāghī, section 2, chapters 6-16, Tabriz, 2nd ed. s. d. (ca. 1960) (= ed. K), pp. 67-90; new edition by 'A. Zakīzādeh Ranānī, vol. 1 (2 vols.), with Persian transl., Qumm, 1391/2012 (= ed. Z), pp. 275-350. See also al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 26, pp. 280ff. On the author, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4.

{98} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chapters 7-12; see also above note 54 and related text.

{99} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chapter 6, pp. 67-68 (ed. K); vol. 1, pp. 275-278 (ed. Z). For the technical term of the Fallen, taken from the phrase *al-mu'min imṭaḥana llāhu qalbahu li l-īmān* (the believer -

or the initiate - whose heart God has tested for faith), see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. *imtiḥān* (*al-qalb*).

{100} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 8. On "the Worlds before the world," see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II-1, pp. 75ff.

{101} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 7, pp. 70-71 (ed. K); vol. 1, pp. 284-292 (ed. Z). See above note 57 and related text; also M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 212; M. M. Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings," art. cited, p. 64.

{102} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 9, pp. 74-75 (ed. K); vol. 1, pp. 299-302 (ed. Z).

{103} *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.*, no. 7, p. 75 (ed. K); vol. 1, p. 301 (ed. Z); also *al-Uṣūl al-sittat 'ashar*, Qumm, 2nd ed., 1405/1984, p. 60; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 26, p. 281, no. 30.

{104} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 8, p. 72, no. 1 (ed. K); vol. 1, p. 293, no. 1 (ed. Z). See also al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, kitāb al-ḥujja, vol. 1, p. 437; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 26, p. 280, no. 24; al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, p. 82; al-Bahrānī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, Qumm, n. d., p. 207.

{105} Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, p. 387; al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī*, Persian text and trans. by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran 1389/1969, vol. 2, p. 163, no. 502; id., *Uṣūl*, kitāb al-ḥujja, vol. 2, p. 285, no. 32 (shorter version); al-Fayḍ al-Kashānī, *Ṣāfī*, vol. 2, p. 509.

{106} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chapters 7-12; also Ibn Bābūya, *Ma'ānī l-akḥbār*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1379/1959, pp. 107-109; Id., *al-Khiṣāl*, Najaf, 1391/1971, p. 246; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Tālib*, 3 vols, Najaf, 1375-76/1956, vol. 1, p. 214.

{107} Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, p. 94; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 14, p. 401 and vol. 26, pp. 333 ff. See also M. M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, p. 200.

{108} Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 35; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 5, p. 345 and vol. 14, p. 55; al-Bahrānī,

Burhān, vol. 2, p. 44; M. M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, pp. 200-201.

{109} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 7, nos. 5 and 8, pp. 71-72 (ed. K); pp. 289 and 291 (ed. Z); and chap. 10, no. 5,

p. 77 (ed. K); pp. 308-309 (ed. Z); Furāt, *Tafsīr*, pp. 121-122; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 3, p. 400, no. 150, vol. 23, p. 208, no. 1; vol. 35, p. 369, no. 14; al-J:luwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, 4th edn, Qumm, 1412/1991, vol. 1, p. 595.

{110} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 8, no. 3, p. 73 (ed. K); pp. 294-295 (ed. Z); al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 36, p. 95, no. 27.

{111} *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.* no. 9, p. 74 (ed. K); pp. 297-298 (ed. Z); al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 39, p. 273, no. 50.

{112} *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, chap. 10, no. 10, p. 79 (ed. K); p. 314 (ed. Z); Ibn Bābūya, *al-Khiṣāl*, vol. 2, p. 600; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 23, p. 69, no. 4; al-J:luwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, vol. 3, p. 98.

{113} Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 28, p. 306, no. 13. Compare with Ibn al-Bīṭrīq, *Khaṣā'is*, p. 98 and Ibn Tāwūs, *al-Tarā'if fi ma'rifa madhāhib al-ṭawā'if*, Qumm, 1400/1979, p. 101.

{114} Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, p. 371, no. 503.

{115} On these preaches, their nature, their number, their titles and the sources that transmitted them, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Remarks on the divinity of the Imam", art. cited (= *La Religion discrète*, chap. 3). Here also chap. 4.

{116} Furāt, *Tafsīr*, p. 178, no. 230.

{117} Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, pp. 17-18, no. 42; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 3, p. 389. On 'Alī as "Chief" or "Commander of the Bees" (*amīr al-naḥl*), see I. Goldziher, "Schi'tisches," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44 (1910), pp. 532-33, reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. De Somogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-1970, vol. 5, pp. 213-14.

{118} The text of the "Pronoun of the Clear Declaration" (*khutbat al-bayān*) in the version transmitted by al-Kashfī Ja'far, *Tuhfat al-mulūk*, s.l. (Iran), n. d., (litho. ed. in 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 20-28; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Remarks on the Divinity of the Imam," art. cited, pp. 210-214 (= *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 3, pp. 105-108).

{119} The references are innumerable; let us content ourselves with the following: al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, section 2, all of chapter 3; Ibn Bābūya, *al-Amālī/al-Majālīs*, Persian ed. and trans. by M. B. Kamarehī,

Tehran, 1404/1984, "majlis" 9 and 10; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 22, pp. 212 ff; vol. 34, pp. 109

sqq.

{120} L. Massignon, *La Passion de Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, vol. 4 (4 vols.), Paris, reed. 1975, index of technical terms, s.v. *lāhūt*, *lāhūtī*, *lāhūtīyya*, *nāsūt*, *nāsūtīyya*; R. Arnaldez, "Lāhūt and Nāsūt," *EI2*, s.v.; and D. De Smet's numerous and fine observations in *Les Epftres sacrées des Druzes*, Leuven, 2007, index. s.v.

{See the now classic work by H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982; more recently M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam. The Ghulat Muslims and Their Beliefs*, London-New York, 2017. See also, among others, T. Andrae, *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (trans. J. Roche), Paris, 1955; E. Rabbath, *L'Orient chrétien à la veille de l'Islam*, Beirut, 1989.

{For example, in verses 1:15, John the Baptist says of Jesus, "Before me he was", or in verse 8:58, Jesus himself says, "Truly I say to you, before Abraham was, I was" (literally, "I am").

{The presence of such Christological and Gnostic doctrines in early Shi'ism is hardly in doubt. What is open to debate is the milieu and means of their transmission in the land of Islam. See, among others, L. Massignon, "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1937, pp. 55-77 (reprinted in Id., *Opera minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 499-513); Id., "Der gnostische Kult der Fatima im schiitischen Islam", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1938, pp. 161-173 (= *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pp. 514-522); H. Corbin, "De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne", in *Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo. Convegno di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Rome, 1957, pp. 105-146 (reprinted in Id., *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne*, Paris, 1982, 3rd part); Id., "L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne", in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome, 1971, pp. 37-68; U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light," 1975 (see above note 63); H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heislehre der frühen Ismā'īliyya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*, Wiesbaden, 1978; Id., "Das 'Buch der Schatten'. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der ghulāt und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairierts", *Der Islam* 55 (1978), pp. 219-265 and 58 (1981), pp. 15-86; D. De Smet, "Au-delà de l'apparent : les notions de *ẓāhir* et *bāṭin* in Muslim esotericism," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994), pp. 197-220; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 157-158, 204ff, 215ff.

{124} A question to which a satisfactory answer has not yet been given; see on this subject J. Van Reeth, "Ville céleste, ville sainte, ville idéale dans la tradition musulmane," *Acta Orientalia Belgica* 24 (2011), p. 125 and especially "Le Coran silencieux: nouvelles perspectives sur les origines de l'islam," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 230/3 (July-September 2013), pp. 393-394.

{125} See, e.g., among many older studies, J. Van Reeth, "La cosmologie de Bardaysān," *Parole de l'Orient* 31 (2006), pp. 133-144; Id., "La typologie du prophète selon le Coran: le cas de Jésus," in G. Dye and F. Nobilio (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Brussels, 2011, pp. 81-105; Id., "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", in C. A. Segovia & B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where and to Whom? Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansbrough*, Piscataway, 2012, pp. 423-452. See also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, Bonn, 1941; G. Lüling, *Die Wiederentdeckung des propheten Muḥammad. Eine Kritik am "christlichen" Abendland*, Erlangen, 1981; B. G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and other early Christian witnesses*, Leiden, 2009.

{126} The sources on these data are innumerable. A relevant synthesis can be found in E. Kohlberg, art. "Alī b. Abī Tāleb, ii. 'Alī as seen by the community," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 845-847; on the sources, see here chap. 4. On these questions see also the contribution of O. Mir-Kasimov to the present work.

{On the two ancient Imamite traditions, pre- and post-Buwayhid, and on the artificial division between a "moderate" and an "extremist" Shi'ism, especially in the early period, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, introduction, pp. 13-58 and conclusion, pp. 312-317; Id. on "al-Saffār al-

Qummi (d. 290/902-3) and his *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *Asian Journal* 280/ 3-4 (1992), pp. 221-250 (expanded and somewhat modified version in *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4); and now Id., "The Imams and the Ghulāt. New reflections on the relationship between 'moderate' Imamism and 'extremist' Shi'ism," in *Shi'i Studies Review* (2020), pp. 5-38.

{128} On the great compilations of Imamite Hadith, see E. Kohlberg, "Shī'ī J:Iadīth," in A. F.

L. Beeston *et al* (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature I. Arabic Literature to the End of Umayyad Period*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 299-307; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 48-58; Id, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 116-117. On Safavid-era philosophers and the ontological *walāya* (as opposed to the juridical *walāya* - *al-walāya al-tashrī'iyya* - claimed by the Doctors of the Law), see the study by S. Rizvi, "Seeking the Face of God": the Safawid *ʿIḥkām* Tradition's Conceptualization of *Walāya Takwīniyya*," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam*, pp. 391-410 and also M. Terrier's contribution to this book.

{129} In Sunnism, the evolution of the figure of 'Alī is totally different. The Umayyad period, apart from a few short parentheses, seems to have been marked by an asserted detestation, illustrated by public curses of 'Alī and his descendants, on the orders of the authorities. At the same time, some of the Prophet's other "Companions" would have been elevated to the rank of divine men, most likely to neutralize 'Alī's Shi'ite image; this seems particularly notable in the case of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a historical adversary of 'Alī and sanctified thanks to his image as the champion of Arab conquests (See in particular A. Hakim, "'Umar b. al-ijattāb, Caliph by the Grace of God," *Arabica* 54/3 (2008), pp. 317-336; Id. at "Umar b. al-ijattāb: Religious and Moral Authority," *Arabica* 55/1 (2008), pp. 1-34). The arrival of the Abbasids, at first themselves Shi'ites, marked the end of the propaganda of hatred of 'Alī but, by "sunnitizing" itself out of political pragmatism, the new power would trivialize and reclaim him by placing him on the same level as the other three "rightly guided caliphs" and other now canonized "Companions" of the Prophet (On the late counting of 'Alī as the fourth and last of the "rightly guided caliphs" (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 225ff; J. Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, vol. 3 (6 vols), Berlin-New York, 1991-1997, pp. 450 ff. For the late development of the Sunni doctrine of the "The "sanctity" of the Companions (*ṣaḥāba*) of the Prophet, see now A. Osman, "'Adālat al-ṣaḥāba: The Construction of a Religious Doctrine," *Arabica* 60/3-4 (2013), pp. 272-305).

{It should be remembered that even if the Alids, later called Shi'ites, were in the minority at the beginning of Islam, they seem to have been at the center of the history and doctrinal elaborations of this religion during the first three or four centuries of the hegira. It was in fact towards the end of the third/ninth

century, after centuries of violence and civil wars, that Sunni "orthodoxy", many of whose doctrines were developed in reaction to Shi'ism, which was now considered as

The "heterodox" view of the *Qur'an* will be imposed on the majority of Muslims; see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, *passim* and in particular p. 128.

{P. Casanova, *Mohammed and the End of the World. Étude critique sur l'islam primitif*, Paris, 1911-1913 (2 vols + 1 vol. of notes) and 1924 (1 vol. of additional notes). According to Casanova, it is impossible for the Koran, an eminently eschatological and apocalyptic book - at least in the final suras of its known version - and an extension of the holy books of the Judeo-Christian tradition, to have said nothing about the figure of the Savior. The astonishing absence of this figure in the Koran would be due to the subsequent deletion of numerous passages by the caliphal authorities, because the messianic dimension of the Koran would have given it too much of a Shi'ite appearance (*ibid.*, chapter VI, p. 54-67 and chapter VII, p. 68-69). These assertions of the French scholar, a professor at the Collège de France, are in line with the ancient Shi'ite doctrine of *tahrīf*, i.e., the deletion of large passages from the Qur'an by the opponents of the Alids, a Shi'ite doctrine that Casanova, however, seems to be unaware of. For a reminder of the importance of Casanova's work see now F. Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers: at the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2010, pp. 79-82 and especially S. J.

Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet: the End of Muḥammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia, 2012, pp. 118-196. See also J. Van Reeth, "Muḥammad: the first to raise his head," in A. Fodor (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic 26-27)* (2003), pp. 83-96.

{I thank Guillaume Dye wholeheartedly for his careful reading of the "first draft" of this study and for his erudite and pertinent reflections. For the reasons just mentioned, the translation of these suras is sometimes particularly difficult. As an example, just for the term that provided its most usual title to this sura, namely *al-takwīr*, Kasimirski proposes "the folded sun" (*Le Coran*, Paris 2010⁸, p. 514), R. Blachère: "the Darkening" (*Le Coran. Al- Qor'ân*, Paris, 1966², p. 638); D. Masson: "le Décrochement" (*Le Coran*, Paris, 1967, vol. 2, p. 743); J. Berque: "le Reploiement" (*Le Coran. Essai de traduction*, Paris, 1995², p. 664), etc.

{133} The term means moment, instant, hour, very short time. Defined by the article *al-*, as is the case in the Qur'anic occurrences where it means the end of the world, it also takes on the meaning of expressions signifying immediacy such as "at once", "on the spot", "at once", and this even in modern Arabic.

{*Wa kullu amrin mustaqarr*. On the apocalyptic and eschatological dimensions of the Qur'anic term *amr*, which is difficult to translate (rendered here as "decree"), see J. Bajlon, "The *Amr* of God in the Qur'ân," *Acta Orientalia* 22 (1958), pp. 7-18; M.J. Kister, "A Booth like the Booth of Moses...A Study of an Early *lfadīth*," *BSOAS* 25 (1962), pp. 150-155; D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, Princeton, 2002, pp. 271-272; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet. The End of Muḥammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia, 2012, index s.v.

{135} C.S. Hurgronje, "Der Mahdi," *Revue coloniale internationale* 1 (1886), pp. 239-273; Id, "A New Biography of Muhammad," *Journal of the History of Religion* 15, no. 30 (1894), pp. 48-70 and 149-178 (reply to H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster, 1892) (these two articles were republished in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, ed. A. J. Wensinck, Bonn-Leipzig, 1923-1927)

{136} P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde. Étude critique sur l'Islam*, Paris, 1911-1913 [1924].

{137} T. Andrae, "Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum", *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 23 (1923), pp. 149-206; 24 (1924), pp. 213-292 [our subject is treated especially on pages 213-247]; and *ibid*, 25 (1925), pp. 45-112 (transl. by J. Roche: *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, Paris, 1955, esp. pp. 67-100); see also Id, *Muhammad: The Man and His Faith*, transl. T.W. Menzel, New York, 1960, pp. 5 ff (English translation of : *Mohammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube*, Göttingen, 1932).

{138} P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1977. Apart from this study, the two scholars have repeated their theses, more or less evolved, in numerous other publications.

{139} S. Bashear, "The Title '*Fārūq*' and Its Association with 'Umar I,'" *SI* 72 (1990), pp. 47-70 ; "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *JRAS* 1 (1991), pp. 173-207; "Riding Beast on Divine Missions: An Examination of the Ass and Camel Traditions," *JSS* 37 (1991), pp. 37-75; "Muslim Apocalypses and the Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation", *IOS* 13 (1993), pp. 75-100; now collected in the author's collection of articles: *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, Jerusalem, 2004.

{140} D. Cook, "Muslim Apocalyptic and *Jihād*," *JSOI* 20 (1996), pp. 66-105; "Muslim Materials on Comets and Meteorites," *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 30 (1999), pp. 131-160; Id., "Messianism and Astronomical Events during the First Four Centuries of Islam," in M. Garcia Arenal (ed.), *Mahdism and Millenarianism in Islam*, *MMMWR* special issue 91-94 (2000-2001), pp. 29-52; and the monograph which, in addition to new studies, partly takes up some of the material of these articles: *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, Princeton, 2002.

{141} E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète. Aux origines de l'islam*, tome 1: " De Qumrân à Muḥammad " + tome 2: " Du Muḥammad des Califes au Muḥammad de l'histoire ", Paris, 2007- 2008.

{142} S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, Philadelphia, 2012 (already cited), especially chap. 3, pp. 118- 196 which contains a very useful bibliographical survey of the subject. See also now his article: "'The Reign of God Has Come': Eschatology and Empire in Late Antiquity and Early Islam," *Arabica* 61.5 (2014), pp. 514-558; as well as his more recent work, *The Apocalypse of Empire. Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Philadelphia, 2018.

{143} Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, Beirut, 1969, 6 vols, vol. 3, pp. 310-311.

{144} A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin, 1869, vol. 1, p. 533 (let us emphasize that this tradition shows once again, if it were still necessary, how much, in the composition of the Koran, the chronological order of the revelations was upset). A tradition analyzed at length by P. Casanova, *Muhammad and the End of the World*, pp. 1ff; also S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, pp. 172-173. In the same chapter of his book (pp. 535-536), Sprenger reports another prophetic tradition in which Muḥammad, pointing to a young man, is said to have said, "before he grows old the Hour will come." For early sources on this tradition (Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fī l-aḥādīth wa l-āthār*, ed. al-Afghānī-al-Nadwī, 15 vols, Bombay, 1979-1983, vol. 15, p. 168; Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, pp. 192, 213, 228, 269, 283; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5 vols, Beirut, 1995, vol. 4, pp. 1495-1496) see S. Bashear, "Muslim Apocalypses," p. 89 and the analysis in S. Shoemaker, *Death of A Prophet*, p. 174. On the disbelief of Muḥammad's opponents and the Qur'an's eschatological responses, see M. Azaiez, "Eschatological Counter-Discourses in the Qur'an and the Sanhedrin Treaty. A Reflection on the Forms of Qur'anic Polemic," in: F. Déroche, C. Robin and M. Zink (eds), *Les origines du Coran, le Coran des origines*, Paris, 2015, pp. 111-127.

{145} Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, ed. E. Sachau, 9 vols, Leiden, 1904-1908, vol. 1.1, p. 65; P. Casanova, *Mohammed and the End of the World*, p. 3ff; S. Shoemaker, *Death of A Prophet*, p. 172.

{146} I take the translation of P. Casanova, "Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte", 3rd part, *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 3 (1906), p. 18; Id., *Muhammad*, p. 18. For other, older sources of this tradition as well as the tradition that "Muḥammad was sent on the breath of the Hour," see M. J. Kister, "A Booth like the Booth of Moses," p. 152; S. Bashear, "Muslim Apocalypses," p. 78.

{147} P. Casanova/al-Maqrīzī, "Description," p. 20; Id., *Muhammad*, p. 17.

{148} Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, pp. 50 and 90.

{149} Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 15, pp. 135 and 168; Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 195; for these and other sources see D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 4 and note 7.

{150} P. Casanova, *Muhammad*, note 3 on p. 18, pp. 206-213. Apart from the sources used by Casanova, see also al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā' bi mā li-rasūl allāh min al-abnā' wa l-amwāl wa l-ḥafaḍa wa l-matā'*, ed. by M. 'A.J:I. al-Namīsī, 15 vols, Beirut, 1420/1999, vols. 1, p. 5, vol. 2, pp. 143-144 and 146; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. al-Zāwī-al-Tināhī, 5 vols, Cairo, 1963-1966, vol. 4, p. 240. On *malḥama*, plural *malāḥim*, see D.B. MacDonald, "Malāḥim," *EI2*, s.v.

{151} A. Rippin, "The Commerce of Eschatology," in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as Text*, Leiden, 1996, pp. 125-136; D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 301; F. Donner, "Was Early Islam an Apocalyptic Movement?," (*non vidi*) cited by Cook, *ibid.* note 79.

{152} C. Segovia, "Thematic and Structural Affinities Between 1 Enoch and the Qur'ān: A Contribution to the Study of the Judaeo-Christian Apocalyptic Setting of the Early Islamica Faith," in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where and to Whom? Studies on the Rise of Islam and Various Other Topics in Memory of John Wansbrough*, Piscataway, 2012, pp. 231-267, *passim* and especially p. 240 and note 50 (reference to J.J. Collins' introduction to his collective work, *Apocalypse: the Morphology of a Genre*, Missoula, 1979, pp. 1-20). See

Also J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, Cambridge, 19982.

{153} M. Cuypers, *A Koranic apocalypse: a reading of the last thirty-three suras of the Koran*, Pendé (France), 2014.

{154} See, for example, A. Couret, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614. Trois documents nouveaux*, Orléans, 1896, introduction; J.-G. Février, *La religion des palmyréniens*, Paris, 1931, pp. 21 ff (who cites ancient authors such as Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus...); F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris, 1952, pp. 38 ff; G. Dagron, "L'Église et la chrétienté byzantines", in J.-M. Mayeur, Ch. Pietri, A. Vauchez and M. Venard (eds.), *Histoire du christianisme*, Paris, volume 4, 1993, pp. 7 ff; A.-L. De Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam. Entre écriture et histoire*, Paris, 2002, pp. 16 ff.

{155} Generally speaking, the secondary literature on this kind of writing, both in Judaism and in Christianity of the period, is immense. On the first source, see e.g. I. Levi, "L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel", *Revue des Études Juives* 68 (1914), pp. 129-160; 69 (1919), pp. 108-121; 70 (1920), pp. 57-65; English translation and analysis by M. Himmelfarb, "Sefer Zerubbabel", in D. Stern and M. Jay Mirski (eds), *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, Philadelphia, 1990, pp. 67-90. On the latter, see e.g. B. Lewis, "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," *BSOAS* 13 (1950), pp. 308-338 (esp. pp. 321-330); P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, pp. 4ff; J. C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postbiblical Jewish Apocalypse Reader*, Leiden, 2006, pp. 76-89; S. Shoemaker, *Death of A Prophet*, pp. 27-33.

{156} See e.g. Carlo G. Cereti's introduction to his edition and translation of *Zand-ī Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, Rome, 1995; T.W. Greenwood, "Sassanian Echoes and Apocalyptic Expectations: A Re-evaluation of the Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos," *Le Muséon* 115 (2003), pp. 323-397; F. Grenet, "I) Le rayonnement de l'eschatologie et de l'apocalyptique iraniennes ; II) Le *Zand f Wahman Yasn*," *École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire*, vol. 115, 2006-2007, pp. 103-109 and vol. 116, 2007-2008,

pp. 109-112 ; D. Agostini, " La conquête arabe de l'Iran et la chute du zoroastrisme : processus eschatologique ou réalité historique ? Une réponse d'après les sources pehlevies ", in E. Aubin-Boltanski and C. Gauthier (eds), *Penser la fin du monde*, Paris, 2014, pp. 147-165. See also F. Cumont, " La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux ", *RHR* 103 (1931), pp. 80-99.

{157} See e.g. S. P. Brock, "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam", in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale-Edwardsville, 1982, pp. 9-21 and 199- 203; P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley, 1985; F.J. Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodus and Pseudo-Athanasius," unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1985; A. Palmer, S. Brock and R.G. Hoyland (eds), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool, 1993; P. Ubierna, "Recherches sur l'apocalyptique syrienne et byzantine au VII^e siècle: la place de l'Empire romain dans une histoire du salut," *Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales d'Auxerre (BUCEMA)*, hors série no. 2 (2008); B. Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Bahīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*, Leiden, 2009; several articles (M. Debié, L. Greisiger, H. Suermann, etc.), in D. Thomas, B. Roggema et alii (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, volume I (600-900)*, Leiden-Boston, 2009. Also the volume edited by P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen and Paris-Institut du Monde Arabe, 11- 15 September 1990*, Damascus, 1992; as well as E. van Donzel and A.B. Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources: Sallām's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Leiden-Boston, 2009; S. Shoemaker, "'The Reign of God Has Come,'" pp. 54ff.

{158} On these matters generally see e.g. Crone-Cook, *Hagarism*, *passim*; H. Suermann, "Muḥammad in Christian and Jewish Apocalyptic Expectations," *Islam and Christian-*

Muslim Relations 5 (1994), pp. 12-27; R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, 1997, esp. pp. 275-335; S. Shoemaker, *Death of A Prophet*, chap. 1, pp. 18-72; several articles in E. Aubin-Boltanski and C. Gauthier (eds), *Penser la fin du monde*.

{159} See G. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History*, Cambridge, 1999; P. Crone, "How Did the Quranic Pagans Make a Living?", *BSOAS* 68 (2005), pp. 387-399.

{160} See now M. Kropp (ed.), *Results of Contemporary Research on the Qur'ān. The Question of a Historio-critical Approach*, Beirut-Würzburg, 2007; G.S. Reynolds, *The Quran and Its Biblical Subtext*, London, 2010; Id. (ed.), *The Quran in Its Historical Context*, London, vol. 1, 2008 and vol. 2, 2011; G. Dye and F. Nobilio (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Bruxelles-Fernelmont, 2011; F. Déroche, C. J. Robin and M. Zink (eds.), *Les origines du Coran, le Coran des origines*.

{161} It is obviously impossible to enumerate, in this note and those that immediately follow it, the complete bibliography of these problems, which is enormous. Moreover, they are often intimately linked. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a few important titles (see also notes 24 ff.). On the influence of Judaism, see e.g. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations Between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam*, London, 1924; Sh. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages*, New York, 1955; A. I. Katsch, *Judaism and the Koran: Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and Its Commentaries*, New York, 1962; Crone-Cook, *Hagarism, passim*; M. Lecker, *Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia*, Aldershot, 1998; H. Busse, *Islam, Judaism and Christianity: Theological and Historical Affiliations*, Princeton, 1998; U. Rubin, *Between Bible and Qur'ān: the Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-image*, Princeton, 1999; H. Bar-Zeev, *A Jewish Reading of the Qur'ān: Essay*, Paris, 2005; several articles in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai & M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010; H. Mazuz, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*, Leiden, 2014; see also J. Costa, "'Olam ha-zel/olam ha-ba, al-dunyā/al-ākhirā: a comparative study of two pairs of terms in Talmudic literature and the Qur'ānic," *Arabica* 62.2-3 (2015), pp. 234-259.

{162} See e.g. T. Andrae, *The Origins of Islam and Christianity*; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam and Its Christian Environment*, London, 1926; K. Ahrens, "Christliches im Quran," *ZDMG* 48 (1930), pp. 15-68 and 148-190; D. Thomas and B. Roggema (eds), *Christian Muslim Relations*; numerous articles by S. H. Griffith, some of which are now published in *the Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*, Princeton 2008; numerous articles by C. Gilliot, including, among the most recent: "Muhammad's Exegetical Activity in the Meccan Arabic Lectionary", in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter*

G. Gobillot, pp. 371-398; numerous works by G. Gobillot including, among the most recent: "Des textes pseudo-clémentins à la mystique juive des premiers siècles et du Sinaï à Ma'rib", in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds.), *The Coming of the Comforter*, pp. 3- 89; numerous articles by J. Van Reeth, including, among the latest: "Les prophéties oraculaires dans le Coran et leurs antécédents : Montan et Mani", in D. De Smet and M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds), *Controverses sur les Écritures canoniques de l'Islam*, pp. 77-145; same remark on multiple collective works and articles by

G. Dye, including, among the most recent: "Lieux saints communs, partagés ou confisqués: aux sources de quelques péripécies coraniques (*Q* 19: 16-33)", in I. Dépret and G. Dye (eds), *Partage du sacré : transferts, dévotions mixtes, rivalités interconfessionnelles*, Brussels, 2012, pp. 55-121; several contributions in J.C. Reeves (ed.), *Bible and Qur'ān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, Atlanta, 2003; M.H. Zellentin, *The Qur'ān's Legal Culture: the Didascalia Apostolorum as a Point of Departure*, Tübingen, 2013.

{163} See, e.g., M. Gil, "The Creed of Abū 'Amir," *IOS* 12 (1992), pp. 9-57; R. Simon, "Mānī and Muḥammad," *JSAI* 21 (1997), pp. 118-141; M. Sfar, *The Qur'an, the Bible, and the Ancient East*, Paris, 1998, *passim*, and especially chapters 9 and 11; J. Van Reeth, "La zandaqa et le prophète de

l'islam ", *Acta Orientalia Belgica* XX (2007), " Incroyance et dissidences religieuses. Jacques Ryckmans in memoriam", pp. 65-79. As already mentioned, often studies on Jewish, Christian, Manichaeic...influences are inseparable and consequently a great number of studies mentioned here and in the previous notes touch upon the whole of these religious traditions or what articulates them between them.

{164} A.-L. de Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam*, pp. 267-269.

{165} B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision: History and Archaeology of the Judaeo-Christians*, transl. E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 14 ff; R. A. Pritz, *Nazarene Jewish Christianity: From the End of the New Testament Period until Its Disappearance in the Fourth Century*, Jerusalem-Leyde, 1988, *passim*; J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: the Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 5-47.

{166} By way of examples: A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, vol. 1, pp. 21- 45; H.-J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen, 1949, pp. 33ff. ; H. Corbin, "Epiphany divine and spiritual birth in the Ismaili gnosis", *Eranos Jahrbuch* XXIII (1954-1955), reprinted in Id, *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne*, Paris, 1982, part 2; Id, "From ancient gnosis to Ismaili gnosis", lecture delivered at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in 1956, reprinted in *Cyclic Time and Ismaili Gnosis*, part 3; M.P. Roncaglia, "Elements of Ebionites and Elkasaites in the Qur'an", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 21 (1971), pp. 101-125 ; J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford, 1977; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*; J. M. Magnin, *Notes on Ebionism*, Jerusalem, 1979; J.S. Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, London-New York, 1979, especially pp. 49, 68, 8 ff, 153, 157, 166, 186; G. Rizzardi, *Il problema della cristologia coranica. Storia dell'ermeneutica cristiana*, Milan, 1980, pp. 11 ff; S. Pines, "Notes on Islam and on Arabic Christianity and Judaeo-Christians", *JSAI* 4 (1984), pp. 135-152; J. Van Reeth, "The Muslim Prophet as Nāṣir allāh and His Antecedents: the Evangelical 'Nazōraios' and the Book of Jubilees," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 23 (1992), pp. 251-274; Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry*; S. C. Mimouni, "Les Nazoréens. Recherche étymologique et historique," *Revue Biblique* 105 (1998), pp. 232-244; F. de Blois, "*Naṣrānī* (Ναζωραῖος) and *lfanīf* (ἐθνικός): Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and Islam," *BSOAS* 65 (2002), pp. 1-30 (but see: S. Griffith, "*Al-Naṣārā* in the Qur'ān: a Hermeneutical Reflection," in G. S. Reynolds (ed.), *The Qur'ān in Its Historical Context*, vol. 2: *New Perspectives on the Qur'ān*, 2011, London, pp. 301-

322); Ch. and F. Jullien, "At the Frontiers of Iranianness: '*Naṣrāyē*' and '*Krystyonē*' of the *Mobad* Kirdīr Inscriptions: a Literary and Historical Investigation," *Numen* 49 (2002), pp. 282- 335; Y.D. Nevo and J. Koren, *Crossroads to Islam: the Origins of the Arab Religion and the Arab State*, Amherst, 2003; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*; J. Gnalka, *Die Nazarener und der Koran: Eine Spurensuche*, Freiburg, 2007; C. Segovia, "Thematic and Structural Affinities Between 1 Enoch and the Qur'ān"; P. Crone, "Jewish Christianity and the Qur'ān (Part One)," *JNES* 74.2 (2015), pp. 225-253; on a bibliographical survey see now G.G. Stroumsa, "Jewish Christianity and Islamic Origins", in B. Sadeghi, A.Q. Ahmed, A. Silverstein and R. G. Hoyland (eds), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honour of Patricia Crone*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 72- 96.

{S.-C. Mimouni, *Le judéo-christianisme ancien. Essais historiques*, Paris, 1998, p. 22. See now H.M. Zellentin, *The Qur'ān's Legal Culture. The Didascalia Apostolorum As A Point of Departure*, Tübingen, 2013; M. Shaddel, "Quranic *Ummī*: Genealogy, Ethnicity and the Foundation of A New Community," *JSAI* 43 (2016), pp. 1-60, esp. pp. 21-31; D. Bernard, *The Jewish Followers of Jesus from the First Century to Muhammad. Recherches sur le mouvement ébionite*, Paris, 2017.

{168} R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1907 (3rd ed.), pp. 79-86; S. Pines, "The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity According to a New Source," *PIASH* 2.13 (1966), pp. 1-73; several articles in J.C. Van der Kam and W. Adler (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic*

Heritage in Early Christianity, Minneapolis, 1996; A.-L. de Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam*, pp. 32 ff; Id. in *Aux origines du Coran. Questions d'hier, approches d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 2004, *passim*.

{169} D. Boyarin, (ed.), *Judaeo-Christianity Redivivus*, special issue of *The Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9.4 (2001): 417-509; Id., *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Philadelphia, 2004.

{170} C. Segovia, "Thematic and Structural Affinities," pp. 232-233.

{E.-M. Gallez convincingly shows that this abstention from wine is intimately linked to messianic expectation (*Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 1, pp. 26 ff.).

{172} P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, pp. 6-7 and p. 157, note 36. This has also led Fred Donner (who nevertheless rejects the "Judeo-Christian" hypothesis) and more recently Stephen Shoemaker to consider that the very first followers of Muḥammad called "the Believers" (*mu'minūn*) were composed of Jewish and Christian monotheists and "Muslims," *muslim*, i.e., new converts "subjected" to the Muḥammad movement. This was to change with the Umayyad policy of Arabizing Islam; see F. Donner, "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community," *al-Abḥāth* 50-51 (2002), pp. 9-53; Id, *Muḥammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge, Mass. 2010; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, *passim* and especially chap. 4 ("From Believers to Muslims, from Jerusalem to the J:Ijāz: Confessional Identity and Sacred Geography in Early Islam") and the conclusion.

{173} G. Dye, "Jewish Christianity, the Qur'ān, and Early Islam: some methodological caveats," in F. del Rio Sanchez (ed.), *Jewish Christianity and the Origins of Islam*, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 11- 29.

{174} According to Paul Casanova (*Mohammed*, chap. VI, pp. 54-67 and chap. VII, pp. 68-69), it is impossible that the Koran, an apocalyptic book in its most ancient layers and an extension of the holy books of the Judeo-Christian tradition, should have said nothing about the figure of the Messiah. The surprising absence of the Messiah in the Qur'an is said to be due to the subsequent deletion of many passages by the caliphal authorities because the messianic dimension of the Qur'an would have made it look too Shi'a. David Cook believes that the problem goes beyond Shi'ism and concerns all the early followers of Muḥammad. Once the empire was formed and the Islamic state established, the caliphal authorities would have done everything possible to erase the messianic origins of their religion and would have removed from the Qur'an anything that too obviously reflected those origins, including the mention of the imminent advent of the Messiah (*Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, pp. 30 ff.) These assertions are consistent with the ancient Shi'ite doctrine of *tahrīf*, i.e., the deletion of large passages from the Qur'an by the opponents of the Alids (see E. Kohlberg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and falsification. The Kitāb al-qirā'āt of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*, Leiden, 2009, Introduction; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*, *passim* and especially chap. 2). Curiously, the figure of the Messiah is also conspicuous by its absence in the studies of D. Donner and S. Shoemaker.

{175} *Doctrina Jacobi* in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1903, vol. 8, pp. 71 ff, V.16; ed. G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptizati* in "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle", *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1991), pp. 47-219 (quotation, p. 209); see also P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, pp. 4-6 (for whom 'Umar is this Messiah); R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, pp. 55 ff. and 400-409; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 2, pp. 10 ff (citation, p. 110); S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, pp. 2 ff (quote, p. 22). On the dating problems of this source see also S. W. Anthony, "Muḥammad, the Keys to Paradise and the *Doctrina Iacobi*: A Late Antique Puzzle," *Der Islam* 91.2 (2014), pp. 243-265. In his *Chronography* of the year 622, Theophanes, too, points out that some Jews considered Muḥammad one of their prophets; see F. Nau, "A Colloquy of the Patriarch John with the Amir of the Agarenes and Miscellaneous Facts of the Years 712 to 716," *Journal Asiatique* 11.5 (1915), pp. 225- 279, citation, p. 258. Fred Donner does not agree with this interpretation of the text, which attributes

the expectation of the Messiah to all the followers of Muḥammad. According to him, only certain Jews among the latter professed this belief (F. Donner, "La question du messianisme dans l'islam primitif," in M. Garcia-Arenal (ed.), *Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam*, special issue REMMM 91- 94 (20000), pp. 17-27). It is true that Donner considers the early community of Muḥammad's followers to be interfaith (see his book *Muḥammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge, Mass, 2010; see, however, J. Tannous's account in *Expositions* 5.2 (2011), pp. 126-141) but, given the massive presence of all sorts of Jewish, Christian, and Judeo-Christian material in the Qur'an and early Hadith, distinguishing between followers belonging to different religions within the Prophet's followers seems more than difficult. And what about the exclusivist and far from ecumenical passages in the Qur'an? Are they later than Muḥammad?

{176} Text edited by A. Jellinek in *Bet ha-midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der ältern jüdischen Literatur*, 6 vols, Leipzig, 1853-1877, vol. 3, pp. 78-82, quote, p. 78. English translation of the entire text by J.C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic*, pp. 76-89, quote, p. 78. See also B. Lewis, "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," pp. 323-324; P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, pp. 4-5; R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, pp. 310-311; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 2, pp. 11ff; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, pp. 27-33 and p. 66.

{177} John Bar Penkayē, *Rīsh mellē*, ed. and French translation of Book XV by A. Mingana, in *Syriac Sources*, vol. 1, vol. II, Leipzig, 1907-1908, "Bar Penkayē," pp. 143-172 (Syriac text), pp. 172- 204 (translation), citation, pp. 146 and 175, respectively. English translation of chapters XIV and XV by S. Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye's *Rīš Melle*," in *Studies in Syriac Christianity: History, Literature, Theology* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 51-75, quote, p. 71. See also B. Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins", in J. Raby and J. Johns (eds), *Bayt Al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 21 ff (translation and analysis of an account dating from the capture of Jerusalem in 638 and preserved in Georgian). I will return to the pro-Christian policy of the early Umayyads, especially Mu'āwiya.

{178} S. Brock, "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam," p. 14; quoted in A. Genet, "Le premier siècle de l'Islam vu par les chroniqueurs syriaques," *Mémoire de l'EPHE*, June 2015, pp. 88-89 and also pp. 96-97.

{179} On this question, see the monographic works of M. Hayek, *Christ of Islam*, Paris, 1959; G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Quran*, London, 1965; G.C. Anawati, "'Isā," *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 82-87. For other studies on Jesus in Islam, see the introduction by G. Dye and F. Nobilio to *Figures bibliques en islam*, note 52, *in fine*, p. 28 and in the same volume J. Van Reeth, "La typologie du prophète selon le Coran : le cas de Jésus", pp. 81-105.

{180} "He is a Sign of the Hour": *innahu la-'alamun li l-sā'a*, (see Blachère's translation), a canonical variant (the so-called *Warsh 'an Nāfi'* reading) which seems to me preferable to the Vulgate version (the so-called *Hafṣ 'an 'Aṣim* reading): *innahu la-'ilmun li l-sā'a* ("He is science of the Hour," according to Berque's translation); on this question see Parrinder, *Jesus in the Quran*, p. 34; Anawati, "'Isā," p. 84.

{Quoted by F. Nau, "Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse sur la généalogie de la sainte Vierge", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1901), pp. 512-531, citation, pp. 518-519 (Syriac text), p. 524 (French translation). The text of James of Edessa dates from the last third of the seventh century; does it reflect well the data of the first third? On the other hand, it should be remembered that, as we have seen above, the biblicism of the Koran is of the "Judeo-Christian" type: simultaneous acceptance of a certain number of Jewish beliefs and practices and of Jesus as Christ and Messiah, Word and Spirit of God.

{182} Apart from the works cited in note 48, very useful indications can be found in H. Michaud, *Jesus According to the Qur'an*, Neuchatel, 1960; W. Madelung, "Kā'im Al Muḥammad," *EI2*, vol. 4, pp. 456-457; Id, "al-Mahdī," *ibid*, vol. 5, pp. 1230-1238; Id, "Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the

Mahdī," *JNES* 40 (1981), pp. 291-305; Id, "The Sufyānī between Tradition and History," *SI* 63 (1984), pp. 1-48; G.S. Reynolds, "Jesus, the *Qā'im* and the End of the World," *OSR* 75 (2001), pp. 55-86. See also G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le khalifat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam, 1894, *passim*; E. Moeller, *Beiträge zur Mahdilehre des Islams*, Heidelberg, 1901, *passim*; S. M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ: An Essay on the Life, Character and Teachings of Jesus Christ According to the Koran and Orthodox Tradition*, Edinburgh-New York, 1912; J.O. Blichfeldt, *Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the Formative Period of Islam*, Leiden, 1985, index *s.n.* Jesus.

{183} Carlos Segovia's assumptions about Muḥammad as the new Messiah in the afterword to his recent book on the Quranic Noah seem to me to be too speculative in the current state of our knowledge (C. Segovia, *The Quranic Noah and the Making of the Islamic Prophet*, Berlin-Boston, 2015, "Afterword," pp. 114-117). They are mainly based on the sources used by Uri Rubin in his article on the mystical figure of Muḥammad (Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *IOS* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119). It is true that some aspects of this figure are reminiscent of the descriptions of the Messiah given in 1 Enoch, 48: *sqq.* and 62:7. But this possible distant root seems to me a much less relevant origin for the works examined by Rubin, mainly dated to the 4th and 5th of the hegira, than the Shi'ite sources of the 2nd and 3rd centuries on the mystical figures of the Prophet and especially of 'Alī (I will come back to this).

{184} Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Saqqā, Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo, 2nd ed. 1955, vol. 1, pp. 232-233; also ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Mohammeds nach Muhammad b. Ishāq*, 2 vols, Göttingen, 1858-1860, vol. 1, p. 149; A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, Oxford, 1955, p. 104.

{185} On these matters, see T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Leipzig, 1909², vol. 1, pp. 9-10; A. Baumstark, "Eine altarabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Christlich-Palästinensischen," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8 (1932), pp. 201-209, esp. p. 205; A.E. Bishop Guthrie, "The Paraclete, Almunhamanna and Aḥmad," *The Muslim World* 41.4 (1951), pp. 251-256; A.-L. de Prémare, "'Comme il est écrit', l'histoire d'un texte", *SI* 70 (1989), pp. 27- 56, especially p. 45; Id., "Prophétisme et aduḷère, d'un texte à l'autre", *REMMM* 58 (1990/4), pp. 101-135, especially pp. 12 *ff*; M.-T. Urvoy, "Announcement of Muhammad", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionary of the Qur'an*, pp. 55-56; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, pp. 33 *ff*; J. Van Reeth, "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", in C. Segovia and B. Lourié (eds), *The Coming of the Comforter: When, Where and to Whom?*, pp. 423-452; S. Anthony, "Muḥammad, Menaḥem and the Paraclete: New Lights on Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) Arabic Version of John 15:23-16/1," *BSOAS* 79/2 (2016), pp. 255-278.

{186} Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, *Biographien Muhammads, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams, bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, Leiden, 9 vols, 1904-1928, vol. 1.1, p. 107; see also O. Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect," *Arabica* 53 (2006), pp. 382-403 (citation and analysis, pp. 385-386). The belief that the mention of the Prophet as the Paraclete was part of the text of John's Gospel before it was falsified by the Christians remains very strong in Islam. In his *Relation*, Samson, an apostolic missionary sent by Louis XIV to Persia, writes: "[the Muslims] say that...in the fourteenth chapter of St. John...the Christians have erased the name of Mohammed whom they claim to be the Paraclete promised by Jesus Christ" (Samson, *Relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1695, p. 203). Apart from constant mentions of the subject in the classical literature of anti-Christian controversies, an entire late literary genre is devoted to it, especially among the Shi'ites: see e.g. Muḥammad 'Alī b. Abī Tālib al-Zāhidī al- Iṣfahānī (d. 1181/1767-1768), *Bishārat al-nubuwwa*, Sayyid 'Alī b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Qummī al- Lāhūrī (d. 1288/1871-1872), *Bishārat-i aḥmadiyya* or Muḥammad Sādiq Fakhr al-Islām (d. after 1330/1911), *Fāraqlīqā* (cited in Aghā Bozorg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'a*, 25 vols, Tehran-Najaf, 1353-1398/1934-1978, vol. 3, pp. 112 and 118 and vol. 16, p. 95).

{187} M.H. Benkheira, "Onomastics and religion: about a reform of the proper name during the first centuries of Islam", in C. Müller and M. Roiland-Rouabah (eds), *Les non-dits du nom. Onomastique et documents en terre d'Islam. Mélanges offerts à Jacqueline Sublet*, Damascus-Beirut, 2013, pp. 319-356 (citations, pp. 329-330). According to the author, 'Umar, 'Alī or Ja'far are also not proper names *stricto sensu*.

{Ibid. pp. 33 ff and p. 326.

{189} H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran*, London, 1902, pp. 138-140. Theses taken up and developed, not always convincingly, by V. Popp, "The Early History of Islam, Following Inscriptional and Numismatic Testimony," in K.-H. Ohlig and G.-R. Puin (eds), *The Hidden origins of Islam: New Research into Its Early History*, New York, 2010, pp. 17-124 and by C. Luxenberg, "A New Interpretation of the Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock," in *ibid.* pp. 125-151.

{190} See e.g. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, vol. 1, pp. 155-161; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Uppsala, 1917, pp. 272- 276; U. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad As Viewed by the Early Muslims*, London, 1995, pp. 39-43; J.-L. Déclais, "Names of the Prophet," in J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), *EQ*, vol. 3 (2003), pp. 501-505; H. Djāit, *La vie de Muḥammad*, Paris, 2007, pp. 236-240; E.-M. Gallez, *le messie et son prophète*, pp. 32 ff (p. 332 ff. the hypothesis that the name Muḥammad comes from the nickname *īsh hamudōt* of the prophet Daniel is attractive but too speculative because philologically too fragile); C. Gilliot, "Nochmals: Hieß der Prophet Muḥammad?", in M. Gross & K.-H. Ohlig (eds), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II. Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam*, Berlin, 2011, pp. 53-95; G. S. Reynolds, "Remembering Muḥammad," *Numen* 58 (2011), pp. 188-206.

{191} A. Genet, "Le premier siècle de l'Islam vu par les chroniqueurs syriaques" (quoted above note 47), p. 87.

{192} G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God: Studies in Iranian and Manichean Religion*, Uppsala, 1945, *passim*; Id., *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 12, pp. 7 ff. and p. 306. On the parallelism of *Manūhmēd/Manvahnēd* with the Paraclete, see e.g. H. Ch. Puech, "Le manichéisme," in *Histoire des religions, Encyclopédie la Pléiade II*, Paris, 1972, pp. 523-645, especially pp. 555 ff; M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1981, pp. 20-21; R. Simon, "Mānī and Muḥammad," p. 134; M. Sfar, *The Qur'an, the Bible and the Ancient East*, pp. 413- 414; F. De Blois, "Elchasaï-Manes-Muḥammad. Manichäismus und Islam in religionshistorischem Vergleich," *Der Islam* 81 (2004), pp. 31-48, especially pp. 45-46.

{These are John 14:16, 25-26; 15:26 and 16:7. We can add, as glosses: Revelation 2 :1, 7, 11, 17, 29 ; 3 :6, 13, 22 ; 14 :13.

{194} J. Van Reeth, "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", pp. 423 ff; 427 ff; 430 ff; 433-434; 434-435 respectively.

{Ibid. at 448-450.

{196} See P.-H. Poirier, *L'Hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas. Introduction, texte, commentaire*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981, verses 16 and 17; I quote the translation of the Syriac version, p. 344; translation of the Greek version, p. 358 and that of the paraphrase of Nicetas of Thessalonica, p. 372. Everywhere *parwānqīn* is rendered as "two guides".

{J. Van Reeth, *ibid.* pp. 435-436; also G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, pp. 296 ff.

{198} The Paraclete's function as "witness", undoubtedly stemming from a synoptic tradition (see Matthew 10:19-20 = Mark 13:11-12 = Luke 21:16), seems to find a striking parallel with Qur'anic verses 48:8-9 if, following Denise Masson and Edouard-Marie Gallez, one identifies "the messenger" (*rasūl*) of verse 9 with Jesus Christ (especially by paralleling this verse with 4 :171: "Yes, the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is the messenger of God, His Word whom He cast into Mary, a Spirit from Him"): "We have sent you [you Muḥammad] as a witness, as a herald of good news and as a warner (*shāhidan wa mubashshiran wa*

nadhīran) /That you may add faith in God and His Messenger..." (D. Masson, *The Qur'an*, vol. 1, commentary on verse 4:136 and 171 and vol. 2, commentary on verse 48:9; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 2, pp. 355-356). Indeed, the second person singular of verse 8, clearly distinguished from the "messenger" of verse 9, posed a problem for commentators who sought to identify both with Muḥammad. On the issue of intentional confusion between grammatical persons (*iltifāt*) in the Qur'an, see A.-L. de Prémare, *Aux origines du Coran*, pp. 106-107.

{199} As was the case with Mani; see H.-C. Puech, "Le manichéisme", *Histoire des religions*, vol. 2, pp. 55 ff; J. Ries, "Elchasaïsme", in *Dictionnaire des religions*, Paris, 1984, p. 512. On the important Christian notion of the Second Coming of Christ, the Double Visitation or the Second Christ, its Jewish and intertestamental roots as well as its extensions into early Islam, see respectively P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 151-184; M. Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân*, Paris, 1960, *passim*, and especially pp. 1 sqq, 3 ff, 4 ff; *Écrits intertestamentaires*, under the direction of A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, Paris, 1987, s.v. index and introduction by P. Geoltrain, pp. 31 ff; W. Sundermann, "Der Paraklet in ostmanichäischen Überlieferung", in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichean Studies. Proceeding of the First International Conference on Manichaeism*, Lund, 1988, pp. 201-212; F. Donner, "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War," in J. Kelsay and J. Turner Johnson (eds), *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theological Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions*, New York, 1991, pp. 31-69, esp. pp. 4ff; Id. in *Muḥammad and the Believers*, pp. 16, 96-97, 125.

{200} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran, 1389/1969, vol.1, p. 81, no. 18.

{201} On the late and ideological character of the distinction between a "moderate" and an "extremist" Shi'ism, especially in the early period, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin* surtout la conclusion; Id, "Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology I: Remarks on the Divinity of the Imam," *Studia Iranica* 25.2 (1996), pp. 193-216 (= Id., *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 3 and here chap. 4); and now Id, "The Imams and the Ghulāt.

{202} See H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühe Ismā'īliya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*, Wiesbaden, 1978; Id, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, vol. 1, Berlin-New York, 1991, pp. 233-403 and especially 30 ff; Id. in *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, Berlin-New York, 2011, *passim*; Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*; M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*, *passim*. Tahmina Bayhoum-Daou's questioning of the character

His "gnostic" hypothesis of ancient Shi'ism and his hypothesis on the late date of Shi'ite gnostic doctrines do not seem to be tenable, going indeed against an enormous mass of textual data as well as against a great number of studies like those just quoted (see his article

"The Second Century Shi'ite ghulāt: Were They Really Gnostic?", *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 5.2 (2003-4), pp. 13-61).

{203} Gh. J:I. Sadīqī, *Jonbesh hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī* (a completed and updated version of the author's own thesis *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et IIIe siècles de l'hégire*, Paris, 1938), Tehran, 1372 solar/1993, pp. 22 ff; E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *Ṣaḥāba*," *JSAI* 5 (1984), pp. 143-175, esp. pp. 145- 146 (= Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 1991, paper no. 9); M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Considerations on the expression *dīn 'Alī*. At the Origins of the Shi'ite Faith," *ZDMG* 150.1 (2000), pp. 29-68 (= Id., *La religion discrète*, chap. 1); here chap. 3.

{204} *Kitāb al-kashf*, attributed to Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (Ismaili author, d. in the first half of the 4th/10th c., perhaps c. 346/957)), ed. R. Strothmann, London, 1952, p. 8.

{205} U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad"; Id., "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shī'a Tradition," *JSAI* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65; M.A. Amir-Moezzi,

The Divine Guide, especially part II and index *n.v.*; Id., *The Discrete Religion*, especially chapters 3 and 4 and index *n.v.*

{206} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La Religion discrète*, index *s.v.* and also J. Van Reeth, "Melchisedec the Eternal Prophet according to John of Apamea and Muslim Monarchianism," *Oriens Christianus* 96 (2012), pp. 8-46, especially pp. 17, 23, and 46; Id., "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", pp. 428 and 445.

{207} The earliest attestation of this kind of proclamation is said to come from a Qarmaṭ document of the 3rd/10th century, reproduced in a Kaysānite proclamation dating from 278/890-891 and reported by al-Tabarī (d. 310/923) in his History (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1960, vol. 10, pp. 25-26). They are reported by Shi'ite texts, of all persuasions, throughout the history of Islam, up to the nineteenth-century Iranian mystics and philosophers such as Ja'far al-Kašhfi (d. 1267/1850-1851) or Abū l-Qāsim Rāz Shīrāzī (d. 1286/1869); see Amir-Moezzi, "Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology I: Remarks on the Divinity of the Imam" (here chap. 4). These preachings attributed to 'Alī are reminiscent of the "I am" statements of Jesus in the Gospels (e.g., John 10:30 and 14:11), which are most representative of the way Jesus describes himself; see E. Stauffer, *Jesus. Gestalt und Geschichte*, Bern, 1957, pp. 130-145.

{208} To be compared with Christ, arbiter of the Last Judgment, in Matthew, 25, 31ff.

{209} On the messianic dimension of the figure of Noah and the eschatological symbolism of the Flood, see now the careful examination of C. Segovia, *The Quranic Noah and the Making of the Islamic Prophet*.

{210} I will return to these sermons of 'Alī in the fourth chapter.

{211} Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. M. 'Abd al-J:Iamīd, Beirut, 1393/1973, pp. 223-224.

{212} Al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shī'a*, ed., H. Ritter, Istanbul, 1931, pp. 19-20.

{213} E. Kohlberg, "'Alī b. Abī Tāleb," *Elr*, part ii: "'Alī as seen by the community: among extremist Shi'ites," vol. 1, p. 845a.

{214} E.g. J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1876-1889, *s.v. paroqa*; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda, 1938, pp. 227-229. Also de Prémare, *Fondations de l'Islam*, p. 165 (cf. reference to Zechariah 9:9 from the Syriac version of the Bible).

{215} A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*. p. 195; see also C. Melchert, "The Interpretation of Three Qur'anic Terms (*Siyāha*, *lfikma* and *Siddiq*) of Special Interest to the Early Renoncians," in S.R. Burge (ed.), *The Meaning of the Word. Lexicology and Qur'anic Exegesis*, London, 2015, pp. 89-116, in particular pp. 102-103. On the survival of Qumrānian beliefs into Islam, see J. Van Reeth, "Who is the 'Other' Paraclete?", pp. 428, 432, 434, 442.

{216} See, e.g., *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, ed. M.B. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khu'īnī, 3 vols, Qum, 1426/1995, tradition no. 26, vol. 2, pp. 780-781; al-Tabrisī, *al-Ihtijāj*, ed. M.B. al-Kharsān, 2 vols, Najaf, 1386/1966, vol. 2, p. 15; Yūsuf al-Bahrānī, *al-Durar al-najafīyya*, Qumm, copy of litho. ed., n.d., pp. 281 and 287; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 110 vols, Tehran-Qumm, 1376- 1392/1956-1972, vol. 33, pp. 17 ff; vol. 44, pp. 12 ff.

{217} On the exclusivity of the title for 'Alī, see e.g. al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, ed. Kohlberg and Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, hadith no. 160; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Qumm, 1380/1960, vol. 1, p. 276, no. 274; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Tālib*, Beirut, 1405/1985, vol. 3, p. 55; al-J:Iurr al-'Amīlī, *Wasā'il al-shī'a*, Beirut, 1403/1983, vol. 5, pp. 469- 470, no. 19900. On *mu'minūn* in the sense indicated and *amīr al-mu'minīn* in the sense of the "Last Emperor" of Christian texts see F. Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers*, pp. 16, 81-82, 96-97, 125, 143-144; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet, passim*, esp. pp. 20ff; Id. at "'The Reign of God Has Come," pp. 529-530, p. 533; J. Van Reeth, "The Hegira and the End of the World," *Oriens Christianus* 100 (2017), p. 214 (the whole article, pp. 188-226).

{218} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mīrzā Kūčebāghī, Tabriz, 2nd ed. n.d. (ca. 1960) (= ed. K), section 2, chap. 7, nos. 5 and 8, pp. 71-72; nlle. ed. by 'A. Zakīzādeh Ranānī, 2 vols. with transl.

Persian, Qumm, 1391 solar/2012 (= ed. Z), pp. 289 and 291; also chap. 10, nos. 5, p. 77 (ed. K) = pp. 308-309 (ed. Z); Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. M. al-Kāzīm, Tehran, 1410/1990, pp. 121-122; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 3, p. 400; vol. 23, p. 208; vol. 35, p. 369; al-J:luwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, Qumm, 1412/1991, vol. 1, p. 595. In Qur'anic verse 19:21, it is Jesus who is called "miraculous sign of God."

{219} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, section 2 no. 9, p. 74 (ed. K); pp. 297-298 (ed. Z); al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 39, p. 273, no. 50.

{220} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, 4 vols. with Persian translations, Tehran, n.d. (the 4th vol. translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī dates from 1386/1966), "Kitāb al-ḥujja," vol. 2, p. 166; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 28, p. 306, no. 13. Compare with Ibn al-Bīṭrīq al-J:lillī, *Khaṣā'iṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn*, ed. M.B. Maḥmūdī, Tehran, 1406/1986, p. 98 and Ibn Tāwūs, *al-Tarā'if fī ma'rifat madhāhib al-ṭawā'if*, Qumm, 1400/1979, p. 101. See here, chap. 1, notes 78ff. and related texts.

{221} al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, p. 70, no. 270 (Arabic text); al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 204, nos. 7-9; al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1393/1974, vol. 1, pp. 293-303, nos. 398-416; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 3, p. 265; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 40, p. 212, no. 12.

{222} See, however, S. Shoemaker, *The Apocalypse of Empire, passim*; or M. Tillier, "Abd al- Malik, Muḥammad and the Last Judgment: the Dome of the Rock as an Expression of Islamic Orthodoxy," in *Les vivants et les morts dans les sociétés médiévales*, Paris, 2018, pp. 341-365. It is clear that after Muḥammad, the meanings of messianism and apocalypticism change greatly with the birth of the Umayyad dynasty.

{223} P. Casanova, *Mohammed, passim*; F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton, 1998, *passim* and especially pp. 4 ff; M. Ayoub, *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 14 ff.

{224} S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, pp. 162-163.

{225} A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, pp. 535-536; P. Casanova, *Mohammed*, p. 17; S. Bashear, "Muslim Apocalypses," pp. 90-91.

{226} In addition to dozens of hadith-s, the Qur'an itself bears the trace of this desire, "in hollow" one might say, when, in verse 108;3, the Prophet's enemy is referred to as an *abtar*, literally "one who can only have daughters" - for this is the term by which those who mocked Muḥammad called him until he had his two grandsons, according to Shi'ite exegesis.

{227} On the important legal and religious implications of this act see W. Madelung, "Social Legislation in *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*," in A. Cilardo (ed.), *Islam and Globalization. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Proceeding of the 25th Congress of the European Union of Islamists and Arabists*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 2013, pp. 197-203; Id, "Introduction" to the section "History and Historiography," in F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London-New York, 2014, pp. 3-16.

{228} On 'Alī as the only possible successor to Muḥammad, see W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997, *passim*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Considerations on the expression *dīn 'Alī*. At the Origins of the Shi'ite Faith" (here chap. 3). If one accepts the hypothesis of a religious evolution in Muḥammad concerning the immediacy of the Hour, the thesis of scholars such as P. Casanova, F. Donner, or M. Ayoub (see above note 92) that the Prophet did not choose a successor for himself because with the imminence of the end of the world such a choice was irrelevant would no longer be tenable.

{229} P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, p. 5; P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, 1986; S. Bashear, "The Title '*Fārūq*' and Its Association with 'Umar I'; numerous works by Avraham Hakim on 'Umar, among others, "Conflicting images of lawgivers: the caliph and the Prophet. *Sunnat 'Umar and sunnat Muḥammad*," in.

H. Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, Leiden, 2003, pp. 159-178 ;

"Umar b. al-Haṭṭāb, Caliph by the Grace of God," *Arabica* 54.3 (2008), pp. 317-36; "Umar b. al-Haṭṭāb: Religious and Moral Authority," *Arabica* 55.1 (2008), pp. 1-34.

{P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph*, pp. 1 ff; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 2, pp. 441 ff.

{231} See now M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, especially introduction and chapter 1.

{232} On these issues, see e.g. S. Bashear, "Qur'ān 2:114 and Jerusalem," *BSOAS* 52 (1989), pp. 251-238 (reprinted in Id., *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. II); R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It*, pp. 560-573; A.-L. de Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam*, especially chap. 15, pp. 27 ff; Id., *Aux origines du Coran*, *passim*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*, chap. 2 ; F. Deroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads. A First Overview*, Leiden, 2013, especially the introduction; Id., "Controlling the Writing. On some characteristics of Qurans from the Umayyad period," in M. Azaiez and S. Mervin (eds), *Le Coran. Nouvelles approches*, Paris, 2014, pp. 39-55; on al-Zuhrī, see e.g. M. Lecker, "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī," *JSS* 41.1 (1996), pp. 21-63 (reprinted in Id., *Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1998, article no. 16); H. Motzki, "The Collection of the Qur'ān. A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments," *Der Islam* 78 (2001), pp. 1-34, especially pp. 22-29.

{233} See e.g. P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism*, p. 11; G. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, Carbondale-Edwardsville, 1987; S. Bashear, "Qibla Musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches," *MW* 81 (1991), pp. 267-282 (= *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. VI); R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 48 *sqq.*; F. Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers*, pp. 176 *sqq.*, 180 ff, 192 ff, 222; Id., "Umayyad Efforts at Legitimation: the Umayyad's Silent Heritage," in A. Borrut and P.M. Cobb (eds.), *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 187-211. See also A. Borrut, *Between Memory and Power: Syrian Space under the Late Umayyads and Early Abbasids (c. 72-193/692- 809)*, Leiden, 2011; Id., "Introduction: the Making of Islamic History and Tradition," in Id. (ed.), *Écriture de l'histoire et processus de canonisation dans les premiers siècles de l'Islam*, *MMMR Special Issue* 129 (2011-1), pp. 17-30.

{234} A. Genet, "Le premier siècle de l'Islam vu par les chroniqueurs syriaques," pp. 10 ff (on the admiring portraits of Mu'āwiya); pp. 6 ff and 85 (on the absence of 'Alī among the caliphs).

{235} Apart from the studies cited in notes 100 and 101, see also H. Busse, "Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981), pp. 168-188; P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, *passim*; S. Bashear, "Jesus in Early Muslim *Shahāda* and Related Issues: A New Perspective," first published posthumously in Id. in *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, paper no. XV, pp. 1-18; M. Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2000,

pp. 11 ff; C. Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 7ff, 102ff; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of A Prophet*, chap. 4 ("From Believers to Muslims, from Jerusalem to the J:Iijāz: Confessional Identity and Sacred Geography in Early Islam").

{236} A.-L. de Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam*, pp. 290-291; Id., *Aux origines du Coran*, pp. 90- 91.

{237} See A.-L. de Prémare, *The Foundations of Islam*, pp. 29ff; O. Hamdan, "The Second *Maṣāḥif* Project: A Step towards the Canonization of the Qur'ānic Text," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 795-835; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 2, pp. 79 ff.

{238} On the question of the falsification of the Qur'an and the studies devoted to it see E. Kohlberg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, introduction; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, especially chapters 1 and 2.

{239} A. Jeffery, "Ghevond's text of the Correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III," *The Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944), pp. 269-332, quotation p. 298; quoted by P. Crone, M. Cook,

Hagarism, p. 168, note 21; E.-M. Gallez, *Le messie et son prophète*, vol. 2, p. 228. The History of Ghevond/Lewond is now translated into English by Z. Arzoumanian, *History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, Wynnewood, 1982 (*non vidi*). On 'Alī's kunya abū Turāb, see E. Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," *BSOAS* 41 (1978) (reprinted in Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum, Aldershot, 1991, article 6).

{240} See below chapters 5-7.

{Many of my works deal with these subjects, including *The Divine Guide in Original Shi'ism*, *The Discreet Religion*, and *The Silent Qur'an and the Speaking Qur'an*. Although branded as heterodoxy or even heresy by Sunni "orthodoxy," many of the Shi'ite doctrines appear to be among the oldest within Islam and would probably be much closer to the original movement of Muḥammad than Sunni heresiographical works would suggest. There is nothing new about the phenomenon. It was masterfully analyzed, as early as the 1930s and applied to early Christianity, by Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, Tübingen, 1934; transl. fr. by P. Vuagnat, Ch. and S. Mimouni, *Orthodoxie et hérésie aux débuts du christianisme*, Paris, 20092.

{242} I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professors Wilferd Madelung and Etan Kohlberg for their pertinent remarks during the writing of this study. Of course, the imperfections that one will not fail to notice in this study are attributable only to its author.

{243} Al-Tabarī, ed. by Goeje *et alii*, Leiden, 1879-1901, 1: 3196 ff; ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1960, 4: 514 ff.

{244} *Anā li-man yunkirunī ibnu yathribī qātilu 'ilbā'i wa hindi l-jamalī wa ibnin li-ṣūḥāna 'alā dīni 'alī*; Tabarī, from Goeje, 1: 3199; / Ibrāhīm, 4: 517, has a slightly different reading: *in taqtulūnī* ("if you are going to kill me, know that ...") *fa-anā ibnu yathribī qātilu 'ilbā'i wa hindi l-jamalī thumma bni ṣūḥāna 'alā dīni 'alī*. See also al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Jamal aw al-nuṣra fī ḥarb al-Baṣra*, Najaf, 1963, p. 146; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Tālib*, Najaf, 1956, 3: 156; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al- anwār*, an edition based on that of Kumpānī, 90 vols, in 110 volumes, Tehran, Qumm, 1376- 1392/1956-1972, 32: 176 (where 'Ammār b. Yāsir challenges Ibn Yathribī by saying among other things:

"It is as a follower of the religion of 'Alī that I fight you" - *uqātiluka 'alā dīni 'alī*).

{245} Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, ed. 'A.M. Hārūn, Baghdad, 1399/1979, p. 413; the version of the poem in Ibn Durayd is again slightly different: *qataltu 'ilbā'a wa hinda l-jamalī wa ibnan li-ṣūḥāna 'alā dīni 'alī*. In the margins of the unicum dated 7th/13th century, used by 'Abd al- Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, are ancient notes often bringing different lessons (cf. the editor's introduction, *ibid.*, pp. 36-37). As for the passage quoted, the notes in the margins reproduce al-Tabarī's version in the edition edited by de Goeje; cf. *ibid.*, p. 413, note 2, in fine.

{246} L. Caetani makes an error of interpretation in bringing this punishment of Ibn Yathribī closer to that of 'Abdallāh b. Saba', inflicted, according to tradition, by the same 'Alī (*Annali dell'Islam*, Milan, 1905-1925, 9: 142; on 'Abdallāh b. Saba', see M.G.S. Hodgson, *El2*, n.s. and now S. Anthony, *The Caliph and the Heretic. Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shī'ism*, Leiden, 2012). Accusing 'Alī of professing a deviant religion differs entirely from professing a doctrine

"extremist" claiming to be his; this error is noted by W. Madelung in *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 178, note 183. Another historiographic source, the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926) indicates as the only reason for Ibn Yathribī's killing, his extremely violent enmity with 'Alī; v. Ibn A'tham, *al-futūḥ*, Persian trans. of Harawī (6th/ 12th century), ed. Gh. Tabāṭabā'ī Majd, Tehran, 1374 f./1995, pp. 432-433.

{247} Tabarī/de Goeje, 2, p. 143; /Ibrāhīm, 5, p. 276. Speaking of these Alids, Mu'āwiya calls them.

"rebels among the Turābiyya Saba'iyya," referring to 'Alī's kunya Abū Turāb (cf. Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," *BSOAS* 41, 1978, pp. 347-352; now in *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum, Aldershot, 1991, Part VI) and 'Abdallāh b. Saba'. See also the abridged version of this account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. IV/a, ed. Schloessinger - Kister, Jerusalem,

1972, p. 225. It is true that al-Khath'amī's answer is ambiguous, hence Mu'āwiya's embarrassment. His "disassociation" from the religion of 'Alī is undoubtedly based on the duty of *taqiyya*, but one might wonder whether the expression *dīn 'Alī* did not in fact come from Mu'āwiya or generally from 'Alī's opponents. The expression does seem to have been problematic for at least some of 'Alī's supporters, due to the fact that it could draw a distinction between "the religion of 'Alī" and Islam. According to a report by al-Tabarī, at the Battle of the Camel, when the Azd of Baṣra, in order to have their lives saved, shout that they are followers of the religion of 'Alī (*nahnu 'alā dīni 'alī*), a man of the Banū Layth of Kūfa (certainly an Alid) mocks them because of what they had just said (Tabarī: de Goeje, 1, pp. 3189-3190; /Ibrāhīm, 4, p. 512). However, as we shall see, the expression is sometimes unambiguously attributed to the followers of 'Alī. Cf. also the verses of the Alide Companion al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān al-Anṣārī, praising "the religion of 'Alī" at the end of the battle of Siffin, according to al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffin*, ed. 'A.M.Hārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, p. 380 or Ibn Abī l-J: Iadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965, 1, p. 149.

{248} *Anā bnu shaddāda 'alā dīni 'alī/lastu li-'uthmāna bni arwā bi-walī* (Tabarī: Ibrāhīm, 6: 50). The use of *arwā* (literally "mountain goat") is a play on the word *'affān* (the name of 'Uthmān's father, one of whose meanings is "animal with a foul-smelling skin or hair"). Al-Majlisī reports the story from the History of al-Tabarī, but his version has some notable differences with the edited text of the *Ta'rīkh*: for example, the character is called al-Aḥraṣ b. Shaddād and his verse is a response to the verses of his opponent Ibn Qab'ān al-Kalbī: "I am Ibn Qab'ān al-Karīm al-Mufaḍḍal/One of the leaders of those who disassociate themselves from the religion of 'Alī (*anā bnu /ab'āna l-karīmi l-mufaḍḍali/min 'aṣabatin yabra'ūna min dīni 'alī*)"; *Bihār al-anwār*, 45, p. 381.

{249} Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. S.M. al-Laḥḥām. Beirut, 1409/1989. 9 vols, 8, p. 711.

{250} See for example J. Schacht, "A revaluation of islamic tradition", *JRAS*, 1949, pp. 140-152 ;

G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden, 1969, pp. 30 sq.

{251} R.B. Serjeant, "*lfaram* and *lfawṭah*, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia," in A.R. Badawi (ed.), *Mélanges Taha Husain*, Cairo, 1962, pp. 41-50, in part. p. 42 and p. 50; Id., "The 'Constitution' of Medina," *The Islamic Quarterly* 8, 1964, pp. 3-16, in part. 13 (now in *Studies in Arabian History and Civilisation*, London, Variorum, 1981, parts III and V); M.M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, Leiden, 1972, index, s.v. *dāna* (dyn), *dīn*, and pp. 4-7 "Murūwah and *dīn*".

{M.M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background*, p. 34 and note 1, where the author considers the theses of Nöldeke and Horowitz on the Iranian origin of the term to be superfluous; see also U. Rubin, The Eye of the Beholder. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder. The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims*, Princeton, 1995,

s.v.; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Remarques sur le terme *dfn* dans le Coran", in M. De Souza, A. Peters-Coustot and F.-X. Romanacce (eds.), *Le sacré dans tous états. Romanacce (eds.), Le sacré dans tous ses états. Catégories du vocabulaire religieux et sociétés, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2012, pp. 281-296.

{253} M.M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background*, index, s.v. *sanna*, *sunnah*; G.H.A. Juynboll,

"Some new ideas on the development of *sunna* as a technical term in early Islam," *JSOI* 10, 1987,

pp. 97-118, in part pp. 97 sq. (now in *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Hadīth*, London, Variorum, 1996, part V); J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus. L'Islam de Mahomet*, Paris, 1997, p. 652. For the very rare use of the expression *dīn 'Uthmān* (probably coined in reaction to the expression *dīn 'Alī*), see J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, I-VI, Berlin, 1991-97, index s.v. and also 4, pp. 565ff (on the use of the term *dīn*).

{254} Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. IV/b, ed. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1961, p. 27; Tabarī, de Goeje, 1, pp. 3350-3351.

{255} Cf. *Naqā'id Jarīr wa l-Farazdaq*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden, 1905-1909, p. 1013.

{256} Ibn Abī Ya'lā al-Farrā', *Tabaqāt al-lfanābila*, Damascus, 1923 (reprint Beirut, ca. 1980), 2:

32. Some reports distinguish between the *sunna* of the Prophet and the *sīra* of the caliphs (cf. al-Tabarī, *op.*

cit. at 1: 2786, 2793; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Houtsma. Leiden, 1883, 2: 186-187). Bravmann considers the two terms to be synonymous in this context, *op. cit.* at 124ff. For a fine historical and doctrinal analysis of these passages, see T. Nagel, *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam*, vol. I. Bonn, 1973, pp. 7-44.

{257} Ed. Dūrī-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut, 1971, p. 284.

{258} See M. Sharon, "The 'Abbasid Da'wa reexamined on the basis of a new source", *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Bar Ilan University, 1973. In this regard, see also the important work of M.Q. Zaman, *Religion and Politics under the Early 'Abbāsids*, Leiden, 1997, index s.v. *akhbār*.

{259} See now W. Madelung, "'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and Shiite Law" in U. Vermeulen-J.M.F. van Reeth (eds.), *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society*, Leuven, 1998, pp. 13-25.

{260} According to a tradition dating back to Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir reported by Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-madīna al-munawwara*, ed. M.F. Shaltūt. Qumm, 1410/1989-1990, p. 217; quoted by W. Madelung, art. cit. p. 24.

{261} Ibn J:Iajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols. Haydarabad, 1907-1909 (repr. Beirut, 1968), 9, pp. 328ff. See also the similar opinion of al-Shāfi'ī, analyzed by J. Schacht, *Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, p. 24. Counting 'Alī among the *rāshidūn* caliphs was problematic until the Abbasid period. Ibn J:Ianbal is said to have been the first major non-Aliyan thinker to have sought to rehabilitate 'Alī in this sense; see his *Kitāb al-sunna*, Mecca, 1349/1930, p. 214; Sāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. J:Ianbal, *Sīrat al-imām Aḥmad b. J:Ianbal*, ed. F. 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad, Alexandria, 1981, p. 82. For the rehabilitation of 'Alī, see also T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, Bonn, 1975, pp. 232ff.

{262} Ibn Abī Ya'lā al-Farrā', *Tabaqāt al-lfanābila*, 2: 32. It should be pointed out that *al-'atīq* was also one of Abū Bakr's nicknames.

{263} In the very long chapter on the reign of 'Alī, W. Madelung, *The succession of Muḥammad*, pp. 178-179, and in the conclusion essentially devoted to the reign of Mu'āwiya, p. 338.

{264} W. Madelung, *The succession of Muḥammad*, pp. 178-179.

{265} Cf. L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Sul *Nahj al-balāghah* e sul suo compilatore ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, *AIUON*, no special, 1958, pp. 7 ff.

{266} The two notions, which we shall examine in detail, are not in contradiction with the figure of 'Alī as Messiah. The subject deserves a separate study.

{267} al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, ed. 'A.M. Hārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, pp. 470 ff; al-Thaqafī, *Kitāb al-ghārāt*, ed. J. al-Muḥaddith al-Urmawī, Tehran, 1395/1975, pp. 303 ff; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard revised by C. Pellat. Beirut 1968-1979, 3: 201 sq.; (Pseudo-)Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa l-siyāsa*, ed. M.M. al-Rāfi'ī, Cairo, 1322/1904, 1, pp. 191 sq. Also W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 240-241 and pp. 270-271.

{268} Al-Thaqafī, *K. al-Ghārāt*, pp. 434-435; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. II, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Beirut, 1974, pp. 74-75. Also H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mu'āwīa I* er, Paris, 1908, p. 175; W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 263-264.

{269} E.g. Tabarī, de Goeje, 1: 3350 sq.; on the *lfaḍīth* of Ghadīr Khumm, see e.g. A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance and Indices of Muslim Tradition*, Leiden, 1936 . . . , s.v. *walī*. Also

L. Veccia Vaglieri, *EI2*, s.v.

{270} Balādhurī, *ibid.* 2, pp. 245-246.

{271} Tabarī, Ibrāhīm, 4: 426; the term *šinw/šunw*, which I have translated as "nearest," literally means "similar, same" and refers to brother, cousin, or son. W. Madelung cites the poem from de Goeje's edition, I, p. 3065, and attributes it instead to al-Faḍl's father, al-'Abbās b. 'Utba, who seems to have been the cantor and spokesman of the Banū Hāshim; *The succession*, p. 186. Ibn J:Ianbal uses the term to define al-'Abbās' relationship with 'Abdallāh, the father of Muḥammad; see his *Musnad*, 1, p. 207, and 2, p. 322.

{272} Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2: 393 ff; Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffīn*, p. 118 ff; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3, p. 197 ff. Al-Tabarī expressly says that he censored the letter because the mass ('āmma) would not have stood for it; Goeje's ed. 1, p. 3248. By this he surely means the J:ianbalite activists of Baghdad whose hostility with the great scholar was well known; cf. al-Isfahānī, *Annalium Libri*, ed. Gottwald, Petropoli, 1884, 2, p. 155; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Haydarabad, 1357/1938, 6, p. 172.

{273} *Dīwān Abu l-Aswad al-Du'alī*, ed. M.J:I. Al Yāsīn, Beirut 1974, pp. 119-120. Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 20 vols, Būlāq, Cairo, 1285/1868, 12, p. 321 (short version of the poem).

{274} *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. III, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmudī, Beirut, 1974, p. 28; Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyin*, ed. S.A. Saqr, Cairo 1949, reissued Qumm, 1416/1995, p. 62.

{275} In this part of the study, I rely on the official version of the Qur'an. In other words, the Shi'a data on the falsification of the Qur'an are not taken into account.

{276} See, e.g., Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 9 vols, Beirut, 1380/1960, 2, p. 338; Ibn J:Iajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7, p. 338; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-lfadīth wa l-athar*, ed. Zāwī-Tināḥī, 4 vols. Cairo, 1963-1966, reprint. Beirut, n.d., 3, p. 102.

{277} W. Madelung, *The succession*, "The obligation of the kinship and the families of the prophets in the Qur'ān", pp. 6-18; hence the reaction of some critics of the book who saw in it a kind of pro-shi'ite apology. This is, of course, a gross misunderstanding, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this study.

{W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 6-7.

{*Ibid.* at 7-8.

{280} "Family of the Abode" seems to me a more adequate translation than the more conventional "People of the House". *Ahl*, in Arabic as well as in South Arabian and Ugaritic, corresponds originally to the Accadian *ālu* (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1965, s.v.) and to the Hebrew *ohēl*. The latter designates the tent of the nomads (e.g., Genesis 13:5; 18:1; Isaiah 38:12) or the tent as a sanctuary (Exodus 33:7; Numbers 11:24) and as the dwelling (*mishkan*) of God (Psalms 15:1; 27:5) (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 17th ed., Leiden, 1951, p. 95, col. 2). *Ahl*, place of residence, abode, ends up designating those who live in that place, thus family; it is the same term which, according to the *Tāj al-'arūs*, gave the term *āl* (family, descendants), by lightening the letter h: *āl wa aṣluhu ahl ubdilāt al-hā' hamza fa-šārat a-a-l tawālat hamzatān fa-ubdilāt al-thāniya alifan fa-šāra āl* (al-Zabīdī: *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *āl*). As for the term *bayt*, it refers to a place of residence, whether it is a built building, a tent, or a natural place; "the house" in French evokes mostly the first meaning. I will come back to other semantic levels of *bayt*.

{281} W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 8-12. For discussions of the term *baqiyya*, cf. R. Paret, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes *baqīya* im Koran," in *Alttestamentliche Studien Friedrich Nötscher zum 60. Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1950, pp. 168-171; A. Spitaler, "Was bedeutet *baqīja* im Koran?", in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 137-146.

{282} W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 12-18.

{283} Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 2, p. 315. I. Hrbek, pointing out, among other things, the incompatibility of this *lfadīth* of Abū Bakr with the spirit and letter of the Qur'an, considers it apocryphal, "Muḥammads Nachlass und die Aliden," *Archiv Orientalni* 18, 1950, pp. 143-149; W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 360-361. On the spoliation of Fāṭima's inheritance by the caliphal power, see Sulaym b. Qays (attributed to), *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, ed. al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī, 3 vols, Qumm, 1426/1995, chap. 14 (on the work, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 1).

{284} Cf. Minqarī, *Waq'at Siffīn*, pp. 85 ff; Tabarī: de Goeje, 1, pp. 3385-3386.

{285} H. Lammens, *The Cradle of Islam: Western Arabia on the Eve of the Hegira*, Rome, 1914, p. 314 *passim*.

{286} E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public Musulman*, Paris, 1954-1956, 1, pp. 97 sq., 114 sq.

- {287} W.M. Watt, *Muḥammad: Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford, 1961, especially pp. 35-36.
 {Id. in *Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, 1968, p. 31.
- {289} R.B. Serjeant, "The Saiyids of J:laḍramawt" in *An Inaugural Lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1956*, London, 1957, pp. 3-29; "*lfaram* and *lfawṭah*, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia," pp. 41-58; "The 'Constitution' of Medina," pp. 3-16; "The *Sunnah Jāmi'ah*, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the *tahrīm* of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-called 'Constitution of Medina,'" *BSOAS* 41, 1978, pp. 1-42 (now in *Studies in Arabian History and Civilization*, Parts VIII, III, V, and VI).
- {290} U. Rubin, "The *ilāf* of Quraysh. A study of sūra CVI," *Arabica*, 31-2, 1984, pp. 165-188.
- {291} R.B. Serjeant, "*lfaram* and *lfawṭah*," pp. 53ff. U. Rubin, "The Ka'ba: aspects of its ritual functions and position in Pre-Islamic and early Islamic times," *JSAI* 8, 1986, pp. 97-131.
- {292} W.N. 'Arafat, *Diwan of fassān ibn Thābit*, London, 1971, 1, p. 109.
- {293} Cf. A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, Leiden, 1927, p. 266. On the share vested in the Banū Hāshim on the *Dīwān* of 'Umar, see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 3, pp. 294ff, and following him al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866, pp. 448 ff. On the "*atā*" devolved to the Banū Hāshim, see al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamhara nasab Quraysh*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1381/1961, p. 111. For an exclusively Abbasid "recovery" of this data, see Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut-London, 1985, pp. 102-104, pp. 142 sq.
- {294} W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 6-7; C. Pellat, "J:lilf al-fuḍūl," *EI2*.
- {295} Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. M.M. 'Abd al-J:Iamīd, 4 vols. Cairo, n.d., chap. 19, no. 51; al- Maqrīzī, *al-Nizā' wa l-takhāṣum fī mā bayna banī umayya wa banī hāshim*, ed. J:I. Mu'nis, Cairo, 1984, p. 60 (a shorter and somewhat different version).
- {296} Ed. J. Horovitz, *Die Hāshimijjāt des Kumait*, Leiden, 1904; Arabic text reprinted in Qumm, n.d. (circa 1970).
- {297} T. Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des abbasidischen Kalifates*; Bonn, 1972, pp. 70 ff and 79 ff; M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, Leiden-Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 76 ff; W. Madelung, "The Hāshimiyyāt of al-Kumayt and Hāshimi Shi'ism," *SI* 70, 1990, pp. 5-26.
- {298} Within this framework, from the methodological point of view, the traditions concerning "monotheism" as a sign of election and sanctity of the Prophet's ancestors and close relatives, especially his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his father 'Abdallāh, and his paternal uncle Abū Tālib, father of 'Alī who adopted and raised Muḥammad after 'Abdallāh's death, cannot be exploited here because of their strong Islamic coloring which proves their late character. On these traditions and the historical problems they pose, see for example T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg, 1971, reed. Paris 1987, pp. 82 ff and 260 ff; U. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shī'a Tradition," *JSAI* 1, 1979; C. Gilliot, "Muqātil, great exegete, traditionist and cursed theologian," *JA* 279/1-2, 1991, in part. pp. 68-70; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 103-104 and note 204; J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus*, pp. 166 ff. It seems undeniable, however, that Muḥammad's native milieu was deeply imbued with biblical culture as we have seen (chap. 2). Even the notion of the holiness of the saint's family is fundamentally biblical.
- {In Accadian, the term *bīt* designates the temple as a whole or certain parts of it (W. von Soden, *AHW*, s.v.); the same development occurs in Hebrew, as well as in Syriac and Arabic. In addition to its secular meaning of "dwelling place", the religious character of the term is particularly emphasized when it is preceded by the article *ha-b-bayt* in Hebrew (Micah 3:12; Haggai 1:8) (Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches* ..., pp. 95-98) or *al-bayt* in Arabic (e.g., Q. 2:125, 127, etc.). Apparently in the nomadic stage, *bayt* was often followed, among the Arabs as well as the Hebrews, by the word *il/el* (deity, supernatural entity or protector), resulting in *batīl/Bêt-El* (hence "Betyl"). This compound originally referred to the travelling shrine where the symbols and instruments of worship were gathered and eventually became itself the symbol and/or object of worship (cf. H. Lammens, "Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites," *BIFAO* 17, 1919-1920, pp. 39-101; T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la*

veille de l'Hégire, Paris, 1968, chap. 1; J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus*, index, s.v., *bayt*, *beth*, *bétyle*. On the meaning of the word in south-Arabia, see A.F.L. Beeston, "The so-called harlots of J:Iadramawt," *Oriens* 5, 1952, pp. 21ff.; "Kingship in ancient south-Arabia," *JESHO* 15, 1972, pp. 251 ff.

{M. Sharon understands the term, in the ante-Islamic context, as "the noble ruling families" within the tribes, or more exclusively the tribe of Quraysh; see his "*Ahl al-Bayt* - People of the House", *JSAI* 8, 1986, pp. 169-184, respectively p. 183 and 179.

{301} Especially in Q. 33: 33; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima and the Daughters of Muhammad*, Rome, 1912, p. 97 *passim*; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg, 1912, pp. 19ff.

{Especially in Q. 11:73 and 33:33; cf. R. Paret "Der Plan einer neuen, leicht kommentierten wissenschaftlichen Koranübersetzung", in Id. (ed.), *Orientalistische Studien Enno Littmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Leiden, 1935, pp. 121-130, partly pp. 127 ff.

{M. Sharon, "*Ahl al-Bayt* - People of the House"; "The Umayyads as *ahl al-bayt*", *JSAI* 14, 1991, pp. 115-152; see also by the same scholar, "The development of the debate around the legitimacy of authority in early Islam", *ibid.* 5, 1984, pp. 121-142.

{304} W. Madelung, "The *Hāshimīyyāt* of al-Kumayt," in part. p. 15, p. 21, pp. 24-25.

{305} I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, vol. II. London, 1971, pp. 103 ff; see also the sources given by M. Sharon, "*Ahl al-Bayt* - People of the House", pp. 172-173.

{306} Al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, ed. M.M. Shākir and A.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1373-1388/1955-1969, 22, pp. 5-7.

{307} In his long letter to Mu'āwiya, reported by several historiographers (Minqarī, Balādhurī, Tabarī) and analyzed by W. Madelung (*The succession*, pp. 212 sq.), 'Alī seems to identify the *ahl al-bayt* with the Banū Hāshim and the Banū l-Muṭṭalib; however, as far as the succession of the Prophet is concerned, he would surely have thought of himself and his two sons al-J:Iasan and al-J:Iusayn, the only male descendants of Muḥammad.

{308} Cf. P. Bonte, E. Conte, C. Hames and A.W. Ould Cheikh, *Al-Ansāb. La quête des origines*, Paris, 1991, pp. 65 sq. The third aspect of the *qarāba* is the *riḍā'a*, "adoption through milk," *ibid.* pp. 73 ff.

{309} For a more detailed analysis see J. Cuisenier and A. Miquel, "La terminologie arabe de la parenté. Analyse sémantique et analyse componentielle", *L'Homme* 5/3-4; 1965, pp. 15-79. In the Qur'an, the two terms are inextricably linked in verse 25: 54: "It is He who created man out of water and then instituted him through lineage and covenant (... *fa-ja'alahu nasaban wa ṣihran*)" (trans. J. Berque, *Le Coran, Essai de traduction*, p. 386). E. Conte suggests "relatives (by blood) and allies (by marriage or women)" (*Al-Ansāb. The Quest for Origins*, p. 66).

{310} So much so that the tribe is defined as an organic set of agnatic relatives - *awlād al-'amm* -; on this capital notion, the works of the first great Arabists and Islamists still remain sure references; see for example I. Goldziher, "Polyandry and exogamy among the Arabs," *The Academy* 13/26; 1880; J. Wellhausen, "Die Ehe bei den Arabern," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen* 11, 1893; O. Proksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*, Leipzig, 1899, in part. pp. 33 ff.

{Cf. J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus*, p. 654.

{312} On this perception, see now U. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder. The Life of Muḥammad as viewed by the Early Muslims*, Princeton, 1995.

{313} T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 63 ff ("Divination and prophecy"), pp. 88 ff ("Prophet and diviner") and p. 263 *passim*; see also Id., "Le monde du sorcier en Islam", in *Le monde du sorcier*, Paris, 1966, pp. 155-204. On the difficulty of translating the term *kāhin* (priest -devin-oracle- doctor . . .), see Id., *La divination arabe*, pp. 94 ff. On *shā'ir* ("poet"), etymologically

"See also F. Rosenthal, *Knowledge triumphant. The concept of knowledge in medieval Islam*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 12-13.

{314} J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus*, pp. 182-183 and pp. 527-529.

{315} Hūd b. Muḥkim/Muḥakkam al-J:Iawwārī, *Tafsīr*, ed. B. Sharīfī, Beirut, 1990, 2, p. 389.

{316} Abū Muḥammad al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr al-Baghawī al-musammā bi-Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, ed. al-'Akk-Sawār, Beirut, 1992, 3, p. 361. On the Prophet's "informants," see now C. Gilliot, "Muḥammad's Jewish and Christian 'informants,'" *JSOI* 22, 1998, pp. 84-126, a study that very usefully takes up and complements earlier work by A. Sprenger and T. Nöldeke on the subject (respectively: *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1861-1862, and "Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer?", *ZDMG* 12, 1858, pp. 699-708).

{317} *Uṣd al-ghāba*, ed. M. Fāyīḍ *et alii*, Cairo, 1963-1972, 4, p. 4.

{318} Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, p. 129.

{319} Cf. for example A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, pp. 41 ff.

{T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, London, 1933, reprinted in Baghdad, n.d. (ca. 1960), pp. 70 ff. Baghdad, n.d. (ca. 1960), pp. 70 ff; E.O. James, *The Nature and Function of Priesthood*, London, 1955, pp. 87 ff; J. Henninger, *La société bédouine ancienne*, Rome, 1959, index, s.v.; J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les arabes*, Paris, 1986, pp. 189 ff.

{321} W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1903 (2nd ed.), pp. 50

Id. in *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Edinburgh, 1914 (2nd ed.), pp. 314 ff, pp. 479 ff.

{322} J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1884, p. 124 and pp. 127-128.

{323} L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 1, p. 408.

{324} "They swore by the black, dark blood: we never want to part", quoted by J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentum*, p. 128, and reported by E. Conte, "Entering the blood. Arab perceptions of origins," in P. Bonte *et al*, *Al-Ansāb, The Quest for Origins*, p. 92.

{325} Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Saqqā-Abyārī-Shalabī, Cairo, 1955 (2nd ed.), 1: 446 and 454; Tabarī: de Goeje, 1, pp. 1220-1221.

{326} Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, 2, pp. 442-443.

{327} See on this subject W. Atallah, "Les survivances préislamiques chez le Prophète et ses Compagnons", *Arabica* 24/3, 1977, pp. 299-310.

{328} *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Haydarabad, 1942, pp. 70ff.

{329} Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.* at 1, pp. 344-346; also R.B. Serjeant, "The 'Constitution' of Medina, p. 6.

{330} Ibn J:Iabīb, *K. al-muḥabbar*, p. 71.

{331} See also W. M. Watt, "Mu'ākhāt," *EI2*; E. Conte, art. cit. pp. 93-99.

{332} E. Conte, art. cit. p. 94.

{333} On the silence of the sources see D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, Rome, 1938, 1: 196, note 8; see also the bibliography "Skeletal" from W.M. Watt's article "Mu'ākhāt.

{334} For example T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 23 ff.

{335} On this practice called *iktisāb*, i.e., "obtaining" (of seminal substance and thus of racial nobility), see al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī ma'rifa aḥwāl al-'arab*, Cairo 1928, 2, p. 4. The custom, still referred to as *iktisāb* or *kasb*, is still practiced in some Yemeni tribes, cf. J. Chelhod, "Du nouveau à propos du 'matriarcat' arabe," *Arabica* 28/1, 1981, p. 82.

{336} On the sources and studies devoted to this subject, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index, s.v. *ṣulb*, *aṣlāb* and *nūr*.

{337} J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, p. 194 and note 4; S. Altorki, "Milk-Kinship in Arab Society: An Unexplored Problem in the Ethnography of Marriage," *Ethnology* 19, 1980, pp. 233-244, in part. pp. 234 sq.

- {338} P. Bonte, "Égalité et hiérarchie dans une tribu maure", in P. Bonte *et al*, *Al-Ansāb, La quête des origines*, p. 158 *sqq.*
- {339} See al-Turayhī, *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa maṭla' al-nayyirayn*, Tehran, 1321/1903, s.v.
- {340} Tabarī: de Goeje, 1, pp. 3346-3347.
- {341} *Al-Nizā' wa l-takhāṣum*, p. 92.
- {342} In his seminal article, C. Gilliot on the "Mythical" Portrait of Ibn 'Abbās, *Arabica* 32, 1985, pp. 127-184; "sputation", pp. 143-144.
- {343} *Lisān al-'arab*, *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v.
- {344} A. van Gennepe, *Rites of Passage*, pp. 138-139 (*taḥnīk* as an initiatory rite of aggregation); J. Desparmet, *Le mal magique*, Algiers-Paris, 1932, p. 98 *ff* (a practice called *ṭfīl*, from the root *TFL*, to spit, in the Maghreb).
- {345} Ibn J:Ianbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313/1896, 3, p. 107.
- {346} Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra Ibn Ishāq al-musammāt bi-kitāb al-mubtada' wa l-mab'ath wa l-maghāzī*, ed. M. J:Iamidullāh, Rabat, 1976, p. 103; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3 vols. Cairo, 1378/1958, "ṭibb," p. 21.
- {347} Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, Beirut, 1977, 8: 295. See C. Gilliot, "Portrait "mythique" d'Ibn 'Abbās," p. 143; cf. also A. van Gennepe, *Les rites de passage*, p. 138 (among the mystics; during the Aïssaoua initiation ceremony, the master of the ritual spits three times in the neophyte's mouth). In 1973 I myself witnessed the *taḥnīk* ritual among the Qādirī dervishes of Iranian Baluchistan; according to them, the master's saliva transmits to the disciple the 'ilm and the 'amal, which in these dervishes amounts to initiatory science and supra-normal powers.
- {348} Bukhārī, "aḳīqa," p. 1; "adab," p. 109; Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 2 vols, Istanbul, repr. 1383/1963, "adab," 1: 23-28, "ṭahāra," p. 101; Ibn J:Ianbal 3 (pp. 105-106, p. 171, p. 175, p. 181, p. 188, p. 254, p. 288); 4 (p. 399); 6 (p. 93, pp. 212, 347). Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, "adab," p. 107. On this aspect of the practice, see now A. Giladi, "Some notes on *taḥnīk* in medieval Islam, *JNES* 3, 1988, pp. 175-179.
- {349} Bukhārī, "manāqib al-anṣār," p. 45; "zakāt," p. 69, "dhabā'iḥ," p. 35. Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ/Sunan*, ed. A.M. Shākir, 5 vols, Cairo, 1356/1937, "manāqib," p. 44; Abū Dāwūd, "jihād," p. 52. In their translation of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, O. Houdas and W. Marçais seem to want to ignore the meaning of *taḥnīk* used without a complement; the term is indeed systematically translated with a complement (in this case "a date"), even when the original text does not say so; v. El-Bokhārī, *Les traditions islamiques*, 4 vols, Paris, 1903-1914, reprinted in. 1977, see 2: pp. 681 *ff*. and note 2. In the 5th volume (introduction and corrective notes by M. Hamidullah, Paris 1981), the error is not rectified.
- {350} See the two previous notes.
- {J. Chelhod, "La *baraka* chez les Arabes", *RHR* 148/1, 1955, pp. 68-88; see also by him, *Les structures du sacré chez les arabes*, index s.v. and especially pp. 58-62.
- {352} *Al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, 8: 295; elsewhere he acknowledges that "the prophetic inheritance" belongs to the close family of the prophets (*ibid.*: 5: 290; also his *Tafsīr*, ed. Beirut 1966, 5, pp. 452 *ff*.), but seems to profess that this family consists of 'Abbās and his descendants (*Tafsīr*, 5, pp. 456-457, pro-Abbasid version of the *lḥadīth ahl al-kisā'*, where these are identified with 'Abbās and his sons).
- {353} For examples and sources, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 193-195. Here the Prophet introduces his saliva not only into the mouth but also into the eyes of the recipient. Moreover, he does the same with his sweat.
- {354} For the first and third, see *supra*. For the second, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 9: 14; al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut, 1971, p. 26.
- {355} M. Sharon, "The Umayyads as *ahl al-bayt*," Addendum in response to the article "*Hāshimiyyāt*" by W. Madelung, pp. 151-152.
- {356} *Ibid.* at 126; the Jewish Exilarch (Arabic *ra's al-jālūt*, from Aramaic *rēsh galūtha*, literally "head of the diaspora") resided in Iraq and represented, in his person, the divine election of the

descendants of the House of David. Also M. Gil, "The Exilarchate", in D. Frank (ed.), *The Jews of Medieval Islam*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 33-65.

{357} Id, "*Ahl al-Bayt* - People of the House," p. 173. For sources and studies on these connections, see now M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Fāṭema," Part I, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 9, pp. 400-402.

{358} "The Umayyads as *ahl al-bayt*", p. 127.

{359} On this version of the Qur'an, see e.g. E. Kohlberg, "Some notes on the Imāmite attitude to the Qur'an," in Stern-Hourani-Brown (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented . . . to R. Walzer...*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 209-224; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 200-227; M.M. Bar-Asher, "Variant readings and additions of the Imāmī-Shī'a to the Quran," *IOS* 13, 1993, pp. 39-74; and now E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, introduction.

{360} See for example al-Tabarī: de Goeje, 1, p. 3350.

{361} According to a report by al-Zuhri, reported by al-Balādhuri, Ibn Zubayr considered the Prophet's family to be "shabby and evil" (*uhayla sū/saw'*), *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. V, ed. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1936, p. 372.

{362} Those, for example, who transmitted traditions about the *kufi* of Muḥammad's father and ancestors; cf. Muslim, 1, pp. 132-133; al-J:alabī, *al-Sīra al-lfalabiyya*, Beirut, n.d., 1, p. 29; Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, 11: 30-31. For the anti-alien twist given to this kind of tradition, see al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-Mawāhib al-laduniyya li l-Qaṣṣallānī*, Cairo, 1329/1911, 1: 179, according to which "the unfaithful father" of the Prophet actually refers to Abū Tālib, for in Arabic "the one who brings up the child is also called a 'father'."

{363} M. Sharon, "*Ahl al-Bayt*-People of the House," p. 183; Id, "The Umayyads as *ahl al-bayt*," p. 127 and p. 151.

{364} C. Gilliot, "A 'Mythical' Portrait of Ibn 'Abbās," pp. 159ff, in part. p. 161; W. Madelung, "'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and Shiite Law."

{365} M. Sharon, "*Ahl al-Bayt*," p. 174, pp. 176-179, in part. p. 177. Although I have not specially studied the matter, it seems to me that many reports about Ibn 'Abbās' privileged relationship with the Prophet or the transmission of prophetic science to him (reports presented and thoroughly analyzed by C. Gilliot in "Portrait 'Mythic'," in part. p. 134, p. 140, pp. 142-143, pp. 151-152, p. 156) appear to be modelled on the reports about 'Alī found in abundance in the early Shi'i works. The problem deserves to be examined. See also J. van Ess, "The Qadarites and the Ghailāniya of Yazīd III," *SI* 31, 1970, p. 285.

{366} Gh. J.I. Sadīqī, *Jonbesh hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī* (expanded and updated version of the author's thesis, G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux ^{IIe} et ^{IIIe} siècles de l'hégire*, Paris, 1938), Tehran, 1372 solar/1993, pp. 225-226; E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'i views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *JSAI* 5 (1984) (= *Belief and Law*, Part IX), pp. 145- 146.

{367} W. Madelung, *The succession*, pp. 309-310.

{368} We have already seen the two reports of al-Majlisī (d. 1111/1699-1700) in his *Bihār al- anwār* (above notes 2 and 6). See also *Bihār*, 44: 125 (letter of Ziyād b. Abīhi to Mu'āwiya where he writes that the J:Iaḍramī are followers of the religion of 'Alī - according to the *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*); 44: 213 (letter of al-J:Iusayn to Mu'āwiya where he refers to the same letter of Ziyād - according to the *Rijāl* of al- Kashshī, d. ^{4th/Xth} c.); 45: 136 (Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya says to Zaynab bint 'Alī: "your father ('Alī) and your brother (al-J:Iusayn) have excluded themselves from the religion." Zaynab: "If your grandfather (Abū Sufyān), your father (Mu'āwiya) and yourself were Muslims, you would have returned to guidance through the religion of God, the religion of my father and the religion of my brother" - from the *Manāqib* of Ibn Shahrāshūb, d. 588/1192); also al-Mufid (d. 413/1022): *al-Irshād*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran, 1346 solar/1968, 2, pp. 106-107 (at the battle of Karbalā', Nāfi' b. Hilāl al-Bajalī, a follower of al-J:Iusayn, recites the verse, "I am Ibn Hilāl al-Bajalī/I am a follower of the religion of

'Alī/And the religion of this one is the religion of the Prophet". His opponent replies, "I am a follower of the religion of 'Uthmān," and Nāfi' retorts, "You are (in fact) a follower of the religion of Satan"; also *Biḥār al-anwār*, 45, p. 19 and editor's note 1 on the deficiency of the poem's meter; in the version reported by Ibn Shahrāshūb in *Manāqib āl abī Tālib*. 3 vols. Najaf, 1956, 3, p. 252, other verses are attributed to Nāfi': "I am the Yemeni youth of the Bajalī/ My religion is that of J:Iusayn and 'Alī ..."; *Biḥār*, 45, p. 27); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *op. cit.*, 3, p. 251 (again during the battle of Karbalā', the verses of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Yazanī: "I am the son of 'Abdallāh of the āl Yazan/My religion is that of J:Iusayn and J:Iasan ..."; *Biḥār*, 45, p. 22). Moreover, apart from the written sources, Shi'ism has also kept alive "Dīn 'Alī" as a personal name, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

{369} It is worth noting here a notable and probably ancient development in which the properly Arabic and ancestral aspects underlying much of *dīn 'Alī* will gradually undergo, in later Shi'ism, a transmutation of an initiatory and esoteric type. This evolution seems to date especially from the period of the imamate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 115 or 119/732 or 737) and even more so that of Ja'far al-Sādiq (d. 148/765) (cf. J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*. II. *Ja'far al-Šādiq, der sechste Imām*; Heidelberg, 1924; M.E.G. Hodgson, "How did the early Shi'a become sectarian?", *JAOS* 75, 1955). At the same time, the figure of Muḥammad becomes increasingly important as the messianic figure of 'Alī fades away in favor of his figure as imam and "heir of the Prophet." To illustrate this development, let me limit myself to a few examples from the early Imamite *lfiḍīth*: the replacement of the tribal concept of *hilm* with the *'aql* (which I have translated, in specific contexts, as "intelligence of the sacred" or "which, in its sapiential dimension, is equivalent to the *'ilm* (in the sense of The content of the Prophet's saliva (or sweat) is said to be "the initiatory science" (cf. *The Divine Guide*, index s.v., and in part. pp. 15-28 and 174-199). The content of the Prophet's saliva (or sweat) is said to be "the initiatory science" ('Alī often begins his sermons with these words: "O people! Question me before you lose me! I am the Basket of the Initiating Science; I carry within me the saliva of the Prophet which he made me drink drop by drop. Question me, for I hold the science of the Origins and the Ends" (e.g. Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq, *Amālī/Majālis*, ed. M.B. Kamare'i, Tehran, 1404/1984, p. 341). After having Muḥammad's saliva in his eyes, 'Alī acquires the power to "see" and know the true nature of people (e.g., al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. M. Kučebāghī, Tabriz, 2nd ed. [circa 1960], p. 390). When Muḥammad was teaching 'Alī the "thousand chapters" of science, both men were sweating and the sweat of each was dripping on the body of the other (*ibid.*, p. 313; see also *The Divine Guide*, pp. 193-194). In the series of traditions concerning the "tripartite division of humanity," some of them, probably the oldest, make use of tribal terminology ("We [*i.e.*, the imams] are the descendants of the tribes. the Imams] are the descendants of Hāshim, our Shi'ises are Arabs of noble stock [*al-'arab*] and the others, Bedouins of low descent [*al-a'rāb*]); "We are the noble Arabs [*'arabī*], our followers are the protected allies [*mawālī*] and those who do not have the same doctrine as us are the vile ones [*'ilj*]"). Others, undoubtedly later, take up the same division by introducing the initiatory dimension ("Men are divided into three categories: the wise initiator [*'ālim*, *i.e.* the imam], the initiated disciple [*muta'allim* 'the imam's faithful'] and the scum carried away by the wave [*ghuththā'*, *i.e.* the uninitiated]"; "The [true] men are of only two kinds: the wise initiator and the initiated disciple. The others are only vile beings [*hamaj*]"). On these traditions and their analysis see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Seul l'homme de Dieu est humain. Théologie et anthropologie mystique à travers l'exégèse imamite ancienne (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine IV)", *Arabica* 45, 1998, pp. 193-214 (= *La Religion discrète*, chap. 8).

{Imam" is written here with a capital "i" when referring to the ontological, cosmic, archetypal Imam, and with a small "i" when referring to the historical Imam, the manifestation of the former on the sensible plane. Moreover, "Imamite" and "Duodecimal" are used in the same way.

{In the present state of our knowledge, it still seems risky to try to establish filiations between the various ante-Islamic religious traditions and the numerous schools of thought which derive from them, especially since a good number of doctrines claim to be more or less explicitly derived from several of them. We can only be satisfied here with a few summary bibliographical data; for what concerns "Man in the image of God" in the Jewish, Christian and Judeo-Christian traditions, see the rich bibliography of L. Scheffczyk (ed.), *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes*, Darmstadt, 1969, pp. 526-38; also T.H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, Washington D.C., 1983. For the motif of the *Imago Dei* in Hellenistic and Gnostic thought, it is useful to consult U. Bianchi (ed.), *La 'doppia' creazione dell'uomo negli Alessandrini, nei Cappadoci nella gnosis*, Rome, 1978. For the notion of the Primordial Man in Iranian religions, see the bibliographical study of C. Colpe, "Der 'Iranische Hintergrund' der islamischen Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen", in *Recurrent Patterns in Iranian Religions. From Mazdaism to Sufism*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, *Studia Iranica* (Cahier 11), Paris, 1992. For the Perfect Man in Mazdaism, see M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1963, Livre III, chap. 3. For the Primordial Man in Manichaeism, see H.C. Puech, *Le manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris, 1949, s.v. (bibliography to be completed by Id. "le Manichéisme", in *l'Histoire des Religions, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, 2,

pp. 523-645). For the Assyro-Babylonian religions, one will find precious information in

S. Parpola, "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 52, no. 3, 1993, pp. 161-208. and especially see *L'ésotérisme shi'ite, ses racines et ses prolongements*, under the direction of M.A. Amir-Moezzi, edited with

M. de Cillis, D. De Smet, and O. Mir-Kasimov, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Turnhout, 2017.

{In addition to the now classic works on Muslim mysticism which include more or less extensive developments on the Perfect Man (e.g., the works of Nicholson, Asin Palacios, Massignon, Arberry, Anawati-Gardet, Ritter, Schimmel, Corbin, Izutsu), let us cite a few monographs containing particularly interesting data: H.H. Schaeder, "Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen", *ZDMG*, 79, 1925, pp. 192-268 (partially translated into Arabic by 'A.R. Badawī, see below); L. Massignon, "L'Homme Parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique", in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, XV, 1948, pp. 287-314 (now in *Opera Minora*, Paris, 1969, 1: 107-25; partially translated into Arabic by 'A.R. Badawī, see below); 'A.R. Badawī, *al-Insān al-kāmil fī l-islām*, Cairo, 1950; R. Arnaldez, "al-Insān al-Kāmil," *EI2*, 3, pp. 1271-7123; W.M. Watt, "Created in His Image: A Study of Islamic Theology," in *Transactions of Glasgow University Oriental Society*, 18, 1959-1960, pp. 36-49 ;

G.C. Anawati, "The Supreme Name of God (*Ism Allāh al-A'zam*)," *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Naples, 1967; M. Takeshita, *Ibn Arabi's Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought*, Tokyo, 1987; Ph. Gignoux, "Imago Dei: de la théologie nestorienne à Ibn al-'Arabi," in *Recurrent Patterns...* (see note 1), pp. 13-27; B. Radtke, *The Concept of wilāya in Early Sufism*, London, 1993, contains valuable insights into the early development of the notion in mystical circles. Several contributions in *Shi'ite Esotericism, Its Roots and Extensions* (note 1) refer to it.

{373} L. Massignon, art.cit. (note 2), *Opera Minora*, 1, pp. 109-110.

{374} 'A.J.I. Zarrīnkūb, *Arzesh-e mīrāth-e šūfiyye*, Tehran, 1343 solar/1965, pp. 281-82; K.M. al-Shaybī, *al-Fikr al-shī'ī wa l-naza'āt al-šūfiyya*, Baghdad, 2nd ed, 1395/1975, pp. 253-54; among the traditional scholars, Sayyid Muṣṭafā Al J:laydar, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, Tehran, n.d., pp. 75 ff, 214 ff, Ja'far al-'Amilī, *Dirāsa fī 'alāmāt al-ḏuhūr*, Qumm, 1411/1990, pp. 110 ff. The arguments of F.

Sezgin, who tends to consider the overall text of one of these proclamations (the *khuṭbat al-bayān*) as historically authentic, are not supported by texts (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, t. IV, Leiden, 1971, p. 22). It should be recalled that by the time of al-Ma'mūn (reign 198/813 to 218/833), nearly two hundred preachings attributed to 'Alī were in circulation and that this number very soon reached twice that number (see L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Sul *Nahj al-balāghah* e sul suo compilatore ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī," *AIUON*, special no., 1958, pp. 7 ff.)

{375} See, e.g., Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī's (d. 1259/1843) introduction to his *Sharḥ al-khuṭbat al-taṭanjiyya*, Tabriz, 1270/1853. It is true that, from the earliest heresiographical treatises, the deification of the Imam becomes one of the constant charges against "extremist" Shi'is (see M.G. Hodgson "Ghulāt," *EI2*, 2, pp. 1119-1121; also W. al-Qāḍī, "The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya," in A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 295-319, esp.

pp. 299 ff and 306 ff). Neither the *Nahj al-balāgha*, compiled by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016), nor the *Bihār al-anwār* of Majlisī II (d. 1111/1699), contain the most representative theo-imamosophical precepts. The primary reason for this silence should be the division of the duodecimans, already after the major occultation of the twelfth imam around 329/940-41, into two currents of divergent nature and "worldview": the original "esoteric-non-rational" current and the later "theological-legal-rational" current. The latter, now in the majority and dominant, often accused the former of "literalism" (*ḥashw*) and "extremism" (*ghuluww*); see on this subject M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 15-58.

{376} H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris, 1971, I/p. 96, n. 64.

{377} W.M. Watt, *Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh, 1973, s.v.

{378} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 313-316. I have explored this issue on several occasions and from different angles; see now Id., "The Imams and the Ghulāt. New Reflections on the Relationship between 'Moderate' Imamism and 'Extremist' Shi'ism," in *Shi'i Studies Review*.

{379} Cf. E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 5, 1984, pp. 145-146 (now in *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, Variorum Reprints, 1991, Part IX); Gh.J.I. Sadīqī, *Jonbesh-hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn-hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī* (an expanded and updated version of the author's thesis, Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux ^{IIe} et ^{IIIe} siècles de l'hégire*, Paris, 1938), Tehran, 1372 solar/1993, pp. 225 ff; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 75 ff. See also here chapters 2 and 3.

{It should be remembered that, contrary to the accusations of the heresiographers, especially the Sunni ones, no Shi'ite sect, not even the most "extremist", seems to have claimed that a "Place of Manifestation" could be God in Essence. For all the Shi'ites, God is, at the level of Essence, absolutely ineffable and unknowable, which constitutes the very theological foundation of imamology; we will come back to this. It is therefore not a question of deification by incarnation but by theophanic participation, the mode of participation differing according to the "Place of Manifestation" preferred by the sect (cf.

L. Massignon, "Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien", *Société d'Études Iraniennes, Cahier 7*, Paris, 1934 (= *Opera Minora*, 1, pp. 443-483, especially pp. 467-472; see now *Écrits mémorables*, dir. Ch. Jambet, Paris, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 576 ff). For such Shi'ite sects, see the list compiled by 'A. Iqbāl, *Khānedān-e Nawbakhtī*, Tehran, 1311 solar/1933, pp. 249-67.

{381} Supporters of the mysterious 'Abdallāh b. Saba', see M.G. Hodgson, "'Abdallāh b. Saba'," *EI2*, n.p.

{382} Cf. J. van Ess, "Das *Kitāb al-irjā'* des J:Iasan b. Muḥammad b. al-J:Ianafīyya," *Arabica*, 21, 1974 and 22, 1975, esp. 1974, pp. 31 ff.

{383} Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*, ed. M.A.-F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1960, sub anno 278, 10: 25-26. According to al-Tabarī, the Kaysānite proclamation comes from a Qarmāṭe document.

{384} A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris, 1806, 2, p. 83; L. Massignon, art.cit. (above note 2), *Opera Minora*, pp. 122-23; the two nuṣayrī texts are: 1) the one de Sacy calls "The Catechism of the Nosairi" in Paris Manuscript 5188 (de Sacy collection), folios 95 ff. and 2) the *Kitāb al-hidāya al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1406/1986) by the nuṣayrī thinker Abū 'Abdallāh (b.) J:Iusayn b. J:Iamdān al-Khaṣībī (d. 346/957 or 358/969), cited by Massignon, *ibid.* on p. 123. The *majmū'a nuṣayrī* (Paris, Arabic 1450) contains a text attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, a famous disciple of the 6th and 7th imams, on the divinity of 'Alī; this text is late and dates from the 7th/XIIIth c. (see M.M. Bar-Asher and A. Kofsky, "The Nuṣayrī Doctrine of 'Alī's Divinity and the Nuṣayrī Trinity According to an Unpublished Treatise from the 7th/13th Century," *Der Islam*, 72/2 (1995), pp. 258-292 - now see Id, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion: An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, 2002); on this manuscript, see also Cl. Huart, "La poésie religieuse des nosāiris," *Journal Asiatique*, 14, 1879, pp. 241-248; L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une bibliographie nuṣayrie," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, pp. 913-22 = *Opera Minora*, 1: 640- 649. For the jābirian corpus see *Kitāb al-uṣṭuqus al-uss al-thānī*, ed. E.J. Holmyard in *The Arabic Works of Jābir b. Iḥyān*, Paris, 1928, pp. 79-96, citation on p. 89. For the dating of this corpus, see P. Lory in Jābir b. J:Iayyān, *Ten Tracts of Alchemy. Les dix premiers Traités du Livre des Soixante-Dix*, Paris, 1983, pp. 34-51.

{385} Al-Kashshī, *Ma'rifa akhbār al-rijāl*, Bombay, 1317/1899, p. 138 (notice on Ma'rūf b. Kharrabūdh who traces the chain of transmission of 'Alī's saying to Imam Muḥammad al- Bāqir, d. c. 119/737); see also al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, Tehran, 1349/1930, 3 vols, p. 227.

{386} Edited by A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg, 1922 (reissued, Hildesheim, 1968), chap. 5, pp. 57 ff. On *malḥama* pl. *malāḥim*, see D.B. MacDonald's "Malāḥim" in *EI2*, s.v.

{387} Muṭahhar b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa l-ta'rīkh* (*The Book of Creation and History*), ed. and trans. fr., Cl. Huart, 6 vols, Paris, 1899-1919, 2, p. 174 and 5, p. 136. For other, later sources containing these preachings, see Part II below.

{388} On these compilations and their authors, see e.g. E. Kohlberg, "Shī'ī J:Iadīth," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 299-307, especially pp. 303-306 ;

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 48-58; the authors to be used here mainly are al-Saffār al-Qummī (290/902-903), Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī (*circa* 300/912; an author with obvious Zaydian sympathies but claimed by the Imamites, on him see M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*, Leiden-Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 29-32 and *passim*), 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (*circa* 307/919), Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī (*circa* 320/932), Muḥammad

b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (329/940-941), Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq (381/991). On the sources of these compilations, see now H. Ansari, *The Imamate and Occultation According to Imamism. A Bibliographic Study and History of the Texts*, Leiden-Boston, 2017.

{389} Cf. *supra*, note 5 in fine.

{390} J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, vol. I, Berlin-New York, 1990, pp. 306 ff; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Saffār al-Qummi (d. 290/902-903) and his *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *Asian Journal*, vol. 280, no. 3-4, 1992, pp. 232 ff (on the notions of occultation - *ghayba* -, the number of imams, and identity, as well as other data related to the *Qā'im*, the eschatological Saviour).

{391} Cf. R. Arnaldez, "Lāhūt and Nāsūt," *EI2*, s.v.

{392} Cf. e.g., al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, with Persian trans., 4 vols., Tehran, n.d., (the 4th vol, translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, dates 1386/1966), "k. al-tawḥīd," "bāb itlāq bi-annahū shay'," 1, pp. 109 ff; Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. H. al-J:Iusaynī al-Tihrānī, Tehran, 1398/1978, chap. 7 (*bāb annahu tabārak wa ta'ālā shay'*), pp. 104 ff. On the application of the term "thing" to God in Muslim theology in general, see D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris, 1988, pp. 142-150.

{393} Al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.*, "bāb al-nahy 'ani l-jism wa l-šūra," 1: 140 ff; Ibn Bābūya, *op. cit.*, chap. 6 (*bāb annahu 'azza wa jall laysa bi-jism wa lā šūra*), pp. 97 ff.

{394} Al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.*, "bāb al-ḥaraka wa l-intiqāl," 1: 169 ff; Ibn Bābūya, *op. cit.*, chap. 28, "bāb nafy al-makān wa l-zamān wa l-sukūn wa l-ḥaraka wa l-nuzūl...", pp. 173 ff; chap. 2, "bāb al-tawḥīd wa nafy al-tashbīh", pp. 31 ff; Id., *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, ed. M.J.I. Lājevardī, Tehran, 1378/1958, chap. 11, "bāb fī... l-tawḥīd," pp. 114 ff; Id., *Kitāb al-khiṣāl*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm, 1403/1984, p. 2.

{395} On apophatic theology and the notion of theophany as one of its consequences, especially in a gnosticizing milieu, see H. Corbin, *Le paradoxe du monothéisme*, Paris, 1981, especially the first part; Id., *En Islam iranien*, vol. IV, index, s.v. "tanzih" or "theophanies".

{396} On the Names and Attributes in general see al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 143 ff; Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, chap. 11, pp. 139 ff.

{397} This is already, of course, the ontological Imam, the cosmic Man, the Place of Manifestation of God, of which the historical Imam (especially 'Alī) is, in turn, the manifestation on the sensible plane. See, e.g., al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mīrzā Kūčebāghī, Tabriz, 2nd ed. n.d. (the editor's introd. dates to 1380/1960), section 2, chap. 3, pp. 61-64, and chap. 4, pp. 64-66 (commentaries on the term *wajh* in the Qur'an); al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.*, "k. al-tawḥīd," bāb al-nawādir, 1: 196; "k. al-ḥujja," bāb jāmi' fī faḍl al-imām wa ṣifātihi, 1: 283 ff; Ibn Bābūya, *Tawḥīd*, chap. 12, pp. 149 ff. (commentary on "All things are perishable except His Face," Qur'an 28: 88), chap. 22, pp. 164 ff (ma'nā janb Allāh), chap. 24, pp. 167 ff (ma'nā l-'ayn wa l-udhn wa l-lisān); Id., *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, pp. 114-116 and 149-53; Id., *Kamāl al-dīn*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm, 1405/1985, chap. 22, 1/231 sq.

{398} E.g., al-Saffār, *op. cit.* section 2, chap. 3, pp. 16-17; Ibn Bābūya, *al-Amālī*, ed. and Persian trans. by M.B. Kamare'i, Tehran, 1404/1984, "majlis" 9, no. 9, p. 35, "majlis" 10, no. 6, pp. 38-39; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 35 vols, Tehran, n.d., 22, pp. 212-13; 34, pp. 109-110.

{399} "*Naḥnu wa'llāhi al-asmā al-ḥusnā allatī lā yaqbalu'llāh min al-'ibād 'amalan illā bi- ma'rifatinā*"; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Teh, 2, p. 42, no. 119; al-Kulaynī, *op. cit.* k. al-tawḥīd, bāb al-nawādir, 1, p. 196.

{400} "*Ayyuhā l-nās inna'llāha jalla dhikruhu mā khalaqa l-'ibād illā li ya'rifūhu fa-idhā 'arafūhu 'abadūhu fa idhā 'abadūhu'staghnau bi 'ibādātihi 'an 'ibāda man siwāh faqāla lahu rajul fa mā ma'rifat allāh qāla ma'rifat ahl kulli zamān imāmahum alladhī yajibu 'alayhim ṭā'atuhu*." Ibn Bābūya, *Ilal al-sharā'i*, Najaf, 1385/1966, chap. 9 ('illa khalq al-khalq), p. 9, no. 1. It should be recalled at once that, according to the Duodecimal doctrine, each prophet legislator, bringing to mankind the exoteric aspect of revelation, is accompanied in his mission by one or more imams whose mission is to initiate an elite among the faithful to the esoteric aspect of the Prophetic Message (see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide Divin*, pp. 96-112). The Imams have thus been present among humanity throughout history.

{401} "*Man 'arafanā faqad 'arafa'llāh wa man ankananā faqad ankara'llāh*," e.g. Saffār, *op. cit.*, section 1, chap. 3, p. 6; Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-dīn*, chap. 24, no. 7, p. 261; *Nahj al-balāgha* (*supra*, note 5), Persian ed. and trans. by 'A.N. Fayḍ al-Islām, Tehran, 4th ed., 1351 solar/1972, p. 470.

{402} "*Binā 'ubida'llāh... wa law lanā mā 'ubida'llāh*," Ibn Bābūya, *Tawḥīd*, chap. 12, no. 9 *in fine*, p. 152.

{403} "*Law lā allāh mā 'urifnā wa law lā naḥnu mā 'urifa'llāh*," *ibid.* chapter 41, no. 10, p. 290.

{404} These are the locutions where "God speaks in the first person through the mouth of the mystic often in a state of rapture," such as J:Iallāj's "I am the Truth" or Baṣṭāmī's "Glory be to me"; on the *shatḥ*, see e.g. the admirable pages of L. Massignon in *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1922, s.v. or *La Passion de Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, 4 vols, reissued Paris, 1975, s.v.; H. Corbin's introduction to Rūzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ-e shatḥiyyāt*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mo'in, Paris - Tehran, 1966 (reissued 2004); also

'A.R. Badawī, *Shataḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Kuwait, 3rd ed., 1978; P. Nwiya, *Qur'anic Exegesis and Mystical Language*, Beirut, 1970, s.v. As will be seen below, some mystics have not hesitated to consider the prayers attributed to 'Alī as "paradoxical locutions" par excellence. It seems to me, however, that the similarity between the paradoxical sentences of the imams and the *shataḥāt* of the Sufis is only formal, the ins and outs as well as the theology underlying each of the two schools of thought in this area being different. The subject being too complex, it cannot of course be discussed here; let us again point out for the analysis of the nature of *shatḥ*, C. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism*, New York, 1985; P. Lory, "Les paradoxes mystiques (*shataḥāt*) dans la tradition soufie des premiers siècles", *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Sciences Religieuses*, tome 102, 1994- 1995 and tome 103, 1995-1996; P. Ballanfat, "Réflexions sur la nature du paradox. La définition de Ruzbehān Baqli Shirāzi ", *Kār Nāmeh* (Paris), 2-3, 1995, pp. 25-40.

{405} " ... *Wa ja'alanā 'aynahu fī 'ibādihi wa lisānahu l-nāṭiq fī khalqih wa yadahu l-mabsūṭa 'alā 'ibādihi bi l-ra'fa wa l-raḥma wa wajhahu'lladhī yu'tā minhu wa bābahu'lladhī yadullu 'alayhi wa khazā'inahu fī samā'ihī wa arḍih... bi 'ibādatinā 'ubida'llāh lā law naḥnu mā 'ubida'llāh*," Ibn Bābūya, *Tawḥīd*, chap. 12, no. 8, pp. 151-52.

{406} This process of disseminating particularly sensitive doctrinal data is constant in the ancient corpus; it constitutes one aspect of the Shi'ite duty of "keeping the secret" (*taqiyya*, *kitmān*, *khab'*) and is called, apparently for the first time in the Jābirian corpus, the process of

"the deliberate dispersion of information" (*tabdīd al-'ilm*, literally: "dispersion of science"); cf. M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v.; on its use in the jābirian corpus, whose Shi'ite affiliation is no longer in doubt, see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Iḥyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Cairo, 1942 (reed. Paris, 1986), I/pp. XXVII-XXX ;

P. Lory, *Dix Traités d'alchimie. Les dix premiers Traités du Livre des Soixante-Dix*, Paris, 1983, p. 53 and pp. 242 ff; H. Corbin, *Alchimie comme art hiératique*, Paris, 1986, pp. 183-84 and note 84 (transl. of the "Book of the Glorious" of "Jābir"). On Shi'ite *taqiyya*, see here chap. 7.

{This corroborates the figure of "founder" that Muslim gnosis in general (Sufism, theosophy, occult sciences, etc.) recognizes in Ja'far; see on this subject, e.g., J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*, t. 2: *Ga'far al-Sādiq, der Sechste Imam*, Heidelberg, 1924; P. Kraus, *op. cit.* (the preceding note), s.v.; J. B. Taylor, "Ja'far al-Sādiq, spiritual forbear of the sufis," *Islamic Culture*, 1966; T. Fahd, "Ga'far al-Sādiq and the Arab scientific tradition," in *Le shī'isme imāmīte*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 May 1968), Paris, 1970.

{408} "*Rabb al-arḍ ya'nī imām al-arḍ*," 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, ed. T. al-Mūsawī al- Jazā'irī, Najaf, 1386-87/1966-68, reed. Beirut, 1411/1991, II/256.

{409} "*'Alī nāwala rasūl allāh al-qabḍa'llatī ramā bihā*," al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, II/52, no. 32-34.

{410} "*Al-mu'minūn*" literally "the believers"; in Duodecimal technical terminology, the term *mu'min* refers to the Shi'ite in the sense of the imam's initiate to the esoteric of the religion and is opposed to the term *muslim* (literally "the submissive," "the Muslim") which means, in this same context, the one who is submissive to the exoteric of the religion; cf. M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Étude du lexique technique de l'ésotérisme imāmīte," in *Annuaire de l'EPHE, section des sciences religieuses*, t. CII, 1994-1995, p. 215; also Id., *The Proof of God. La mystique shi'ite à travers l'oeuvre de Kulaynī (9e-10e siècle)*, Paris, 2018, index. s.v.

{411} Abū Baṣīr: "*akhbirnī 'ani'llāh 'azza wa jall hal yarāhu l-mu'minūn yawm al-qiyāma qāla na'am wa qad ra'awhu qabla yawm al-qiyāma fa-qultu matā qāla ḥīna qāla lahum 'a lastu bi- rabbikum qālū balā thumma sakata sā'atan thumma qāla wa inna l-mu'minūn la-yarawnahu fī l- dunyā qabla yawm al-qiyāma 'a lasta tarāhu fī waqtika hādhā? faqultu lahu ju'iltu fidāk fa-'uḥaddithu bihādhā 'anka fa-qāla lā fa-innaka idhā ḥaddathta bihi fa-ankarahu munkirun jāhil bi ma'nā mā taqūluhu thumma qaddara 'alaynā anna dhālika tashbīh wa kufr...* ", Ibn Bābūya, *Tawḥīd*, chap. 8, no. 20, p. 117. Cf. M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 141, note 277; in *A Shi'ite Anthology*, New York, 1981, p. 42, W. Chittick gives a translation of this tradition without noting the

It is a "paradoxical statement" that it contains. It should be noted that our tradition is not reported by a

"extremist" author but by al-Sadūq, whom some consider the leader of the Shi'ites "moderates". On the three disciples of Ja'far wearing the *kunya* of Abū Baṣīr, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 87, note 182 and p. 117. This concern about the misunderstanding of the uninitiated is constant in the ancient corpus; see, e.g., al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfi*, Persian ed. and trans. by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran, 1386/1969, 1, p. 81; Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-dīn*, chap. 23, no. 4, pp. 254-55; Id., *'Ilal al-sharā'i*, chap. 7, pp. 5ff; Id., *'Uyūn*, chap. 26, no. 22, pp. 262 ff. (ḥadīth faḍl al-nabī wa l-ḥujaj 'alā l-malā'ika, in which it is particularly insisted that there should be no confusion between "the Proofs of God" and God-I give the translation of the excerpts from this long tradition in *The Divine Guide*, pp. 89-91).

{412} "*Wa'llāhi innī la-dayyān al-nās yawm al-dīn wa qasīm al-janna wa l-nār lā yadkhuluhā l-dakhīl illā 'alā iḥdā qismī wa innī l-fārūq al-akbar... lī faṣl al-khiṭāb wa baṣartu sabīl al-kitāb... wa 'alimtu 'ilm al-manāyā wa l-balāyā wa l-qaḍāyā wa bī kamāl al-dīn wa anā l-ni'mat allatī an'ama'llāhu 'alā khalqih...*", Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Kāzīm, Tehran, 1410/1990, p. 178, no. 230. Note the Christ-like and messianic nature of the attributes that 'Alī ascribes to himself in this ḥadīth (see above chapter 2, notes 77-85 and related texts). Moreover, the last sentence is a hermeneutical allusion to verse 5:3. On the dual nature of 'Alī among the Nuṣayrite Shi'ites, see now M.M. Bar-Asher, "*Al-Risāla al-Rāstbāshiyya* of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-J: Iusayn b. J: Iamdān al-Khaṣībī, Elaborator of the Nuṣayrite Religion," *Shi'i Studies Review* 2 (2018), pp. 228-254 (especially pp. 243-247).

{413} "*Anā ya'sūb al-mu'minīn wa anā awwal al-sābiqīn wa khalīfa rasūl rabb al-'ālamīn wa anā qasīm al-janna wa l-nār...*", al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, II/17-18, no. 42; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 3: 389. On 'Alī as "Chief" or "Commander of the Bees" (*amīr al-naḥl*), see I. Goldziher, "Schi'itisches", *ZDMG*, 44, 1910, pp. 532-533, reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. De Somogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-70, 5, pp. 213-214.

{414} "... *Hādhā l-imām al-aẓhar wa rumḥu'llāh al-aṭwal wa bābu'llāh al-akbar fa-man arāda'llāh falyadkhul min al-bāb... law lā 'Alī mā abāna l-ḥaqq min al-bāṭil wa lā mu'min min min kāfir wa mā 'ubida'llāh... lā yasturuhu min allāh sitr wa lā yahjibuhu 'ani'llāh ḥijāb bal huwa l-ḥijāb wa l-sitr...*", Furāt b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, p. 371, no. 503.

{415} "*Anā wa'llāh al-naba' al-aẓīm... wa'llāhi mā li'llāh naba' a'ẓam minnī wa lā li'llāh āya a'ẓam minnī*," *ibid.* at 533-34, nos. 685-86. As can be seen, the notion of

In Imamite Shi'ism, there is no such thing as "Man (in general) in the image of God". In any case, the radically dualistic Shi'i worldview, which divides all creatures, including humans, into "beings of Light" and "beings of Darkness", designated in various ways, makes such a conception impossible (on duodecimal dualism, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 91 ff. and *Proof of God*, pp. 3 ff.) The famous tradition "God created Adam in his own image" (*khalaqa 'llāhu Adam 'alā ṣūratih*) does not enjoy any particular importance in the ancient corpus and finds, in the mouths of the imams, two perfectly "orthodox" interpretations, identical to those of the Sunni theologians: a) the attribution (*iḍāfa*) of "image" (*ṣūra*, lit. "form") to God is to be taken in the same general sense as the attribution of the Ka'ba to Him when He calls it "My House" (*baytī*) or the attribution of all created things to Him as His work (cf. Duodecimal side: al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, "k. al-tawḥīd," *bāb al-rūḥ*, 1: 182; Ibn Bābūya, *Tawḥīd*, chap. 6, no. 18, p. 103. Sunni side: Ibn Khuzayma, *K. al-tawḥīd*, ed. M. Kh. Harrās, Cairo, 1388/1968, p. 39; al-Juwaynī, *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Nashshār-'Awn- Mukhtār, Alexandria, 1389/1969, p. 561; Ibn Fūrak, *Mushkil al-ḥadīth*, ed. M. M. 'Alī, Cairo, 1979, p. 57 and now ed. D. Gimaret, Damascus, 2003, pp. 21 ff.) b) The possessive adjective "his" refers, not to God, but to a particular individual mentioned in some versions of the tradition. According to these versions, the Prophet encounters a person who slaps another person or says humiliating words about his physical appearance; the Prophet then interrupts the altercation and says:

"Do not do this, for God created Adam in his [*i.e. the humiliated person's*] image," which means that every man has the same appearance as Adam, "the father of mankind" (see Duodecimal side:

Ibn Bābūya, *op. cit.* chap. 12, no. 10, p. 152. Sunni side: Ibn Khuzayma, *op. cit.* pp. 36-38; al- Juwaynī, *op. cit.* p. 560; Id., *K. al-irshād*, ed. J.D. Luciani, Paris, 1938, p. 93); see also on this subject, W.M. Watt, "Created in His image..." (*supra* note 2). For Sunni sources, see M. Takeshita, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 2), p. 16, n. 2 and p. 29, n. 58 (information provided by Daniel Gimaret, for which he is cordially thanked). On the other hand, it can be said, without risk of extrapolation, that in Shi'ism the Imam is in the image of God and that the initiate to the esoteric doctrine is in the image of the Imam (for the ontological and anthroposophical role of initiation see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 75- 95 and 174-99; also, Id, "Reflections on an Evolution of Duodecimal Shi'ism: Tradition and Ideologization," in *Les Retours aux Écritures. Fondamentalismes présents et passés*, ed. by E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulluec, Louvain-Paris, 1993, pp. 63-81 and especially pp. 63-69). Thus, the Imam, the exoteric dimension of God, as we have seen, constitutes at the same time the esoteric dimension of the initiated adept.

{416} Cf. *supra*, note 8 and the related text. One can think, as H. Modarressi does, that this kind of tradition was current, in the entourage of the imams, among the Mufawwiḍa or even the "Extremist" Tayyāra (cf. H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam: Abū Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and his Contribution to Imāmite Shī'ite Thought*, Princeton, 1993, s.v. and especially pp. 21 ff.); still, the "moderate" corpus contains many of these traditions and allows for the elaboration of a "supra-rational" imamology. In this regard, some words of the famous contemporary Imamite scholar 'Abdallāh al-Māmaqānī (d. 1932) in his *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* (cf. *supra* note 15) are quite significant: "... We have repeatedly said that the accusations of extremism made by the old [scholars] (*al-qudamā'*) are not worth considering because many of the elements indispensable to the Imamite doctrine (*ḍarūriyyāt al-madhhab*) were considered by them to be extremism..." (*Tanqīḥ*, 1, p. 349).

{417} With regard to these three preaches, H. Corbin provides partial translations, interpretations, and information that are, all in all, rather sketchy (see *In Iranian Islam*, s.v.). There is a *ḥadīth*, not a proclamation, attributed to 'Alī on the human and divine natures of the imām; this *ḥadīth* is similar to our proclamations and is reported by Rajab al-Bursī (see *below*). On this tradition see H. Corbin, "Islamic Gnosis in Rajab Borsī's Collection of Traditions (*Mashāriq al-anwār*)," *Annuaire de l'EPHE, section des sciences religieuses*, Années 1968-1969 et 1969-1970 (now in *Itinéraire d'un enseignement*, Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Tehran, 1993, pp. 104 ff. and 111 ff.); T. Lawson, "The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī," in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. L. Lewisohn, London-New York, 1992, pp. 267-69. Generally speaking, the *Mashāriq* of al-Bursī contains a large number of statements of similar tenor attributed to 'Alī (see here even chap. 8).

{418} See *supra* note 14 and related text.

{419} Mu'ayyad fī l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, ed. M. Ghālib, vols. I and III, Beirut, 1974 and 1984, 1, pp. 171-73.

{420} Al-J:īfīz Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, 10 th ed., Beirut, n.d., pp. 166-170; see also above note 47. The English translation of a large part of the Gulf Pronoun, as it appears in Bursī, is given by T. Lawson in his above-mentioned article (note 47), pp. 269-270. See also now a partial translation of Bursī's work by H. Corbin under the title *Les Orient des Lumières*, Paris-Lagrasse, 1996 (trans. established and completed by P. Lory). According to al- Tihirānī, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'a*, 25 vols, Tehran-Najaf, 1353-98/1934-78, 7, pp. 198-99, this is identical to the Pronoun of the Climates (*khuṭbat al-aqālīm*) reported in part by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) in his *Manāqib*.

{421} Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, ed. 'A. 'Uṭaridī Qūcānī, Tehran, 1383/1963, pp. 167-168 and 196 ff (texts studied by T. Lawson "The Hidden Words of Fayḍ Kāshānī," in M. Szuppe (ed.), *Iran: Questions and Knowledge*. T. II, *Medieval and Modern Periods*, Paris, 2002,

pp. 427-447, especially pp. 438-439). Al-Sayyid Kāẓim al-Rashtī, *Sharḥ al-khuṭba al-taṭanjiyya*, Tabriz, 1270/1853.

{422} 'Alī al-Yazdī al-J:Iā'irī, *Ilzām al-nāṣib fī ithbāt al-ḥujja al-ghā'ib*, Isfahan, 1351/1932, reprint. Tehran, n.d., pp. 212-214.

{423} Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Tālib*, ed. M. Burūjerdī, Tehran, 1316-17/1898-99, pp. 71-72.

{424} Sayyid J:Iaydar Amolī, *Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahya, Tehran-Paris, 1969, pp. 10-11 and 111-112.

{425} Rajab al-Bursī, *op. cit.* in note 50, pp. 164-66.

{426} Aghā Bozorg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharī'a* (*supra* note 50), VII/198 sq.

{427} Very often the *khuṭbat al-bayān* is part of an "eschatological prophecy" (*malḥama*, pl. *malāḥim*; see the article by D.B. MacDonald cited above in note 16) attributed to 'Alī. It was analyzed and translated in part by L. Massignon in his article on the Perfect Man (*supra*, note 2). The text used by Massignon is reproduced, according to Paris Manuscript 2661, ff. 21b-24a, by 'A.R. Badawī in *al-Insān al-kāmil* (*supra*, note 2), pp. 139-43. The beginning of the text is almost identical to the excerpts from the *khuṭbat al-iftikhār* reported by J:Iaydar Amolī.

{428} See *supra* notes 14-17 and related texts.

{429} Khayrkhāh Harātī, *Kalām-i pīr. A Treatise on Ismaili Doctrine*, ed. and trans. in English, W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1935, pp. 79-81 of Persian text.

{430} Muḥammad b. Talḥa al-J:Ialabī, *al-Durr al-munazzam fī l-sirr al-a'zam*, s.l., 1331/1912, pp. 83-

85 (quoted also by al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, Najaf, 1384/1965, pp. 112-13): Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, *al-Risālat al-i'tiqādiyya*, ed. M. Molé in *Professions of Faith of Two Kubrāwīs: 'Alī-i Hamadānī and Muḥammad Nurbakhsh*, excerpted from *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 17, 1961-1962, pp. 193 of the Arabic text; see also M. Molé, "Les kubrāwiyya entre sunnisme et shi'isme aux ^{8e} et ^{9e} s. de l'hégire," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1961, p. 129.

{431} J:Iaydar Amolī, *op. cit.* (note 54), pp. 382, 411 and in the same volume *Naqd al-nuqūd fī ma'rifa al-wujūd*, p. 676; Rajab al-Bursī, *op. cit.* (note 50), pp. 170-72 (the author does not give the title of the preaching); al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī, "Sharḥ J:Iadīth al-ghamāma" in *Kitāb al-arba'īniyyāt*, cited by

H. Corbin, *In Iranian Islam*, 4, pp. 152 sq. (see also id, *Itinerary of a Teaching*, pp. 96 ff; see now al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī, *al-Arba'īniyyāt li-kashf anwār al-qudsiyyāt*, ed. N. J:Iabībī, Tehran, 1381solar/2003, pp. 38ff.); Nūr 'Alī Shāh, "Manzūm-e khuṭbat al-bayān," in *Divān- e Nūr 'Alī Shāh Isfahānī*, Tehran, 1349solar/1970, and in *Majmū'e-ye āthār-e N. 'A.sh. Isfahānī*, Tehran, 1350 solar/1971; Ja'far Kashfī, *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, s.l. (Iran), n.d. (litho. ed. in 2 vols.), 1,

pp. 20-28; Abū l-Qāsim Rāz Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ kitāb khuṭbat al-bayān* (sic., instead of *Kitāb sharḥ khuṭbat al-bayān*), Shiraz, n.d.; al-Yazdī al-J:Iā'irī, *op. cit.* (note 52), pp. 193-211. For other authors, see al-Tihrānī, *op. cit.* (note 50), 7, pp. 200-201 and 13, pp. 18-219. For a Shi'ite-leaning alchemical hermeneutic of the *Khuṭbat al-bayān* by Aydamur Jaldakī (d. 750/1349-1350 or 761/1360-1361), see H. Corbin, *Alchemy as a Hieratic Art*, ed. P. Lory, Paris, 1986, chap. 1.

{432} On Sayyid Ja'far b. Abū Ishāq al-'Alawī al-Mūsawī al-Dārābī al-Burūjirdī known as "al-Kashfī," see Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabriz, nd, 3, p. 366, no. 568; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris, 1986 (volume including the two parts of the work published separately in 1964 and 1974), n.n. and especially pp. 487-489; Id., *Face de Dieu, Face de l'Homme*, Paris, 1983, pp. 345-358; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago, 1984, pp. 225ff; M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam. The History and Doctrine of Twelver Shi'ism*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 194 ff. On his work, see also H. Corbin, "Cosmogony and Hermeneutics in the Work of Sayyid Ja'far Kashfī", in *Annuaire EPHE 1970-1971* (now in *Itinéraire d'un enseignement*, pp. 125-219). Kashfī's membership, like a number of other theosophists, in the uṣūliyya is related to a late evolution within this trend. This evolution toward the acceptance of an esoteric and theosophical hermeneutic of Imamism seems to have begun from the ^{eleventh/seventeenth} century onward and remains to be studied; see now S. Rizvi,

"Shi'i Political Theology and Esotericism in Qajar Iran. The Case of Sayyid Ja'far Kashfī" in M.A. Amir-Moezzi *et al* (eds), *Shi'ite Esotericism*, pp. 687-712.

{433} Ja'far Kashfī, *op. cit.* (note 61); this edition presents some variations from the edition, lithographed and full of errors of all kinds, made in an in-folio volume, in Iran, in 1276/1859-

60. The abridged (one should rather say censored) version of the *Tuhfat al-mulūk* recently published in Tehran, n.d. (in the 1980s) does not contain the text of the precept; it must be said that more than half of the old editions of the work are missing. I do not translate the author's comments into Persian. The words in italics are the Qur'anic Divine Names. The Arabic text of the prayer is given in transcription at the end of this study.

{434} "The pulpit of the mosque of Kūfa" and this first phase are *topoi* of the speeches attributed to 'Alī; the *minbar* of the mosque of Kūfa, his capital, is the privileged place of the first imam's preaching. The phrase is a direct allusion to the fact that 'Alī is considered the wise initiate and thus the source par excellence of all knowledge.

{435} "Treasurer of Science" is a recurrent title given to imams; see A.M. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v. khāzin, khuzzân, khazana.

{436} *hilm*, the capital virtue of tribal morality, is practically impossible to translate by a single word, ranging, according to Ch. Pellat, "from serene justice and measure to longanimity and indulgence, passing through self-control and dignity of bearing," cf. *EI2*, 3, p. 403.

{437} The identity of the speaker shifts, from one statement to another, between the historical Imam, the manifestation on the sensible plane of the ontological Imam and guardian of the divine Mystery, on the one hand, and the ontological Imam, the Revealed God and the content of this Mystery, on the other; this kind of qualification is also appropriate to the Messiah, in his biblical and especially Christian sense, divine man, or even more: man as the place of manifestation of God.

{438} This is either what is traditionally called "the primordial Covenant" (*mīthāq*; cf. Qur'an 7:172) or the Covenant (*'ahd*) between God and Adam (Qur'an 20:115). On this verse, see the monograph by R. Gramlich, "Der Urvertrag in der Koranauslegung (zu Sura 7:172-173)," *Der Islam*, 60, 1983, pp. 205-230. On the Imāmite conception of *mīthāq*, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v. mīthāq, mawāthiq, and Id., "Cosmogony and Cosmology in Twelver Shi'ism," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 6: 317-322; on the Imāmite version of the Qur'an 20: 115, see Id., *Divine Guide*, p. 212 and M.M. Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings and Additions of the Imāmī-Sī'a to the Quran," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 13, 1993, p. 64.

{439} On these assertions see *supra*, the first part and especially note 27.

{440} On the Imam as the Light of God, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v. nur and "Cosmogony and Cosmology..." (above note 68) as well as the seminal article by U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and light. Aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 5, 1975.

{The historical Imam is the Treasurer par excellence of the divine Treasury, whereas the cosmic ontological Imam is its content (cf. *supra*, note 67).

{442} Although not mentioned in the Qur'an, this Name is generally accepted as being a divine Name; see D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins* (*supra*, note 22), s.v. and especially pp. 350-351.

{443} I think this is an allusion to the Imāmite belief that the Imam, as the Light, accompanies physically and spiritually the prophets and imams of the holy history of mankind; cf. M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 96-112 (the Adamic humanity: the "journey" of the Light).

{444} On multiple creations, see *The Divine Guide*, p. 101, note 201.

{445} Same remark as in note 72; cf. D. Gimaret, *op. cit.* n.v. and especially p. 326.

{446} On the imam receiving divine inspiration (*ilhām*) or revelation (*wahy*) and the modalities of the latter, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 176 ff. And here even chap. 7.

{447} A formula dedicated to the coming of the *Qā'im/Mahdī*, the eschatological Saviour, at the end of Time. Here, as in the following statement, there is an identification with the Shi'i Mahdi, the Hidden Imam; are we dealing here with the remnants of the messianic figure of 'Alī, as the eschatological Savior?

{Here, as in the following statements, reference is made to the ontological Imam as Light transmitted from prophet to prophet and from imam to imam; on this complex notion, see the studies indicated above in notes 70 and 73; see also U. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the early shi'a tradition", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 5, 1984.

{449} On the initiatory lineage of the prophets and their imams, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 102 ff, especially p. 107 ("the spiritual genealogy").

{These names apparently designate the prophets of the "peoples" mentioned. Let us simply point out that Beshir means "prophet" in Turkish (from the Arabic *bashīr*, "bringer of good news") and that Jirjīs generally designates Saint George (cf. Carra de Vaux, "Djirdjīs", *EI2*, s.v.).

{451} On the Imams as "Bearers of the Divine Throne" (*ḥamalat al-'arsh*), see MA.. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v. 'arsh.

{452} On the "psycho-cosmic" Qāf Mountain, see H. Corbin's expositions in *Corps spirituel et Terre céleste. De l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shi'ite*, Paris, 1979, s.v.

{453} On the Imam as "Light of the Heart", see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 112 ff.

{454} Kashfī understands the term in the sense of "beauty of all that is beautiful" (*jamāl-e har jamāl*), *op. cit.*

{455} Allusion, as in the following two statements, to the separate letters which appear at the head of certain suras of the Koran.

{456} Allusion to a miracle, famous in tradition, of 'Alī; see, for example, M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 231, and especially the monographic review by L. Capezzone, "Un miracolo di 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib: i versi attribuiti ad al-Sayyid al-J:limyārī e il modello storiografico delle fonti relative al *radd al-šams*," in *In memoria di Francesco Gabrieli (1904-1996)*, suppl. 2 *RSO*, 71, 1997, pp. 99-112 (the miracle of course evokes the miracle of Joshua, imam of Moses according to shi'ism, in the Bible).

{457} According to tradition respectively Jerusalem (the original direction of prayer at the beginning of Muḥammad's mission) and Mecca.

{458} See for example H. Laoust, "Le rôle de 'Alī dans la Sira chiite", *REI*, 30/1, 1962, pp. 7-26.

{459} See, e.g., al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 7, chapters 11-16, pp. 333-354 (knowledge of all languages, the language of the various holy books, the language of birds and wild beasts, the language of the "metamorphosed" - *al-musūkh*).

{460} For example al-Saffār, *op. cit.* section 8, chapters 12-15, pp. 397-409.

{461} See above chap. 2 (on the identification of 'Alī and Jesus as the Messiah).

{462} On the identification of the Cosmic Scales with the Imam in general and 'Alī in particular, see, for example, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, ed. al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī, Najaf, 1386-87/1966-68, 2, p. 354 (al-Riḍā's commentary on Qur'an 55:7-9).

{463} On the symbolism of Bees and Honey applied to the initiated Shi'ites and the initiatory teaching of the imams, respectively, see e.g., al-Majlisī, *Mir'āt al-'uqūl*, Tehran, 1404/1984, 9: 170; for further references, see E. Kohlberg, "Taqiyya in Shī'i Theology and Religion" (*supra* note 36), pp. 358-359, note 74; see also *supra* note 43.

{464} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, especially chap. 3.

{465} "We refrain from pursuing the question beyond this point, hoping that the interested reader will take the materials presented here and ponder the questions raised," K.D. Crow, "The 'Five Limbs' of the Soul: A Manichean Motif in Muslim Garb?" in T. Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought. Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, London/New York, 2005, p. 30 (the whole article: pp. 19-30; on Iranian antecedents: pp. 19-20; on Muslim authors: pp. 21-30; notes: 31-33).

{466} On this author and his compilation see now M. A. Amir-Moezzi and H. Ansari, "Muḥammad. b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939-40 or 940-41) and his *Kitāb al-Kāfī*. An Introduction",

Studia Iranica 39/2 (2009): 191-247; amplified version in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 5. See also A. J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond, 2000, chapters 6-8.

{467} The terms for "the right" and "the left" here, *al-maymana* and *al-mash'ama*, respectively, are derived from the roots *YMN* and *Sh'M*, which etymologically connote that which is beneficial, auspicious, and that which is evil, ominous.

{468} Al-Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Kāfī, al-Uṣūl*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, with Persian transl., 4 vols, Tehran, n.d. (the 4th vol. translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī dates from 1386/1966), "Kitāb al-ḥujja," bāb fīhī dhikr al-arwāḥ allatī fī l-a'imma, no. 1, vol. 2, 15-16. See also al-Saffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902-903; contemporary thus of al-Kulaynī), *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mīrzā Kūčebāghī (= ed. K), Tabriz, n.d. (ca. 1960), section 9, chap. 14, n. 1, 445-446; ed. 'A. Zakīzādeh Ranānī (= ed. Z), 2 vols. with Persian transl., Qumm, 1391/2012, section 9, chap. 15, n. 1, vol. 2, 622-623. In al-Saffār, instead of.

In addition to "the holy spirit by which they have knowledge of things", there is "the holy spirit by which the prophets are commissioned". Indeed, the holy spirit here seems to be the individual correspondent of the celestial entity of the same name, which is sometimes regarded as the equivalent of the angel Gabriel, the angel of revelation, the entity that brings divine messages to the prophets. See also al-Majlisī Muḥammad Bāqir, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran-Qumm, 110 volumes in 90 vols. 1376-1392/1956-1972, vol. 25, 52, n. 13. Finally, it should be noted that the term *mu'min* (believer) refers in Shi'ite technical terminology to the worshipper initiated into the teachings of the imam. It is thus distinguished from the term *muslim*, simple uninitiated Muslim; see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. In al-Kulaynī, the third group, "the companions of the left/evil" are not defined but in a tradition reported by al-Saffār (*ibid*, n. 5 in ed. K = n. 6 in ed. Z), they are identified with the "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*) who did not recognize 'Alī as the legatee of Muḥammad and from whom God withdrew the spirit of faith (thus they have only the last three spirits). These are clearly the 'majority' Muslims (distinguished, therefore, from the 'believers', i.e., the followers of 'Alī). In the following hadith, "the companions of the left" are said to be Jews and Christians. This seems to be a kind of code, a derogatory name for Muslims who are opponents of the Shi'ites. It is difficult to see how those who did not recognize the legitimacy of 'Alī could be the believers of other religions. The same procedure is also seen, for example, in al-Barqī (d. c. 274/888 or 280/894), *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin*, ed. J. Muḥaddith Urmawī, Tehran, 1370/1950, "K. 'iqāb al-a'māl," pp. 90ff; see in this regard R. Vilozny, "Pre-Būyid *Ifādith* Literature: The Case of al-Barqī from Qumm (d. 274/888 or 280/894) in Twelve Sections," in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam. History, Theology and Law*, London/New York, 2014, pp. 216-218 (the whole, pp. 203-230). I will return to al-Saffār and his work at greater length at the end of this study.

{469} On these technical meanings of the terms '*ilm*' and '*ālim*' (literally "science", See Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, s.v. index, especially Part III-2 ("Sacred Science"), pp. 174-199; also Id. in *La religion discrète*, s.v. index.

{470} al-Kulaynī, *ibid*. n. 2, vol. 2, 16-17; al-Saffār, *ibid*, ed. K, n. 4, 447; ed. Z, n. 5, vol.2, 627 (elsewhere in the same chapter in al-Saffār, the spirit of movement/life is replaced by the spirit of the body - *rūḥ al-badan*); al-Majlisī, *ibid*, vol. 25, 55, n. 15.

{471} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid*, n. 3, vol.2, 17; variant in al-Saffār, *op.cit.*, section 9, chap. 15, n. 13, 454 (ed. K); section 9, chap. 16, n. 13, vol.2, 648-649 (ed. Z); here the tradition ends with his words:

"...The Holy Spirit is unwavering. It is through him that the Imam sees [or "that are seen"] the East of the earth and its West, its lands and its oceans." See also al-J:illī, J:lasan b. Sulaymān (attributed to), *Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, Najaf, 1370/1950, 2; al-Majlisī, *ibid*. 25, 57, n. 25.

{472} Al-Kulaynī, *op.cit.*, "Kitāb al-'aql wa-l-jahl," vol. 1, 29, n. 23. Each of these terms can have several translations (e.g., *fīḥna*: understanding, immediate grasp, etc., *ḥifẓ*: memory, mental alertness, etc.). As will be seen below, the same problem arises for the languages of texts belonging to other traditions. See also Ibn Bābūya, '*Ilal al-sharā'i*', ed. M.S. Baḥr

al-'ulūm, Najaf, 1385/1966, chap. 91, n. 2, 103 (shorter version); Ibn Shu'ba, *Tuḥaf al-'uqūl*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, 1366 solar/1988, pp. 369-370 (the teachings of Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq, chapter: *kalāmuhū fī khalq al-insān wa-tarkībihī*). In his mentioned article, Karim D. Crow has studied this tradition of Ja'far and some other parallel texts attributed to him (*art.cit*, pp. 21-23) in relation to the doctrine of the "five attributes of the Father of Light" corresponding to the "five limbs of the soul" of the Perfect Man in Manicheanism, i.e., "Reason, Mind, Intelligence, Thought and Understanding," according to the classic study by M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Leiden, 1975, 10 (K.D. Crow, *ibid*, p. 20; see also Id, "The Role of *al-'Aql* in Early Islamic Wisdom, with Reference to Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq," unpublished PhD Thesis from Mc Gill University, 1996, chap. 5). I will return to this. Curiously, K.D. Crow seems to ignore the tradition of the "five spirits," attributed to the same Ja'far and reported by the same al-Kulaynī. It is true that the latter is more related to anthropology and the tradition concerning the '*aql*' more to noetics. However, as we shall see, the two fields are inseparable. On the central role of the '*aql*' (human intelligence, corresponding to the cosmic entity of the same name) in ancient Shi'ism see

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, part I-1 ("Hiero-intelligence and reason"), 15-33. On the difficulties of translating the term '*aql*' (intelligence, intellect, reason, hiero-intelligence...), see now G. Gobillot, "Les sources de l'anthropologie spirituelle chez les mystiques musulmans : une réflexion à partir de la notion de '*aql*'", in A. Temimi (ed.), *Mélanges Luce Lopez-Baralt*, Zaghuan, 2001, pp. 267-314.

{Ecumenical Translation of the Bible, Paris, 1986, pp. 775-776; Hebrew Massoretic Text of the Bible Society in Israel, Jerusalem, 1991, p. 394.

{474} Father Benjamin Beit Yadgar, Tbilisi, 2009, p. 1054. I thank Paul Neuenkirchen for directing me to this source.

{475} See, for example, A. Gardeil, "Dons du Saint-Esprit. Greek Fathers; Latin Fathers", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, vol. IV/2, 1920, col. 1754-1766; K. Schlutz, *Isaias 11,2 (Die sieben Gaben des Heiligen Geistes) in den ersten vier christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Münster, 1932; P.C. Van Lierde, *Doctrina s. Augustini circa dona Spiritus sancti ex textu Isaia XI, 2-3*, Würzburg, 1935.

{476} See, for example, *Écrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, under the direction of J.-P. Mahé and P.-H. Poirier, Paris, 2007, thematic index s.v., Esprit, 1772 (in particular: spirit of knowledge, e. of counsel, e. of fear, e. divine, e. of thought, e. of power, e. of wisdom, e. holy, e. living, e. life-giving).

{477} See now H.-Ch. Puech, *En quête de la gnose. II. Sur l'Évangile selon Thomas*, Paris, 1978, pp. 98-104, for the following discussion.

{478} See the translation of *the Gospel according to Thomas*, Coptic text established and translated by A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till and Y. 'Abd al-Masīh, Leiden-Paris, 1959, pp. 13-15 (p. 84 of the manuscript, lines 17-24). My emphasis.

{479} H.-Ch. Puech, *En quête de la gnose*, vol. 2, p. 99.

{480} *A Manichean Psalm-book*, ed. C.R.C. Allberry, Stuttgart, 1938, II, 161; A. Villey, *Psalms of the Wanderers. Écrits manichéens du Fayyūm*, Paris, 1994: I. Hymn to the Four Great Days, 60, 134,2 (on the new man, the five psychics and the five spirituals) and commentaries, pp. 14 ff, especially pp. 151, 161, 166; especially XVIII. Psalm of the Number Five, pp. 104-105, and commentaries, pp. 343-351; also XXVI. Psalm of the Chosen, pp. 120-121 (where we find, in verse 25, the People of the right and the People of the left of the Qur'anic verses commented by our Shi'ite traditions; above hadith n. 1) and the commentaries pp. 395-400.

{H.-Ch. Puech, *Journal Asiatique*, November-December 1911, pp. 557 ff; Id., *En quête de la gnose*, vol. 2, pp. 100-102.

{482} On pentads in Manichaeism see also T. Petitpièce, "The Face of the Father: Pentadization in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* (Chapter 21)", *Vigiliae christianae*, 61, 2007, pp. 470-

477; Id, *Pentadic Redaction in Manichean Kephalaia*, Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies n. 66, Leiden, 2009.

{H.-Ch. Puech, *En quête de la gnose*, vol. 2, p. 104. The mention of *dunamis* seems to shed some light on the "spirit of movement" (*rūḥ al-madraj*) of the Shi'i traditions, a priori inexplicable, as is also the "spirit of desire" (*rūḥ al-shahwa*).

{484} M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1981, pp. 106-107. According to Tardieu, there are innumerable Manichaean texts where the theme of the five intellectual members or the five *membra dei* is present. For the probably pre-Manichaean Gnostic literature see also Id, *Écrits gnostiques. Codex de Berlin*, Paris, 1984, "Livre des secrets de Jean", § 23, pp. 101-103 and commentary, pp. 268-271 (on the intellectual entities); § 45, pp. 123-125 and commentary, pp. 300-308 (on the psychic body). M. Tardieu dates this source to the second half of the second century, whereas in a more recent study, Bernard Barc and Wolf-Peter Funk, *Le Livre des secrets de Jean. Recension brève* (NH III, 1 et BG, 2), Louvain, 2012, it is dated to the first half of the same century and based on knowledge of the Hebrew text of Genesis and not on the Greek text of the Septuagint. I thank Jean-Daniel Dubois for introducing me to this study.

{485} See also the table on p. 367 of M. Tardieu, *Écrits gnostiques*, concerning § 12 of the "Book of Wisdom of Jesus and Eugnostos", p. 180, comments on pp. 366-368 (on the five intellectual members of the primordial Man).

{486} See also *ibid*, commentary on § 45, pp. 303 ff (comparison with several Zoroastrian books).

{See e.g. *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ed. J.-D. Macchi, Th. Römer and Ch. Nihan, Geneva, 2005, pp. 41 ff.

{488} *Le Troisième Livre du Dēnkart*, translated from the Pehlevi by J. de Menasce, Paris, 1973, chap. 123,

pp. 12 ff (= Pehlevi text ed. D.M. Madan, *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkart*, Bombay, 1911, p. 119; M.J. Dresden, *Dēnkart, a Pahlavi Text, facsimile Edition of the Manuscript B of the K.R.Cama Oriental Institute Bombay*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 89). The terms are as difficult to translate as the terminology of the components of the soul in other languages, as we have seen. On the advice of Frantz Grenet (whom I thank wholeheartedly), the transcriptions of Pehlevi have been updated according to the McKenzie system.

{489} *The Third Book of Dēnkart*, chap. 218, pp. 230-231 (= Madan ed., p. 241; Dresden ed., p. 190).

{490} H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-century Books*, Oxford, 1943, *passim*; Sh. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, London, 1994, pp. 5 ff; K.D. Crow, "The 'Five Limbs'...", p. 20 and notes 22 and 23, where reference is also made to the four inner faculties in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in Jamblicus (respectively references to B.P. Copenhagen, *Hermetica*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 225 and D.J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 1989, Appendix 1, pp. 218-219).

{491} I. Friedländer, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn J:Iazm," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 28 (1907), pp. 1-80 and 29 (1909), pp. 1-183; Id, "'Abdallāh b. Saba', der Begründer der Shī'a und sein Jüdischer Ursprung," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 23 (1909), pp. 32-63 ;

M.G.S. Hodgson, "How did the early Shī'a become sectarian," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75 (1955, pp. 1-31 (now in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 2003, article 1);

H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Shia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982, *passim*.

{492} The dualist Gnostics and Manichaeans and their doctrines were well known to Muslims; see G. Vajda, "Le témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites," *Arabica* 11 (1964), pp. 1-38 and pp. 113-128; G. Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans et religions iraniennes. 'Abd al-Jabbār et ses devanciers*, Paris, 1974, especially chapters IV and V; Id., *Islam et religions*, Paris, 1986, chapters III, V and VI.

{There is no doubt about the presence of Gnostic-type doctrines in many Shi'i currents (see above chap. 1, the texts related to notes 90-92). See, e.g.

L. Massignon, "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1937, pp. 55-77 (= *Opera Minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 499-513); H. Corbin, "De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne", in *Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo. Convegno di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Rome 1957, pp. 105-146 (reprinted in Id., *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne*, Paris, 1982, 3rd part); Id., "L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne," in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Rome, 1970, pp. 37-68 (reprinted in Id., *Face de Dieu, face de l'Homme*, Paris, 1983, pp. 311-358); U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119; W. al-Qāḍī, "The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya," in I. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1976, pp. 295-319 (now in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, article 8); H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliyya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*, Wiesbaden, 1978, *passim*; M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion. An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, etc., 2002, *passim*.

{494} L. Massignon, "Der gnostische Kult der Fatima im schiitischen Islam," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1938, pp. 161-173 (= *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 514-522); E.F. Tjijdens, "Der mythologisch- gnostische Hintergrund des *Umm al-Kitāb*," *Acta Iranica* 7 (1977), pp. 241-526; H. Halm, "Das 'Buch der Schatten. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der *ghulāt* und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairierts," *Der Islam* 55 (1978), pp. 219-265 and 58 (1981), pp. 15-86; S. M. Wasserstrom, "The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of its Rejection," *History of Religions* 25/1 (1985), pp. 62-90; D. De Smet, "Beyond the Apparent: the Notions of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* in Muslim Esotericism," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994), pp. 197-220; Id., *La philosophie ismaélienne : un ésotérisme chiite entre néoplatonisme et gnose*, Paris, 2012, *passim*; W. Tucker, *Mahdīs and Millenarians: Shiite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, New York, 2008, *passim*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi et al. (eds.), *L'esotérisme shi'ite*, *passim*.

{495} J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten. II. Ja'far al-Šādiq, der sechste Imām*, Heidelberg, 1924; P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Iḥyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Cairo, 1942 (reissued Paris, 1986), index *s.n.*; T. Fahd, "Ga'far al-Sādiq et la tradition scientifique arabe," in *Le shī'isme imāmīte, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 May 1968)*, Paris, 1970, pp. 131-142; P. Lory, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam*, Paris-Lagrasse, 1989, index, *n.p.*; H. Ansari, "Abū I- Khaṭṭāb" (translated from Persian by R. Gholami), *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 2, pp. 203-210.

{496} On Jābir b. Yazīd, see now H. Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival. A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2003, *s.n.* index and especially pp. 86-103; S. Tāwūsī Masrūr, *Paṣūheshī pīrāmūn-e Jābir b. Yazīd Ju'fī*, Tehran, 1389 f./2010. On Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar, see H. Halm, "Das 'Buch der Schatten'. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der *ghulāt* und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairierts"; L. Capezzzone, "Il *Kiāb al-ṣirāṭ* attribuito a Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al- Ju'fī. Edizione del ms. Unico (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) e studio introduttivo," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 69/3-4 (1995), pp. 29-151; M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam. The Ghulat Muslims and Their Beliefs*, London, 2017.

{497} K.D. Crow, *art.cit.* pp. 24-30.

{498} K.D. Crow, *ibid.*, pp. 24-26 and p. 29; see al-Tirmidhī's translation of *Ghawr al-umūr* by G. Gobillot, *Le Livre de la Profondeur des choses*, Presses universitaires de Septentrion, 1996, pp. 259-260 and 271-272. On the tradition of the Armies of Intelligence and Ignorance, see K.D. Crow, "The Role of *al-'Aql* in Early Islamic Wisdom, with Reference to Imam Ja'far al- Sādiq," chap. 5; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp.18-21; Id., *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 12, pp. 304 ff; Id., "Worlds and Their Inhabitants. Some Notes on Imami-Shi'i Cosmo- Anthropogony," in E. Coda and C. Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Études de logique aristotélécienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Paris, 2014, pp. 519-529. This tradition is reported by many

Early Shi'ite sources prior to, contemporary with, or slightly later than al-Tirmidhī, e.g., in chronological order: al-Barqī (d. ca. 274/888 or 280/894), *Kitāb al- Maḥāsin*, vol. 1, pp. 96-98; al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, "K. al-'aql wa l-jahl," n. 14, vol. 1, pp. 23-26; (Pseudo?) al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya*, Najaf, n.d., pp. 1-3; Ibn Shu'ba (living mid-4th/Xth c.), *Tuḥaf al-'uqūl*, pp. 423-425. On the attribution of the *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya* to al- Mas'ūdī and the problems it poses, see Ch. Pellat, "Mas'ūdī and Imāmism," in *Le shī'isme imāmīte*, pp. 69-90; and now J.I. Anṣārī (Ansari), "Mo'ammā-ye čand ketāb: az *Kitāb al- awṣiyā'-e* Shalmaghānī tā *Ithbāt al-waṣīyya-ye* Mas'ūdī (hamrāh bā barrasī-ye yekī az manābe'-e do ketāb-e *al-Hidāyat al-kubrā* va *Dalā'il al-imāma*)," in Id., *Barrasī hā-ye tārikhī dar ḥawze-ye eslām va tashayyo'*, Tehran, 1390 solar/2012, chap. 86, pp. 875-918.

{499} G. Gobillot, al-Tirmidhī, *The Book of the Depth of Things* (previous note), pp. 96, 121, pp. 134-136, 139-140 (where the influence of Manichaeism on al-Tirmidhī is also alluded to), pp. 259-260, 271-272; "Jésus selon les mystiques musulmans", *Graphé* 7, special issue "Les vies de Jésus" (1998), pp. 101-102 (the whole article, pp. 60-135); "Un point sur les études tirmidhiennes", *Annales Islamologiques* 32 (2000), p. 77 (the whole, pp. 67-79); "The Sources of Spiritual Anthropology...", pp. 283, 288, pp. 294-296, 309-310, p. 312; al-Tirmidhī, *Le livre des Nuances ou de l'impossibilité de la synonymie (Kiāb al-furuq wa man' al-tarāduf)*, Paris, 2006, pp. 488-489.

{500} K.D. CROW, *art.cit.* p.30.

{501} On this system and the sacred pentads in ismā'īlism, too summarily presented by K.D. CROW, see P. Walker, "Cosmic Hierarchies in Early Ismā'īlī Thought. The View of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī," *Muslim World* 66 (1976), pp. 14-28; and especially H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. 67-74; Id., "The Cosmology of the Pre-Fatimid Ismā'īliyya," in F. Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 75-83; D. De Smet, "The Noetic Function of the Triad al-Jadd, al-Faṭḥ and al-Khayāl. The Foundations of Prophetic Knowledge in Ismailism," in H. Biesterfeldt und V. Klemm (eds.), *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam: Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 2012, pp. 319-336.

{502} W. Ivanow, "Notes on the Ummu' l-kitāb of the Ismailis of Central Asia," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 6 (1932), pp. 425-426 (5th/X-XIth c.); Id., *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay, 1946, pp. 99-101 and *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, Leiden, 1948, 108 (2nd/18th c.); Id., *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran, 1963, pp. 193 *sqq.* (5th/Xth-XIst c.).

{503} H. Halm, "Das Buch der Schatten...", pp. 36 *ff*; Id., *Die islamische Gnosis*, pp. 11 *ff*; Id., "The Cosmology of the Pre-Fatimid Ismā'īliyya", pp. 82 *ff*. See also P. Fillipani-Ronconi, *Ummu'l-Kitāb*, Naples, 1966; Id., "Note sulla soteriologia e sul simbolismo cosmico dell'*Ummu'l- Kitāb*," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 14 (1964), pp. 98-141; E. F. Tijdens, "Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund des (*Umm al-kitāb*)". See also B. Radtke, "Iranian and Gnostic Elements in Early *Taṣawwuf*: Observations Concerning the *Umm al-kitāb*," in G. Gnoli and A. Panaino (eds.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies* (Serie orientale Roma 67/2), ii, Rome, 1990, pp. 519-530.

{504} S.W. Anthony, "The Legend of 'Abdallāh ibn Saba' and the Date of *Umm al-Kitāb*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21/1 (2011), pp. 1-30 (especially pp. 17-18).

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp.33 *ff*; Id. and Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme*, Paris, 2004, part III, chapters 1 to 3.

{506} Ed. W. Ivanow, "Ummu'l-kitāb," *Der Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 21*ff* (the entire article and Persian text, pp. 1-132). The name of 'Abdallāh b. Saba' has been changed, intentionally or not, to 'Abdallāh b. Sabbāḥ (see *ibid.*, p. 7); on this change see Ed. W. Ivanow, "Notes on the Ummu'l- kitāb," p. 428 and note 2; E.F. Tijdens, "Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund des (*Umm al- kitāb*)", p. 279.

{507} Text of *Umm al-kitāb* (ed. Ivanow), pp. 28-31: the spirits of sight (*rūḥ-e bīnā'ī*), hearing (*shīnavā'ī*), smell (*būyā'ī*), taste (*čāshnīgīr*), speech (sic *gūyā'ī*! instead of touch?), corresponding respectively on the one hand with al-J:Iusayn, al-J:Iasan, Fāṭima, Muḥammad, and 'Alī, and on the other hand with the spirit of life, faith, memory/attention, thought/meditation, knowledge. The holy spirit capping the other spirits is presented as the visible form of the divine Person (*rūḥ al-quḍs ke mu'āyana-ye shakḥ-e khodāvand ast*).

{508} *Umm al-kitāb*, 107; on the pleroma of the Selectees/Orphans in Ismā'ilism and especially in Nuṣayrism, see M. Moosa, *Extremist Shi'ites: the Ghulat Sects*, New York, 1988, pp. 357ff; M. Bar-Asher and A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion*, index s.v. *yatīm*, *yatīmiyya*. This can be traced back to the Shi'ite sect of the People of Five (*Mukhammisa*); see L. Massignon, *La passion de Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris, reprint 1975, index s.v. *Mukhammisa* and *Mukhammisi*, vol. 4, p. 271.

{509} See e.g. J. Jomier, "L'Évangile selon Barnabé", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 6 (1959-1961), pp. 137-226; M. De Epalza, "Sobre un posible Autor Español des Evangelio de Barnabé", *Andalus* 28 (1963), pp. 479-491; P.S. Van Koningsveld, "The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), pp. 200-228; L. F. Bernabe Pons, *El texto morisco del Evangelio de San Barnabas*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1998, introduction. See also Sh. Pines, *The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a New Source*, Jerusalem (The Israel Accademy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings II, 13), 1966 (according to Pines, a *Gospel of Barnabas* was known to tenth-century Muslim authors; but is it the same text?)

{L. & L. Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas*, Oxford, 1907, introduction, pp. 4-11; L. Cirillo and M. Frémaux, *Évangile de Barnabé*, with preface by Henry Corbin (Recherches sur la composition et l'origine, texte italien et traduction française avec notes et index), Paris, 1977, introduction; Jan Joosten, "The Gospel of Barnabas and the Diatessaron", *Harvard Theological Review*, 95/1, January 2002, pp. 73-96. See also Sh. Pines, *The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a New Source*, pp. 13 ff; H. Corbin, "L'Évangile de Barnabé et la prophétologie islamique", *Cahiers de l'Université Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, Cahier no 3, Paris, 1977, pp. 169-212.

{511} Sh. Pines, "Shī'ite Terms and Conception in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980), pp. 165-251; M. Ebstein, "Secrecy in Ismā'ilī Tradition and the Mystical Thought of Ibn al-'Arabī," *Asian Journal* 298.2 (2010), pp. 303-343; Id. and S. Sviri, "The So-Called *Risālat al-lfurūf* (Epistle on Letters) Ascribed to Sahl al-Tustarī and Letter Mysticism in al-Andalus," *Asian Journal* 299/1 (2011), pp. 213-217; Id, "Absent yet All Times Present: Further Thoughts on Secrecy in the Shī'ī Tradition and in Sunnī Mysticism," *Al-Qanṭara* 34/2 (2013), pp. 387-413; and now *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus. Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabī and the Ismā'ilī Tradition*, Leiden, 2014; E. Krinis, "The Arabic Background of the *Kuzari*," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 21/1 (2013), pp. 1-56; Id, *God's Chosen People: Judah Halevi's Kuzari and the Shī'ī Imām Doctrine*, Turnhout, 2014.

{512} *Gospel of Barnabas*, trans. Cirillo and Frémaux, 317, pp. 130-131 of the manuscript.

{Ibid. pp. 407-409, 270-272 of the manuscript.

{514} L. & L. Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas*, p. 313.

{515} For example, on the different "spirits" in the esoteric Shi'ite work *Kitāb al-Haft*, see M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*, pp. 154-155.

{516} To my knowledge, in Shi'ism, the Holy Spirit has not been identified with the angel Gabriel. On the subject in general, see S. Griffith, "Holy Spirit," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 2, pp. 442-444.

{517} Al-Kulaynī, *op.cit.*, "Kitāb al-ḥujja," bāb anna al-a'imma muḥaddathūn mufahhamūn, vol. 2, pp. 13-15; on these highly technical terms in Shi'i Imamology, see E. Kohlberg, "The Term 'Muḥaddath' in Twelver Shī'ism," in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 39-47 (reprinted in Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 1991, article no. V); M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. and especially pp. 176 ff.

{518} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, bāb al-rūḥ allatī yusaddid Allāh bihā al-a'imma, vol. 2, pp. 17-20.

{519} On this major compiler of hadith-s and his work see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Saffār al- Qummi (d.290/902-3) and his *Kitāb* baṣā'ir al-darajāt," *Asian Journal* 280/3-4 (1992), pp. 221- 250; amplified version of this article in Id., *The Silent Qur'an*, ch. 4 ("Advent of the Gnosis. A Monograph on Knowledge Compiled by al-Saffār al-Qummī"); A.J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism: Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, chapters 5 and 7.

{520} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, *bāb mā ja'ala Allāh fī l-anbiyā' wa-l- awṣiyā' wa-l-mu'minīn wa-sā'ir al-nās min al-arwāḥ wa annahū faḍl al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma min āl Muḥammad bi-rūḥ al-quḍs wa-dhikr al-arwāḥ al-khams/khamsa* (chapter on the spirits that God placed in the prophets, the legatees [i.e. imams], believers [i.e., faithful initiates], and other people and about the fact that the superiority of the prophets and imams of Muḥammad's descent is due to [the presence in them of] the holy spirit with the mention of the five spirits) (in stating these chapter titles, I first give the version of the K edition followed by that of the Z edition).

{521} *Bāb fī l-a'imma anna al-rūḥ al-quḍs tatalaqqāhum idhā ihtājū ilayh.*

{522} *Bāb al-rūḥ allatī qāla Allāh fī kitābihī: "wa-kadhālika awḥaynā ilayka rūḥan min amrinā" annahā fī rasūli llāhi wa-fī l-a'immati yukhbiruhum wa-yusaddiduhum wa-yuwaḥfiqihum.*

{523} *Bāb mā yus'alu al-'ālim 'an al-'ilm alladhī yuhaddathu bihi min ṣuḥuf 'indahum azdādahū aw riwāya fa-akhbar bi-sirr/sharḥihī wa-anna dhālika min al-rūḥ.*

{524} *Bāb al-rūḥ allatī qāla Allāh: "yas'alūnaka 'an al-rūḥ qul al-rūḥ min amr rabbī" annahā fī rasūl Allāh wa-ahl baytihi yusaddiduhum wa-yuwaḥfiqihum wa-yuḥfiqihum.*

{525} *Bāb fī l-rūḥ allatī qāla Allāh: "yunazzilu al-malā'ika bil-rūḥ min amrihi" wa hiyā takūna ma' al-anbiyā' wa-l-awṣiyā' wa-l-farq bayna al-rūḥ wa-l-malā'ika.*

{526} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, section 9, chap. 15 (ed. K = cha. 16, ed. Z), n. 1.

{527} *Ibid.* no. 6; also al-J:illī, *Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, p. 1; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 25, p. 56, n. 21. David, an important biblical figure in the Qur'an, is the symbol of the just and wise judge because he is inspired by God, as is Solomon. The Book of 'Alī (*Kitāb 'Alī*) refers, in the Shi'ite corpus of Hadith, either to the Qur'anic recension of 'Alī, supposedly the only complete one among all recensions, or to one of the secret books of the imams; see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp.185- 189 (esp. p. 187); E. Kohlberg, "Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imāmī Shi'ism," in E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulluec (eds.), *Les retours aux Écritures: fondamentalismes présent et passé*, Louvain, pp. 295-312 (especially pp. 300-302); H. Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, pp. 4-12. These kinds of traditions, which are quite frequent, seem to show clearly that, for cases not foreseen by the Koran and tradition, the inspired sage, and only he, has the power to establish *ad hoc* prescriptions, original judgments or new doctrines.

{528} *Baṣā'ir*, section 9, ch. 16 (ed. K = ch. 17, ed. Z), n. 11 (the next three hadith-s have virtually the same content); al-Majlisī, *op.cit.*, vol. 25, 61, n. 36.

{529} *Baṣā'ir*, section 9, chap. 17 (ed. K = chap. 18, ed. Z), n. 3; al-Majlisī, *op.cit.* 25, 62, n. 40.

{530} *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.* chap. 18 (ed. K = chap. 19, ed. Z), n. 9 (in this chapter many hadith-s have roughly the same content); also al-Kulaynī, *op.cit.*, vol.1, 273; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Qumm 1380/1960, vol. 2, p 317, n. 165; al-Majlisī, *op. cit.* vol. 58, p. 42, n. 15.

{531} *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.* chap. 15 (ed. K = chap. 16, ed. Z), n. 8; also al-J:illī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 2; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 25, p. 57, n. 23 and vol. 39, p. 151, n. 2.

{532} However, some (fringe?) currents seem to have rejected the possibility of the continuity of prophecy through the imams; e.g., the circle of Hishām b. al-J:Iakam and his disciple Faḍl b. Shādhān (see T. Bayhom-Daou, "Hishām b. al-J:Iakam"; Ead., "The Imam's Knowledge and the Quran").

{533} *Bi smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm/ innā anzalnāhu fī laylati l-qadr/wa mā adrāka mā laylati l- qadr/laylatu l-qadri khayrun min alf i shahr/tanazzal u (?)l-malā'ikatu wa r-rūḥu fihā bi idhni rabbihim min kulli amr/salāmun hiya ḥattā maṭla'i l-fajr.*

{534} The understanding and translation of this surah poses innumerable problems, almost at every line. This will be seen further on in its key word *al-qadr*, which has also been read *al-qadar*. The first reading, however, seems preferable because it corresponds to the rhyme scheme of the sura formed on the consonant/vowel a/unvoiced consonant/letter r (*qadr*, *shahr*, *'amr*, *fajr*). According to some medieval Muslim scholars, verse 4 should be divided into two, resulting in a total of six verses, not five; see R.D. Marcotte, "Night of Power," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 3, pp. 537-539.

{535} Just from the French translations of the Qur'an, we have a rich range of terms to render this word which qualifies a mysterious holy night: "the night of destiny" (Blachère, Hamidullah), "the night of the decree" (Masson, Grosjean), "the night of destiny" (Khawam), "the grandiose night" (Berque), "the night of predetermination" (Abu-Sahlieh), "the sublime night" (Ould Bah). Moreover, the root to which our word belongs also has the meaning of "power, might" (hence the title of the article cited in the previous note) or that of "value, price, measure". See Kh. Azmoudeh, "Night of Destiny", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionary of the Qur'an*, pp. 608- 609.

{536} E.g. A.J. Wensinck, "Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Nieuwe reeks*. Deel 25/2, Amsterdam, 1925, pp. 1-17; S.D. Goitein, "Zur Entstehung des Ramaḍān," *Der Islam* 18 (1929), pp. 189-195 (article reprinted and expanded in "Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting," Id., *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 90-110); K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 82ff, 9ff, 11ff; T. Lohmann, "Die Nacht al-Qadr. Übersetzung und Erklärung von Sure 97," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 15 (1969), pp. 275-285; S.P. Manzoor, "From the Night of Power to the Dawn of Peace," *Afkar Inquiry* 3 (1986), pp. 28-33; I.A. Ahmad, "The Dawn Sky on *lailat ul-qadr*," *Archaeoastronomy* 11 (1989-93), pp. 97-100; M. Sells, "Sound, Spirit and Gender in *Sūrat al-Qadr*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111/2 (1991), pp. 239-259; A. Alves, *A Noite do destino. Laylat al-qadr*, Lisbon, 1993; M. Cuypers, "Structures rhétoriques des sourates 92 à 98", *Annales Islamologiques* 34 (2000), pp. 95-138; Id., *Une apocalypse coranique. A reading of the last thirty-three suras of the Qur'an*, Pendé (France), 2014, pp. 213-217; N. Sinai, "'Weihnachten im Koran' oder 'Nacht der Bestimmung'? Eine Interpretation von Sure 97," *Der Islam* 88 (2012), pp. 11-32.

{537} G. Lüling, *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation. The Rediscovery of reliable Reconstruction of a comprehensive pre-Islamic Christian Hymnal hidden in the Koran under earliest Islamic reinterpretation*, Delhi, 2002, pp. 14 ff (revised translation of: Id, *Über den Ur-Qur'ān. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophenglieder im Qur'ān*, Erlangen, 1974); G. Bassetti-Sani, *The Koran in the Light of Christ*, Chicago, 1977, pp. 15ff; C. Luxenberg, "Noël dans le Coran," in A.M. Delcambre and J. Bosshard (eds.), *Enquêtes sur l'Islam. En hommage à Antoine Moussali*, Paris, 2004, pp. 117-138; G. Dye, "la nuit du Destin et la nuit de la Nativité", in Id. and F. Nobile (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Bruxelles-Fernelmont, 2011, pp. 107-169 (where, in notes 3 and 4, other studies on the subject are listed). This was already the thesis of the Ethiopian Christian monk Enbāqom in the sixteenth century in his *Anqaša amīn (The Door of Faith). Ethiopian Apology of Christianity against Islam from the Qur'an*, trans. E.J. Van Donzel, Leiden, 1969, p. 73 (quoted in M. Cuypers, *A Qur'anic Apocalypse*, pp. 213-214).

{538} *Shahru ramadāna l-ladhī unzila fīhi l-qur'ānu hudan li l-nās...*

{539} *Innā anzalnāhu [i.e. al-kitāb al-mubīn] fī laylatin mubārakatin...*

{540} H. Ansari, "The Esoteric Legacy of Shi'ism: A Book on the Exegesis of Surah 97," *Arabica* 58 (2011), pp. 10-12 (the entire article, pp. 7-18). On Ibn Kathīr al-Hāshimī's book see also H. Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival. A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2003, p. 172. For further indications of the Night of Qadr in Shi'ite literature, see E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work. Ibn Tāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992, index. s.v. *laylat al-qadr*.

{541} Ansari, *ibid*, pp. 13-18 (on other early sources reporting from Ibn al-Jarīsh, see p. 17, note 41). On al-Saffār, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Saffār al-Qummi (d. 290/902-3) and his *Kitāb Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *Journl Asiatique* 280/3-4 (1992), pp. 221-250; more fully developed version in Id., *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4; A. J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism. Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond, 2000, chapters 5 and 7. On al-Kulaynī, see Id. *op.cit.* chapters 4 and 7 and especially M.A. Amir-Moezzi & H. Ansari, "Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328 or 329/939-40 or 940-41) and his *Kitāb al-Kāfī*. An Introduction," *Studia Iranica* 38-2 (2009), pp. 191-247; more fully developed version in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 5; and Id., *The Proof of God*.

{542} al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt fī 'ulūm āl Muḥammad*, ed. 'A. Zakīzādeh Rānānī, Qumm, 2 vols, 1391 solar/2012, section 5, chap. 3 ("bāb mā yulqī ilā l-a'imma fī laylat al-qadr"), vol. 1, p. 783, tradition no. 6; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran-Qumm, 110 vols. in 90 vols, 1376-1392/1956-1972, vol. 94, p. 23, tradition no. 53.

{543} al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, 4 vols, Tehran, n.d. (vol. 4 dates from 1386/1966), "Kitāb al-ḥujja," bāb fī sha'n innā anzalnāh fī laylat al-qadr wa tafsīrihā, vol. 1, pp. 366-368, no. 7. On the succession of prophets and legatees-imams and the central notion of "Legacy" (*al-waṣīyya*), see U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and light. Aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119; Id., "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shī'a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II-2 "Adamic Humanity. The 'Journey' of Light"), pp. 9ff. and index, s.v. On the *muḥaddath*, see E. Kohlberg, "The Term 'Muḥaddath' in Twelver Shī'ism," in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 39-47, (reprinted in Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī-Shī'ism*, Variorum, Aldershot, 1991, article 5); M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v.

{544} Al-Saffār, *ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 786-787, no. 12; al-Majlisī, *op.cit.*, vol. 94, p. 20, no. 44. On the World of Particles (*ālam al-dharr*), also called the World of Shadows (*ālam al-aẓilla*) or the World of the Pact (*ālam al-mithāq*), see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II-1 ("The Worlds Before the World. The Light-Guide"), pp. 7 ff. especially pp. 8 ff.; Id., "Worlds and Their Inhabitants. Some Notes on Imami-Shī'i Cosmo-Anthropogony", in E. Coda and C. Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp.519-529.

{545} Variant: The man of al-Taym and the man of al-'Adī, respectively names of two clans of the Quraysh tribe from which Abū Bakr and 'Umar came. The appellation is meant to be contemptuous. On the derogatory appellations of 'Alī's opponents in Shī'ite literature, see E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), pp. 143-175 (= *Belief and Law*, article 9).

{546} Al-Saffār, *ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 792-794, no. 16; slightly different version in al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, "Kitāb al-ḥujja," *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 363-364, no. 5; al-Astarābādī, Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-ẓāhira*, Qumm, 1417/1997, pp. 792 and 795; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 94, p. 21, no. 47.

{547} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid*. pp. 794-795, no. 17; see also al-Rāwandī, *al-Kharā'ij wa l-jarā'ih*, Qumm, 1409/1988-89, vol. 2, pp. 778-779, no. 102; al-Bahrānī, Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *Madīnat ma'ājiz al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar* (or *Madīnat al-ma'ājiz*), Qumm, 1413/1992, vol. 3, p. 47, no. 713; Id., *Yanābī' al-ma'ājiz*, Qumm, n.d., p. 158; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 22, p. 513, no. 13 and vol. 27, p. 289, no. 3; al-J:luwayzī, *tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, Qumm, 1412/1991, vol. 5, p. 64, no. 110. The title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which we have translated as "Commander of the Believers," is, in Shī'ism, exclusively reserved for 'Alī (even other imams cannot bear it). It can also be translated as "the Commander or Chief of the Initiates", if one opts for the technical meaning of the word *mu'min* in Shī'ism, i.e. the faithful initiate in the esoteric teachings of the Imams (see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v.).

{548} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Furū' min al-Kāfī*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1391/1971, "Kitāb al-ṣiyām," bāb fī laylat al-qadr, vol. 4, p. 158, no. 7.

{549} The tradition that features Abū Bakr and 'Umar alongside the Prophet and 'Alī, of course, has the function, among others, of emphasizing the figure of 'Alī as the sole successor of Muḥammad as well as the illegitimacy of the former two. On the subject see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 1.

{550} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, "Kitāb al-ḥujja," *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 350-357, no. 1 (tradition reported by Ibn al-Jarīsh from Imam Muḥammad al-Jawād).

{551} In a number of traditions, the "thousand months" is interpreted as the duration of the Umayyad reign; see, e.g., al-Qummī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr*, ed. T. al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī, reed. Beirut, 1411/1991, vol. 2, p. 466; Ibn al-Juhām, *Tafsīr*, ed. F. Tabrīziyān, Qumm, 1420/1999, p. 463; al-Astarābādī, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira*, pp. 790-791; al-Baḥrānī, Hāshim b. Sulaymān, *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Tehran, 1374-75/1954-55, vol. 4, p. 487, no. 20; and as for the Sunni exegeses (still reporting the tradition of the Shi'i Imam al-Jāsan b. 'Alī): al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, Cairo, 1388/1968, vol. 30, p. 260; al-Tha'libī, *Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'A. M. Mu'awwaḍ *et al*, Beirut, 1418/1997, vol. 10, p. 257; al-Suyūfī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, Beirut, 1411/1990, vol. 6,

p. 629.

{552} Al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt*, ed. E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, pp. 186-187 (Arabic text), nos. 674 and 678, and pp. 275 and 276 (English text at the same numbers) for other sources and discussions about this version of the Koran. See also W. St. Clair-Tisdall, "Shi'ah Additions to the Koran," *The Moslem World* 3 (1913), p. 240 (the entire article: pp. 227-241); A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden, 1937, p. 110. For the question of Qur'ān falsification, see now the introduction to

E. Kohlberg-M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*, parts 1-3; also M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 2. On *min kulli amr/ bi kulli amr* see also G. Dye, "La nuit du Destin et la nuit de la Nativité", pp. 13 ff.

{553} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.*, pp. 780-781, no. 3 and pp. 785-786, no. 11; al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 368-370, no. 8 (*in fine*); Id., *Furū'*, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 156, nos. 1 and 2 and p. 158, no. 8. Also MA. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 179, note 353. Particular emphasis is placed on refuting the date of the 15th of the month of Sha'bān as that of the Night of Qadr, as some thought; the latter date traditionally corresponds to another famous Night, the *laylat al-bar'a'a*; for discussions on this see S. Goitein, "Zur Entstehung des Ramaḍān," pp. 192 ff; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muḥammadan Festivals*, London-Ottawa, 1976, pp. 53 ff.

{554} Al-Kulaynī, *Furū'*, *ibid.*, p. 159, no. 9.

{555} Al-Kulaynī reports only one tradition concerning the revelation of the Qur'an in his *Uṣūl* (*ibid.*, no. 4) and his *Furū'* (*ibid.*, no. 5). The event does not seem to be of particular importance to al-Saffār, since not a single one of the 17 traditions in the chapter devoted to the Night of Qadr in his *Baṣā'ir* deigns to mention it. Things will change somewhat in later works. Moreover, the connection between the Night of Qadr and the assassination and death of 'Alī seems to be a recent phenomenon (see R.D. Marcotte, "Night of Power"-above note 2, p. 538 b).

{556} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir*, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 778-779, no. 1; al-Baḥrānī, *Yanābī' al-ma'ājiz*, p. 152; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 94, p. 22, no. 48.

{557} Al-Saffār, *ibid.*, pp. 779-780, no. 2; al-Baḥrānī, *op.cit.* p. 152; al-Huwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al-thaqalayn*, vol. 5, p. 64, no. 113.

{558} Al-Saffār, *ibid.*, pp. 781-782, no. 4 (see also nos. 7, 8, and 10); al-Baḥrānī, *op.cit.* p. 153 (see also p. 154); al-Majlisī, *op.cit.* vol. 94, p. 23, no. 51 (see also nos. 54, 55, and note); al-Juwayzī, *op.cit.* vol. 4, p. 625, no. 20 (see also vol. 5, p. 639, no. 106). Here is the beginning of Surah 44: "J:I M/ By the enlightening Scripture/We sent it down on a blessed night, we are indeed warners/During that night is distinguished every wise command/A command from us, we are indeed senders... (*ḥā' mīm/ wa l-kitābi l-mubīn/innā anzalnāhu fī laylatin mubāraka innā kunnā mundhirīn/fīhā yufraqu kullu amrin ḥakīm/amrun min 'indinā innā mursilīn*).

{559} Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl, ibi d.*, vol. 1, p. 360, no. 3 (in the last sentence there is clearly a play on words from the root 'MR and around the word *amr* (the Order) which is one of the central notions of the whole doctrine: ...*la yanzilu fī laylat al-qadr ilā walī al-amr tafsīr al-umūr sanatan sanatan yu'maru fihā fī amr nafsih bi-kadhā wa kadhā wa fī amr al-nās bi-kadhā wa kadhā...*

{560} Ibn al-Juhām, *Tafsīr*, pp. 463-464; al-Astarābādī, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-ẓāhira*, pp. 793-794. In this tradition, the Qur'anic expression "until the tip of the dawn" is interpreted as an allusion to the future coming of the Shi'i Messiah at the end of time. On the other hand, the somewhat cryptic expression *iḥdāth al-nubuwwa* remains clear enough to indicate that the mission of the imams is identical to that of Muḥammad, namely a prophetic mission.

{561} On this central notion of the Shi'ite religion see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, part III-2, pp. 17 ff; Id., *The Discrete Religion*, index s.v. 'ālim, 'ilm, muta'allim.

{562} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, p. 788, no. 13, in *fine* (variant: *ziyāda* instead of *ziyāra*: "he becomes worthy of the Spirit being added to him"); see also al-Majlisī, *Bihār.*, vol. 25, p. 37, no. 4.

{563} Apart from the already reported chapters of al-Saffār and al-Kulaynī, see al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghayba*, text with Persian translation by M.J. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1363 solar/1985, pp. 9 ff. On the notions of condensed and detailed knowledge, see Ibn Bābūya, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, ed. M.J.I. Lājevardī, Tehran, 1378/1958, vol. 1, pp. 14 ff; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 8, p. 208 and E. Kohlberg's study, "Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period," in S. Amir-Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, New York, 1988, pp. 2ff (the whole article: pp. 25-53 = *Belief and Law*, article no. 13). On the secret science, al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl, Kitāb al-ḥujja*, *ibid.* 1, pp. 366-370, nos. 7 and 8.

{564} Al-Saffār, *op.cit.*, pp. 789-790, no. 14 (Abū 'Abdallāh: *inna l-qalb alladhī yu'āyinu mā yanzilu fī laylat al-qadr la-'azīm al-sha'n...yushaqqu wa llāhi baṭn dhālik al-rajul thumma yu'khadhu qalbahu wa yuktabu 'alā qalb dhālik al-rajul bi madād al-nūr jamī' al-'ilm thumma yakūnu l-qalb muṣḥafan li l-baṣar wa yakūnu l-lisān mutarjiman li l-udhn idhā arāda dhālik al-rajul 'ilm shay'in naẓara bi baṣarihi qalbahu fa ka'annahu yanzuru fī kitāb*) ; also al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 94, p. 2, no. 45. The tradition alludes to many important initiatory notions and practices: first, the heart as an organ of spiritual vision (see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II-3 [(Excursus: Vision through the Heart)]; second, the phrase "having the belly split" with use of the verb *shaqqa*, inevitably brings to mind the two prophetic prodigies traditionally linked to Muḥammad's life, namely his miracle of "splitting the moon" (*shaqq al-qamar*) and his supernatural initiation referred to by the Qur'anic phrase "the opening of the chest" (*sharḥ* or *inshirāḥ al-ṣadr*). The use of *shaqq* instead of *sharḥ* and *baṭn* (belly) instead of *ṣadr* seems to be a kind of "tactical concealment" (*taqiyya*) to prevent opponents from accusing the imams of having the claim to occupy the same rank as the Prophet (see the previous chapter here). Finally, it is interesting to note that the tradition does not speak specifically of a prophet or an imam. On the contrary, a particular emphasis seems to mark the use of the expression *dhālik al-rajul*,

I have translated "that man" (which I have translated as "person"), in this case the one whose heart is made capable of vision during the Night of Qadr. Is this any faithful initiate referred to, in Shi'ite literature, by the technical expression "the initiate whose heart has been tested by God for faith" (*al-mu'min qad imtāhana llāhu qalbahu li l-īmān*)? (see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La religion discrète*, index s.v.); on this latter question see the subtle analyses of Ch. Jambet, "Religion du savant et religion du vulgaire. Remarks on the intentions of Mullā Sadrā's commentary on the *Book of Proof*," *Studia Islamica* 109-2 (2014), pp. 208-239.

{565} Al-Saffār, *op.cit.*, p. 782, no. 5; 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 466; al-Baḥrānī, *Yanābī' al-ma'ājiz*, p. 153; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 94, p. 23, no. 52; al-J:Iuwayzī, *Tafsīr nūr al- thaqalayn*, vol. 4, p. 62, no. 9. Here, the term for turning around, namely *yūṭifūn*, is the one used to express the circumambulations of pilgrims around the Ka'ba (the ṭawāf). Furthermore, the tradition seems to mean that the imams can "see" the angels during the Night of Qadr, another prodigious ability traditionally reserved for the prophets (on this issue

delicate which would later be a mark of theological distinction between a prophet sent- *rasūl*-, a "simple" prophet -*nabī*- and an *imam/muḥaddath*, see the next chapter.

{566} Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, *ibid.* 1, p. 260, no. 3; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 94, p. 27, no. 68.

{567} Al-Kulaynī, *op.cit.* 2, pp. 24 ff.

{568} Al-Saffār, *Baṣā'ir*, section 3, chap. 8 (bāb mā yazādu l-a'imma fī laylat al-jumu'a min al-'ilm al-mustafād), vol. 1, pp. 48 ff; al-Kulaynī, *op.cit.* bāb fī anna l-a'imma yazdādūn fī laylat al-jumu'a 'ilman," vol. 1, pp. 37 ff; on the subject, see my monographic study, "The Imam in the Sky. Ascension and Initiation (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology III)", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam*, pp. 99-116 (article reprinted in *La religion discrète*, chap. 5).

{569} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part III-2 ("Sacred Science"), pp. 174-199, especially pp. 175-190 on the sources of initiatory knowledge. On the Secret Books of the Imams, see also E. Kohlberg, "Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imāmī Shī'ism," in E. Patlagean and A. Le Boulluec (eds.), *Les retours aux Écritures. Fundamentalisms Present and Past*, pp. 295-312.

{570} Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, *ibid.* 1, pp. 355-356. The tradition is one illustration, among many, of the Shi'a doctrinal couplet that defines the Qur'an as a silent, mute book or guide (*kitāb/imām ṣāmit*) and the imam as a speaking book or Qur'an (*kitāb/qur'ān nātiq*); on this

For a discussion of the "couple", its religious implications and sources, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 3, part 1, esp. pp. 10ff.

{571} See now L. Massignon, *Écrits mémorables*, ed. under the direction of Ch. Jambet, Paris, 2009, vol. 1, Part 2, "Mary and Fāṭimah" (set of articles), pp. 211-289; J. Dammen McAuliffe, "Chosen of All Women: Mary and Fāṭimah in Qur'ānic Exegesis," *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), pp. 19-38; D. L. Sufi, "Fāṭima in Classical Muslim Thought," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Princeton, 1997; V. Klemm, "Image formation of an Islamic legend. Fāṭima, the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad," in S. Günther (ed.), *Ideas, images, and methods of portrayal. Insights into classical Arabic literature and Islam*, Leiden- Boston, 2005, pp. 181-208. For interpretations of this symbolism in Shi'ite esotericism, see below the sources and studies mentioned in note 42.

{572} Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, ed. M. al-Kāẓim, Tehran, 1410/1990, pp. 581-582, no. 2; al-Astarābādī, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira*, pp. 791-792.

{573} The text plays with the meaning of the root *FTM* which literally means "to wean, to cease nursing". However, I am not sure I understand the meaning of this sentence correctly and have translated it correctly: *wa innamā sumiyat Fāṭima li anna l-khalq fuṭimū 'an* (or *min*) *ma'rifatihā*. The second part of the sentence can also be understood in an opposite sense: "...for the creatures [i.e. the mass of people, the majority, the non-Shi'ites?] have not been graced with his knowledge" (for this second understanding, see M.M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion. An Inquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, etc., 2002, p. 145, quoting from the work of the nuṣayrī thinker al-Tabarānī, *Majmū' al-a'yād*; see next note).

{574} The identification of the Night of Qadr or the Night of 15 Sha'bān as a symbol of Fāṭima is quite common among the esoteric Nuṣayrī-s Shi'ites; see, e.g., Maymūn b. Qāsim al-Tabarānī, *Majmū' al-a'yād*, ed. R. Strothmann in *Der Islam* 27 (1944-46), pp. 1 sqq, 15 ff.; Id. at "al-Masā'il al-khāṣṣa" in *Rasā'il al-ḥikma al-'alawīyya*, ed. Abū Mūsā & al-Shaykh Mūsā, s.l. ("Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī"), 2006, pp. 195 ff; al-Khaṣībī/Khuṣaybī, "al-Risāla al-Rāstbāshiyya," in *Rasā'il al-ḥikma al-'alawīyya*, p. 81. See also the studies of: H. Corbin, "Sabaeen Temple and Ismailism," in Id., *Temple and Contemplation. Essais sur l'islam iranien*, Paris, 1980, pp. 189- 190; H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982, index s.n. Fāṭima; M. Moosa, *Extremist Shiites. The Ghulat Sects*, New York, 1987, pp. 35 ff, 391 ff; Bar-Asher-Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion*, index s.n. Fāṭima, especially p. 116, pp. 143-145;

Y. Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs: an Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the*

Leading Minority in Syria, Leiden, 2009, pp. 155, 160; H. Ansari, "The Esoteric Legacy of Shi'ism...", p. 9, note 8.

{575} See also here chapters 5 and 7.

{576} Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl*, *ibid.* 1, pp. 364-365, no. 6. The secret worship of God in the last sentence seems to refer to "the religion of 'Alī," the esoteric dimension of Islam until the advent of the Savior at the End of Time and the manifestation of this secret religion in the open.

{577} K.M. al-Shaybī, "al-Taḳīyya uṣūluhā wa taṭawwuruhā," *Review of the Faculty of Letters, Alexandria University* 16 (1962-1963), p. 15 (the whole article, pp. 14-40).

{578} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Dissimulation," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, J.D. MacAuliffe, (ed.), Leiden, vol.1 (2001), pp. 320-324. On the practice among the Khārijites see Shahrastānī, *Book of Religions and Sects*, vol. 1, trans. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Paris-Louvain, 1986, pp. 383 and 414.

{579} Al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Beirut, n.d., pp. 38-47.

{580} Al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, ed. S. Dederling, Istanbul, 1936, pp. 24-25; Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-sunna*, s.l.s.d., vol. 1, pp. 159-160. For the very violent attacks of the Ottoman Mu'tin al-Dīn Mīrzā Makhdūm, *al-Nawāqid li bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, see E. Kohlberg, -- "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī views on taḳīyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975), p. 395 (all, pp. 395-402; reprinted in Id., *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 1991, article no. III). For the Wahhābites, see M. Litvak, "More harmful than the Jews: anti-Shī'ī polemics in modern radical Sunni discourse," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M.M. Bar-Asher and S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmīte shī'ism quarante years later. A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 302-303 (the whole: pp. 293-314). See also the words of al-Nawbakhtī, *Fīraq al-shī'a*, trans. fr. by M.J. Mashkour, *Les sectes shīites*, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1980, pp. 79-80 (both notions of taḳīyya and badā' - divine fickleness - are denounced by the opponents of the Shī'is as means, used by the latter, to justify their contradictions and lies).

{Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der taḳīyya im Islam", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), pp. 217-224 (all: pp. 213-226; reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. J. Desomogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-70, vol. 5, pp. 59-72); *EI2*, vol. 10, pp. 145-146.

{582} A. de Gobineau, reprinted 1928, pp. 1-18 and in particular pp. 12-13 and 16-17; quoted by D. De Smet,

"The practice of taḳīyya and kitmān in Shī'a Islam: compromise or hypocrisy?", in M. Nachi (ed.), *Actualité du compromis. La construction politique de la différence*, Paris, 2011, pp. 148-149 (the whole, pp. 148-161).

{583} E.g. A.A. Fyzee, "The Study of the Literature of the Fatimid Da'wa", in G. Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of H.A.R. Gibb*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 232-249; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris, 1971-1972, index s.v. taḳfīyeh and ketmān; E. Kohlberg, article cited (above note 4); Id., "Taḳīyya in Shī'ī Theology and Religion", in H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 345-380; E. Meyer, "Anlass und Anwendungsbereich der taḳīyya," *Der Islam* 57(1980), pp. 246-280; M.J. Kister, "On 'Concessions' and Conduct. A Study in Early Islam," in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the First Century of Islamic Society*, vol. 3, Carbondale, 1983, pp. 89-107; A. Layish, "Taḳīyya among the Druze," *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), pp. 245-281; Hans G. Kippenberg, "Ketmān. Zur Maxime der Verstellung in der antiken und frühislamischen Religionsgeschichte," in J.W. van Herten et al. (eds.), *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature. Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram*, Leiden, 1986, pp. 172-183; A. Schimmel, "Secrecy in Sufism", in K.W. Bolle (ed.), *Secrecy in Religions*, Leiden, 1987, pp. 81-102; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, vol. I-VI, Berlin-New York, 1991-97, index, s.v. ;

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v.; D. Steigerwald, "The Concealment (Taḳīyya) of Faith in Ismaili Shī'ism," *Studies in Religion* 27/1 (1998), pp. 39-59; S. Makārim, *al-Taḳīyya fī l-islām*, Beirut, 2004; L. Clarke, "The Rise and Decline of Taḳīyya in Twelver Shi'ism," in T. Lawson (ed.), *Reason and Inspiration in Islam*, London-New York, 2005, pp. 46-63; M. Dakake,

"Hiding in Plain Sight: the Practical and Doctrinal Significance of Secrecy in Shi'ite Islam," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 24/2 (June 2006), pp. 324-355; M. Ebstein, "Secrecy in Ismā'īlī Tradition and in the Mystical Thought of Ibn al-'Arabī," *Asian Journal* 298/2 (2010), pp. 303-343; D. De Smet, article cited (above previous note); O. Mir-Kasimov, "Techniques of Keeping Secrets in Islam," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 228/2 (April-June 2011), pp. 265-287; The fascicle of the Spanish journal *Al-Qanṭara* 34/2 (2013) is devoted to *taqiyya*. Several articles in it deal with Shi'ite currents: D. De Smet, "*Taqiyya* and the Young Ramadan: Some Ismaili Thoughts on the Esoteric Meaning of Shari'ah," pp. 357-386; M. Ebstein, "Absent yet All Times Present: Further Thoughts on Secrecy in the Shī'ī Tradition and in Sunnī Mysticism," pp. 387-413; R. Gleave, "The Legal Efficacy of *taqiyya* Acts in Imāmī Jurisprudence: 'Alī al- Karakī's *al-Risāla fī l-taqiyya*," pp. 415-438.

{584} Kippenberg, art.cit. (previous note), p. 173; van Ess, *op.cit.* (previous note), vol. 1, p. 313; al-Kirmānī, *al-Risāla al-waḍī'a fī ma'ālim al-dīn*, ms Cambridge Or 1455 Arberry 9, fol. 49r, cited by D. De Smet, *op.cit.* (above note 6), p. 154. On the "discipline of the arcane" in ancient Christian thinkers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Denys the Areopagite, etc., see e.g. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, tome 1, Paris, 1937, fasc. 2, col. 1738-1758; J. Daniélou and H.I. Marrou, *Nouvelle histoire de l'Église*, Paris, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 9 ff.

{585} On the ancient compilations of Imamite traditions, see E. Kohlberg, "Shī'ī J:Iadīth," in A.F.L. Beeston *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature I. Arabic Literature to the End of Umayyad Period*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 299-307; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 48-58.

{586} E.g., al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. Mīrzā Kūčebāghī, Tabriz, n.d. (ca. 1960), section 1, chapters 1 *sqq.*, pp. 20 ff. On the centrality of the notion of secrecy in Imamite Shi'ism, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La religion discrète*, pp. 22 ff. and index *s.v. sirr*, pl. *asrār*.

{587} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, with Persian translations, 4 vols, Tehran, n.d. (the 4th vol. translated by H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī dates from 1386/1966), "Kitāb al-īmān wa l-kufr," bāb al-taqiyya, no. 2, vol. 3, p. 307.

{588} *Ibid.*, no. 12, vol. 3, p. 312; also al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-maḥāsin*, ed. J. Muḥaddith, Tehran, 1370/1950, pp. 202-203; Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-dīn*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm, repr. 1405/1985, bāb 35, no. 5, vol. 2, p. 371 (in some variants of this hadith, the word "faith"-īmān-is replaced by "religion"-dīn).

{589} Ja'far al-Sādiq (attributed to), *Tafsīr*, ed. P. Nwyia, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beirut), 43 (1968) p. 194; ed. 'A. Zay'ūr, *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfī li l-Qur'ān 'ind al-Ṣādiq*, Beirut, 1979, p. 136.

{590} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, bāb al-idhā'a, no. 2, vol. 4, p. 77.

{591} Al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1397/1977, bāb 1, no. 3, p. 55. On other early sources on *taqiyya*, see Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 311-312, note 685.

{592} E. Kohlberg, "*Taqiyya* in Shi'i Theology and Religion," pp. 34 ff and 36 ff.

{D. De Smet, "The Practice of *Taqiyya*...", pp. 152-3; Id. in "*Taqiyya* and the Youth of Ramadan...", p. 357.

{594} On the *tabdīd al-'ilm*, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index *s.v.*

{These themes constitute the subjects studied in my works already cited. On the question of the falsification of the "official Qur'an" in Shi'ism, see now E. Kohlberg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and Falsification*.

{596} On these works, see the book mentioned in the preceding note as well as the studies quoted above in note 9.

{597} On this major traditionalist and his seminal work, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi and H. Ansari, "Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328/939-40 or 329/940-941) and his *Kitāb al-Kāfi*. An Introduction," *Studia Iranica* 38/2 (2009), pp. 191-247; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Quran*,

chap. 5 (expanded version of previous article); Id., *The Proof of God*, pp. 13ff. The traditions concerning the prophetic abilities of the imams have been taken up by countless other compilations of traditions. In order not to burden the notes, I will limit myself mainly to the *Kāfī* (most of these traditions are now translated into French in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La Preuve de Dieu*, Seconde Partie, chap. 3).

{598} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, "K. al-ḥujja," hadith-s nos. 69 *sqq.* (in continuous numbering), vol. 2, pp. 32ff.

{599} Respectively traditions nos. 1 to 5 and then 6 and 7 of the mentioned chapter.

{600} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, nos. 70ff. (in continuous numbering); on these terms, and especially the first, see E. Kohlberg, "The Term 'Muḥaddath' in Twelver Shī'ism," in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 39-47 (= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism* -- above note 4 -, article no. V); M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. and especially pp. 17ff.

{601} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, no. s 70ff; also al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, chapters 14 and 15.

{602} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, nos. 71ff; also al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, chap. 16.

{*Ibid.*, nos. 704 and 707.

{604} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 8, chap. 1, pp. 368-374; al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, kitāb al-ḥujja, bāb al-farq bayn al-rasūl wa l-nabī wa l-muḥaddath, nos. 43ff, vol. 1, pp. 248-250; also

E. Kohlberg, "The Term 'Muḥaddath'," *passim*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 178. The presentation of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as a *muḥaddath* by Sunni authorities (see Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986), p. 203 (the whole, pp. 177-215) seems to fall, at least partially, under the anti-Shi'ite controversy and the desire to neutralize 'Alī's prophetic abilities by those of the second caliph (see A. Hakim, "'Umar b. al-ijāṭṭāb, caliph by the grace of God," *Arabica* 54/3 (2008), pp. 317-336).

{605} Al-Kulaynī, *ibid.*, nos. 1021 and 1022, vol. 2, p. 241.

{606} *Ibid.*, no. 1020, vol. 2, pp. 240-241. The term *muṣāfaḥa* ("to give a handshake") can also mean "to face, to present oneself in front of someone." In both cases, the visible presence of the angel seems self-evident.

{*Ibid.*, nos. 102ff, vol. 2, pp. 24ff.

{608} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "The Imam in the Sky. Ascension and Initiation (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology III)" (now in *La religion discrète*, chap. 5).

{609} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part III-2, pp. 174-199.

{610} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, chapters 14-19, pp. 445-466. On the author and his work, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Saffār al-Qummi (d. 290/902-3) and his *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *Asian Journal* 280/3-4 (1992), pp. 221-250; expanded version of this article in Id., *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4; A.J. Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond, 2000, chapters 5 and 7.

{611} *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, chap. 15, no. 8, pp. 452-453.

{612} Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide*, pp. 96-97.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Only the man of God is human. Theology and Mystical Anthropology through Ancient Imamite Exegesis (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology IV)" (now in *La religion discrète*, chap. 8).

{614} On these characters and in a general way on those whom the heresiographers call the "Extremists" (*ghulāt*), see e.g. H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die Extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich-Munich, 1982; W. Tucker, *Mahdīs and Millenarians: Shiite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, New York, 2008; P. Crone, *The Nativist Prophets in Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, Cambridge, 2011; J. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, Berlin-New York, 2011; S.W. Anthony, *The Caliph and*

the Heretic. Ibn Saba' and the Origins of Shī'ism, Leiden, 2012; M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*, London-New York, 2017; B. Tendler Krieger, "'Abd Allāh b. Saba' and the Role of the Nuṣayrī Bāb. Rehabilitating the Heresiarchs of the Islamic Tradition," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi *et al.* (eds.), *Shi'ite Esotericism*, pp. 441-472. On the artificial and probably late character of the heresiographic distinction between the "moderate Shi'ism" of the Imams and the "extremist Shi'ism" of the *Ghulāt*, especially in the early period, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 31 *ff.* and Id, "The Imams and the Ghulāt".

{615} On the particularly important role of the imams' followers, see E. Kohlberg, "Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period," in S. Amir Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, Albany, 1988, pp. 25-53 (= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shi'ism*, paper no. XIII); and now L.N. Takim, *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam*, New York, 2006, *passim*.

{616} E.g., al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, Leiden, 1864, "Faḍā'il aṣḥāb al-nabī" 9, vol. 2, p. 436; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1955, "Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba" 32, vol. 4, p. 1871; Ibn Mājā, *Sunan*, Cairo, 1952, "Muqaddima" 115, vol.1, pp. 42-43.

{617} Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," pp. 186-187; Id, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Aḥmadī Religious Thought and its Medieval Background*, Berkeley, 1989, pp. 59-60; U. Rubin, "The Seal of the Prophets and the Finality of Prophecy. On the Interpretation of the Qur'ānic Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33)," *ZDMG* 164/1 (2014), part 5.1 "'Alī and Aaron" (the entire article pp. 65-96).

{618} Ibn Bābūya, *Ma'ānī l-akḥbār*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1379/1959-1960, pp. 74-79; tradition analyzed by M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*, Leiden- Boston-Cologne, 1999, pp. 156-157. Indeed, we have already seen, through the traditions reported by al-Kulaynī, that some Shi'ite faithful believed in the prophetic stature of the imams; in this regard, see also al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī*, ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī, Tehran, 1389/1969- 1970, vol. 1, pp. 173-176 (Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik acknowledges that some Shi'ites of Kūfa consider Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir to be a prophet); also al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 9, chap. 15, no. 5 (a disciple asks Ja'far al-Sādiq if he is a prophet); al-Nu'mānī (d. c. 345/956), *Kitāb al-ghayba*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1397/1977, p. 145 (according to the author, imams have exactly the same religious stature as the Prophet); Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq, *Amālī*, Persian ed. and trans. by M.B. Kamare'i, Tehran, 1404/1984,

"Majlis" 47, no. 4, p. 278 (a Khārijite, a convert to Shi'ism, says he recognized the prophetic mission - *risāla* - of Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq).

{619} ...*Arā nūr al-waḥy wa al-risāla wa ashummu rīḥ al-nubuwwa...innaka tasma' mā asma' wa tarā mā arā illā annaka lasta bi-nabiyy...* 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (attributed to), *Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. 'A.N. Fayḍ al-Islām, Tehran, 1351 solar/1972, p. 812.

{620} In verse 6 of Sura 61, in the version of the Companion Ubayy b. Ka'b - not in the official Vulgate - it would have read: "And [recall this:] when Jesus, son of Mary, said, 'O sons of Israel! I am the messenger of God to you and I announce to you a prophet whose community will be the last community and through whom God will seal the prophets and the apostles. [The Sons of Israel] replied, 'This is obvious sorcery''"; see e.g. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden, 1937, p. 170 (English text); R. Blachère, trad. du Coran, Paris, 1966, p. 593 and notes. The official version has: "And [recall this:] when Jesus, son of Mary said, 'O Son of Israel! I am the messenger of God to you, declaring true that which from the Torah came before me, announcing a messenger who will come after me and whose name will be Aḥmad.' Now when [Jesus] came with these clear proofs, [the Sons of Israel] replied, 'This is obvious sorcery'."

{621} Al-Bīrūnī, *Athār al-bāqīya*, ed. C.E. Sachau, *Alberuni, Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 207; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa l-niḥal*, ed. W. Cureton, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, London, 1846, p. 192; Ibn al-Murtaḍā and al-Balkhī cited by K. Kessler,

Mani: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion, vol. 1, Berlin, 1889, pp. 349-371; see G. Stroumsa, "'The Seal of the Prophets': the Nature of a Manichean Metaphor", in Id, *Savoir et salut*, Paris, 1992, chap. XV, pp. 276-277 (trans. of "Seal of the Prophets: the Nature of A Manichean Metaphor", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7(1986), pp. 61-74).

{H.-Ch. Puech, *Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1949, p. 146; M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, Paris, 1981, pp. 19-27; G. Stroumsa (1986; see previous note); C. Colpe, *Das Siegel der Propheten: historische Beziehungen zwischen Judentum, Judenchristentum, Heidentum und frühem Islam*, Berlin, 1990, chap. 9; M. Gil, "The Creed of Abū 'Amir," *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992), 38 sq. (the whole: pp. 9-47); R. Simon, "Mānī and Muḥammad," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 21 (1997), p. 135 (the whole: pp. 118-141); M. Sfar, *Le Coran, la Bible et l'Orient ancien*, Paris, 1998, chap. 11 ("Aḥmad, le prophète manichéen"); S. Evstatiev, "On the Perception of the *Khātām al-nabiyyin* Doctrine in Arabic Historical Thought: Confirmation or Finality?", in S. Leder, H. Kilpatrick, B. Martel-Thoumian & H. Schöning (eds.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Proceedings of the 19th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants), Leuven, 2002, pp. 455-467; J. Ries, "Les Kephalaia. La catéchèse de l'Eglise de Mani", in D. De Smet, G. de Callataÿ and J. Van Reeth (eds.), *Al-Kitāb. La sacralité du texte dans le monde de l'Islam*, Brussels, 2004, pp. 143-158; J. Van Reeth, "La typologie du prophète selon le Coran: le cas de Jésus", in G. Dye and F. Nobile (eds.), *Figures bibliques en islam*, Brussels, 2011, pp. 104-105 (the whole, pp. 81-105).

{G. Stroumsa, "The Seal of the Prophets", p. 283.

{624} M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, p. 21.

{625} J.-P. Mahé and P.-H. Poirier (eds.), *Écrits gnostiques. La bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, Paris, 2007, index p. 1812 (it should be noted, however, that in *Allogenes* (NH XI,3), "seal" means the closure of revelation; *ibid.*, p. 1574).

{626} H. Bobzin, "'Das Siegel der Propheten'. Maimonides und das Verständnis von Mohammeds Prophetentum," in G. Tamer (ed.), *The Trias of Maimonides. Jewish, Arabic and Ancient Culture of Knowledge*, Berlin, 2005, pp. 289-306; Id, "The 'Seal of the Prophets': Towards an Understanding of Muḥammad's Prophethood," in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai, M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010,

pp. 565-583. We can add to the sources mentioned: Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos*, XI,10: "Jesus Christ is the seal of all the prophets [*Christus est signaculum omnium prophetarum*] who preceded him and who had come to announce him." However, for Tertullian, it is not Jesus but John the Baptist who is the last of the prophets (*clausula prophetarum*), the last to have announced the advent of Christ. For his part, S. Khalil Samir interprets the Koranic expression as being

"a mark of belonging" (and not the final mark), a sign of authenticity of Muḥammad's prophetic mission, by bringing it closer to the Gospel of John 6:27: "It is he [Christ] whom the Father, God, has marked with his seal"; Khalil Samir, "Une réflexion chrétienne sur la mission prophétique de Muḥammad", in A.-M. Delcambre and J. Bosshard (eds.), *Enquêtes sur l'islam, en hommage à Antoine Moussali*, Paris, 2004, pp. 267 sq. (the whole, pp. 263-292); see already H. Windisch, "Die fünf johanneischen Parakletprüche", in *Festgabe für A.Jülicher*, Tübingen, 1927, p. 120 (the whole: pp. 110-137).

{627} H. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korān*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 71 ff; Id., *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran*, London, 1902, p. 139; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I-II, Halle, 1888-1890, pp. 10 ff. (partial translation of vol. II by L. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, Paris, 1952, pp. 12 ff.); J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 53 ff.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 42 ff. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, Baroda, 1938, pp. 120-121; Id, *The Qur'an as Scripture*, New York, 1952, pp. 78-79; J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford, 1977, p. 64; Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām"; Id, *Prophecy Continuous*; A.A. Ambros, *A Concise Dictionary of*

Koranic Arabic, Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 83 ff; J. van Ess, "Das Siegel der Propheten: die Endzeit und das prophetische im Islam," in M. Riedl & T. Schabert (eds.), *Propheten und Prophezeiungen*, Berlin, 2005, pp. 53-75; D. Powers, *Muhammad is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: the Making of the Last Prophet*, Philadelphia, 2009; U. Rubin, "The Seal of the Prophets and the Finality of Prophecy. The list is not exhaustive.

{628} This is the famous "tradition of the brick" (*ḥadīth al-labīna*), i.e., the brick that is missing from the grandiose monument of religion; see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, Leiden, 1864, "K. al-manāqib," 18, vol. 2, p. 390; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1955, "K. al-faḍā'il," 22-23, vol. 4, p. 1791.

{629} Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 182-183; the theme of "Muhammad, the prophet of the end of time" (*nabī/rasūl al-maḥama/al-malāhim*), constitutes the central subject of Paul Casanova's momentous yet unjustly forgotten work, *Muhammad*.

{630} Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf fī l-aḥādīth wa l-āthār*, ed. M. 'A. Shāhīn, Beirut, 1416/1995, vol. 5, p. 337, no. 26644; also Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalaf al-ḥadīth*, Cairo, 1326/1908, pp. 235-236 (fr. trans. of G. Lecomte, *Le traité des divergences du ḥadīth d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus, 1967, pp. 207-209 (with commentary by Ibn Qutayba); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi l-ma'thūr*, repr. Beirut, n.d. (Dār al-thaqāfa), vol. 5, p. 204; Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," p. 192; Id., *Prophecy Continuous*, p. 63; C. Gilliot, "Miscellanea coranica I," *Arabica* 59 (2012), pp. 118-119 (the whole, pp. 109-133).

{631} Ibn Abī Shayba, *ibid*, 19, *adab*, vol. 5, pp. 219ff. Apparently, in order to resolve the contradiction of these traditions with the dogma of "Muhammad, the last of the prophets," other traditions will have been put into circulation according to which 'A'isha and other Companions forbade that it should be said, after our formula, that Muhammad is the final prophet on earth because the prophet Jesus was going to come back to the world at the end of time, ; see *ibid.*, no. 26645; see Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 192-193; Id. in *Prophecy Continuous*, pp. 63-64; U. Rubin seems to accept the traditional view of Islamic sources and refutes Friedmann's analysis; see his article "The Seal of the Prophets," Part 7 ("The Muslim Jesus"). In any case, it seems certain that during the early period of Islam, the doctrine that Muhammad is the ultimate prophet was problematic; see also W. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 16-17.

{632} Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, al-Sīra al-nabawiyya, 2 vols, ed. N. Ghazzāwī, Damascus, 1984-1991, vol. 1, p. 120; Ibn Māja, *al-Sunan*, ed. M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1952-1954, bāb al-janā'iz 27, vol. 1, p. 484, no. 1511; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'A.M. Qal'ajī, 7 vols, Beirut, 1405/1985, vol. 7, p. 291. For a detailed discussion of these traditions, the traditions that support them, and other sources reporting them, see Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 187-190; id, *Prophecy Continuous*, pp. 5ff; C. Gilliot, "Miscellanea coranica I," pp. 119-20, especially note 64; U. Rubin, "The Seal of the Prophets," part 3 ("Ibrāhīm's prophecy") which justifies the traditional Islamic view that Ibrāhīm died in infancy, since according to the will of God Muhammad was to be the last of the prophets.

{633} See C. Addas, "Baḥirā" in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionary of the Quran*, pp. 105-109.

{634} *Bihī khatama llāhu man qablahu/ wa man ba'dahu min nabiyyin khatam*, in *Umayya ibn Abī ṣ-Salt. Die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente*, ed. Schulthess, Leipzig, 1911, p. 24, verse 12. As with other very early poets, the authenticity of Ibn Abī al-Salt's poems remains problematic (for the latest states of the question see T. Seidensticker, "The Authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Umayya ibn Abī al-Salt," in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, Richmond, 1996, pp. 88-102; N. Sinai, "Religious poetry from the Quranic milieu: Umayya b. Abī al-Salt on the fate of the Thamūd," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 74/3 (2011), pp. 396-419. While there are doubts about the attribution of this verse, scholars are unanimous in dating it to the first two centuries of the Hegira, and it is this point that interests my examination: during the early period of Islam, the expression *khātim/khātam al-*

anbiyā' did not mean "the last of the prophets" to all. See Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 184; U. Rubin, "The Seal of the Prophets," part 7.1 ("Umayya b. Abī l- Salt"), who, to justify the traditional Islamic take, comments on the verse as implicitly announcing the future coming of Jesus.

{635} Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood", pp. 185-186.

{636} *The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, ed. A. Bevan, Leiden, 1908-1912, vol. 1, p. 349. The commentator of the verse (according to Friedmann, it is Abū 'Ubayda, d. 209/824-825) states.

"the seal of the prophets means the best among the prophets" (... *khātim/khātam al-anbiyā' wa huwa khayr al-anbiyā'*).

{637} *Die Hāshimijjāt des Kumait*, ed. Horowitz, Leiden, 1904, p. 85.

{638} D. Powers, *Muhammad is not the father of any of your men. The making of the last Prophet*, Philadelphia, 2009.

{639} See supra note 45 (of the studies cited in this note, only that of Uri Rubin is unequivocally in line with the "orthodox" tradition according to which our expression has always clearly meant "the last of the prophets").

{640} With some variations due to the diversity of its currents, the Ismā'īlian doctrine maintains that Muḥammad is the prophet of the sixth cycle, which is that of the occultation of esoteric truths (*dawr al-sitr*), and Islam the religion of the same cycle. Thus, after Muḥammad and Islam, there will be a prophet-resurrector (*qā'im*) and a religion of a seventh and final cycle, that of unveiling (*dawr al-kashf*).

{641} This is the main subject of M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Koran*.

{642} Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 19 ff; on the vividness of prophetism and prophets in Arabia just before and during Muḥammad's lifetime see now C. J. Robin, "The Signs of Prophethood in Arabia in the Time of Muḥammad (late sixth and early seventh centuries CE)," in S. Georgoudi, R. Koch-Pietre, and F. Schmidt (eds.), *La raison des signes. Omens, rites, fate in ancient Mediterranean societies*, Leiden-Boston, 2012, pp. 433- 476.

{643} See the studies cited in note 38. To this add Gh. J:I. Sadīqī, *Jonbesh hā-ye dīnī-ye īrānī dar qarn hā-ye dovvom va sevvom-e hejrī*, Tehran, 1372 solar/1993 (version completed and updated by the author of his doctoral dissertation: G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux IIe et IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris, 1938); F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge, 2007² (1st ed. 1990), especially index s.v. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Sādiq.

{644} S.M. Wasserstrom, "The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra b. Sa'īd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of its Rejection," *History of Religions* 25/1 (1985), pp. 62-90; also Id, "The Shī'īs are the Jews of our Community: An Interreligious Comparison within Sunnī Thought," *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1994), pp. 297-324 (now in Id, *Between Muslim and Jew: the Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*, Princeton, 1995, chap. 3).

{645} On the turning point in the doctrinal evolution of Imamite Shi'ism during the Bujid era, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 3 ff; Id. and Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme?*, Paris, 2004, part III,1; on pre-Buyid Imamite Qur'anic exegeses, see Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*.

{646} In a recent article, Mr. Ebstein aptly suggests that the concealment of religious practices in the pious circles of early Islam was directly related to the violence of the civil wars of that period (see his article "Absent yet All Times Present...").

{647} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide* and *The Discreet Religion*, index s.v.; I. Poonawala, "Ismā'īlī *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān," in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 199-222; E. Kohlberg, "In Praise of the Few," in

G.R. Hawting, J.A. Mojaddedi and A. Samely (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts*

and Traditions. In *Memory of Norman Calder, Journal of Semitic Studies* Supplement 12 (2000), pp. 149-162.

{648} On the *walāya*, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on the Imamite *walāya*" (= *Discrete Religion*, chap. 7); on the *waṣīyya*, see the seminal article by U. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shī'a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. *waṣf, awṣiyā', waṣīyya*. On the notion as an extension, in Islam, of the Holy Spirit and/or the Paraclete in Montanist and Manichean doctrines, see Van Reeth, "La typologie du prophète selon le Coran: le cas de Jésus," pp. 9 ff (the author does not specifically consider Shi'a doctrines).

{649} For a documented account of the history of this problem, see 'A.K. Sorūsh, *Bast-e tajrebe-ye nabavī*, Tehran, 3rd ed., 1379 solar/2000, especially introduction and chap. 1. Note that in the "rationalist" (Uṣūlī) branch of imamism, where, from the Bujid period onward, the figure of the jurist-theologian would gradually replace that of the imam, now obscured, jurists would eventually claim the status of *walāya*, traditionally reserved for imams, distinguishing in turn between a *takwīniyya walāya* ("ontological/creative covenant," exclusively reserved for prophets and imams) and a *tashrī'iyya* or *i'tibāriyya walāya* ("law-making covenant" or "relative covenant," shared between imams and jurists); see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Discrete Religion*, p. 204, note 125 and especially now S. Rizvi, "'Seeking the Face of God': the Safawid *ḥikmat* Tradition's Conceptualization of *Walāya Takwīniyya*," in F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam. History, Theology and Law*, London-New York, 2014, pp. 391-410.

{E.E. Urbach, "Matay pasqah ha-nevu'ah" ("When did the prophecy cease?"), (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 17 (1946-1947), pp. 1-11; Id., "Halakhah u-nevu'ah" ("Law and Prophecy"), (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 18 (1947-1948), pp. 1-27 (quoted in Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood", pp. 197-198). It should be noted that Jewish thinkers seem to have begun to theorize the issue from the moment they saw the emerging Christianity as a threat to the authority and legitimacy of their own religion.

{However, Sunni mysticism, in its various forms and especially Sufism, which has inherited a good number of doctrines and practices of Shi'ite origin, will adapt them in one form or another, often purging them of their too obviously Shi'ite features. Like the Shi'ite initiate, the holy mystic is able to enter into communication with God and heavenly entities and thus receive inspiration, knowledge and miraculous powers. The mystic al-J:īakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. c. 310/922) goes so far as to coin the expression *khatm al-walāya* ("Seal of Holiness") and build from it a real doctrine of holiness (see G. Gobillot, "Le Mahdi, le *khatm al-awliya'* et le *Quṭb*. Evolution des notions entre sunnisme et chiisme ", *Mélanges de science religieuse* 59 (2002), pp. 5- 31 ; Id., " Sceau des prophètes ", in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (dir.), *Dictionnaire du Coran*, pp. 795-

797). The great mystical thinker Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) distinguishes between a lawful prophecy (*nubuwwat al-tashrī'*) and a general or free prophecy (*nubuwwat 'amma/muṭlaqa*) (M. Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des Saints. Prophecy and Holiness in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī*, Paris, 1986, s.v. index). There are many examples. In a beautiful article, Orkhan Mir-Kasimov examines the two modes of relationship between Heaven and the Sage, calling them respectively: "The Word of Descent" and "The Word of Ascent" ("The Word of Descent and the Word of Ascent in the Spectrum of the Sacred Texts in Islam," in D. De Smet and M. A. Amir-Moezzi (eds), *Controversies*, pp. 329-372). The severance of any relationship between the believer and God, after the death of Muḥammad, was painfully felt outside of mystical and initiatory circles as well. Sunni traditionalist authorities developed various doctrines to nuance the official definition of "the end of prophethood" and ease the pain of a number of pious believers, while at the same time trying to consolidate it (A. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam. A Reconsideration of the Sources with a Special Reference to the Divine Sayings or ḥadīth qudsī* , The Hague-Paris, 1977, pp. 3 sqq., 5 sqq.; Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood," pp. 19 ff; M. Yahia, *Ṣāfi'ī and the Two*

sources de la Loi, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 423-428). It should be noted that neither doctrinal rigidification nor political repression could prevent the resurgence of numerous prophets announcing the advent of a new religion in the lands of Islam from the Middle Ages until modern times. Finally, we have seen the case of ismā'īlism where another prophet and another religion is expected after Muḥammad and Islam. {652} *Al-Taḥf al-mansūb ilā l-imām Abī Muḥammad al-lḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī*, Qumm, 1409/1988, pp. 175-176; trans. D. De Smet, "The Practice of *Taqiyya*," pp. 151-152. On this Qur'ān commentary, see M. M. Bar-Asher, "The Qur'ān Commentary Ascribed to Imam J:lasan al-'Askarī," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24(2000), pp. 358-379; J:I. Anṣārī, "Taḥqīqī dar bāre-ye mansha'-e matn-e mowjūd-e *Taḥf al-mansūb* be emām J:lasan-e 'Askarī"; Id. "*Taḥf al-'Askarī čegūneh* pardākhteh shod?", <http://ansari.kateban.com>; "Bar-resī ḥā-ye tārkhi" (accessed April 2017).

{653} On J:Iaydar Amolī, see e.g. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris, 1972, vol. III "Les fidèles d'amour. Shi'ism and Sufism", Book IV, 1 (Haydar Âmolī (8th/14th century), Shi'ite theologian of Sufism), pp. 149-213; Id., *Temple and Contemplation. Essays on Iranian Islam*, "The Science of Libra and the Correspondences between the Worlds in Islamic Gnosis (from the work of Haydar Âmolī (8th/14th century)", pp. 67-141; P. Antes, *Zur Theologie des Schi'a, Eine Untersuchung des Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār von Sayyid I'faidar Amolī*, Freiburg, 1971; E. Kohlberg, "Amolī, Sayyed Bahā' al-Dīn," *Encyclopedia Iranica*; Kh. 'A. J:Iamiyya, *al-'Irfān al-shī'ī. Dirāsāt fī l-ḥayāt al-rūḥiyya wa l-fikriyya li-lfaydar al-Amulī*, Beirut, 1425/2004. On Faḍlallāh Astarābādī, see now Sh. Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*, Oxford, 2005; O. Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power. Ifurūfī Teachings Between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam: the Original Doctrine of Faḍ Allāh Astarābādī*, London-New York, 2015; On Ibn Abī Jumhūr, see e.g. W. Madelung, "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī's Synthesis of Kalām, Philosophy and Sufism," in *The Significance of the Late Middle Ages in the History and Culture of the Muslim World* (Proceedings of the 8th Congress of the European Union of Arabists and Islamists), Aix-en-Provence, 1978, pp. 147-156 (reprinted in Id., *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1985, article no. 13); S. Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölfershi'itischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838/1434-35 nach 906/1501)*, Leiden; Id., "New Sources for the Life and Work of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī," *Studia Islamica* 38 (2009), pp. 49-68.

{654} See now H. Corbin, *Itinéraire d'un enseignement*, Tehran, 1993, pp. 104-107 and 111-118.

{Rajab Borsī, *Les Orient des Lumières*, translated from Arabic by H. Corbin, edition established and introduced by P. Lory, Paris-Lagrasse, 1996.

{656} T. B. Lawson, "The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty in the Divine Secrets Connected with the Commander of the Faithful by Rajab Bursī," in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, London-New York, 1992, pp. 261-276.

{657} P. Lory, "Suffering for the Truth According to the Shi'i Esotericism of Rajab Borsī," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, M.M. Bar-Asher & S. Hopkins (eds.), *Imāmite Shi'ism Forty Years Later. A Tribute to Etan Kohlberg*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études vol. 137, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 315-323.

{658} K.M. al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa l-tashayyū'*, reprint. Beirut, 1982 (first ed., Baghdad, 2 vols., 1963-64), vol. 2, pp. 224-256; id. in *al-Fikr al-shī'ī wa l-naza'āt al-ṣūfiyya ḥattā maṭla' al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar al-hijrī*, Baghdad, 1386/1966, pp. 25ff.

{659} E.g. (in alphabetical order; for full references, see the general bibliography at the end of this volume) Afandī/Efendī al-Jīrānī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Isā, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, pp. 30 ff (the most extensive record); al-Amīn, Muḥsin, *A'yān al-shī'a*, vol. 31, pp. 19 ff; al-Amīnī 'Abd al- J:Iusayn, *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 6, pp. 3 ff and vol. 7, pp. 5 ff and index n.s.; al-Baḥrānī, Hāshim, *Ifilyat al-abrār*, esp. vol. 2, pp. 12 ff, etc. (where not all pages are given, refer to the table of contents or index of the work *sub* Bursī or *Mashāriq*); Id., *Madīnat al-ma'ājiz*, vol. 1, pp. 228, 230, 253; al-Burūjjirdī, *Tarā'if al-maqāl*; al-Daylamī, al-J:Iasan, *Irshād al-qulūb*; al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*; al-J:Iasanī, Hāshim Ma'rūf, *al-Mawḍū'āt fī l-āthār wa l-akhbār*, pp. 293 ff; al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, pp. 44 and 11 ff; Id., *Ithbāt al-hudāt*; Id., *al-Jawāhir al-saniyya*, pp. 30, 195, 52 ff; Id., *Wasā'il al-shī'a*; al-Jazā'irī, Ni'matullāh, *al-Anwār al-nu'māniyya*; al-Kaf'amī, Taqī al-Dīn, *al-Maqām al-asnā*; Id., *al-Miṣbāḥ*, pp. 46, 78, 9 ff; Kantūrī, I'jāz J:Iusayn, *Kashf al-ḥujub wa l-astār*, pp. 47 ff; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, vol. 3, pp. 327-345; 'A. Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-lfilla*; al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir, *Bihār al-anwār*, esp. "al-Madkhal," vol. 1, pp. 1 ff; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, vol. 2, pp. 114 ff; Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, vol. 2, p. 11; al-Qummī, al-Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Fawā'id al-riḍawiyya*, pp. 17 ff; Id., *al-Kunā wa l-alqāb*, vol. 2, pp. 30 ff; al-Tihirānī, Aghā Bozorg, *al- Dhari'a* (several entries written under the different titles of our author's works). I will

attempt to synthesize as briefly as possible the information provided by these sources while complementing, on certain points, the modern research already mentioned on al-Bursī.

{On this subject, see the studies of Corbin, Lawson and Lory cited above in notes 3, 4 and 5. Since the late nineteenth century, the book has been edited dozens of times, including in India, Iran, and Lebanon. The latest are those of 'Alī 'Ashūr, Beirut, 1419/1999 and 'Abd al-Ghaffār Ashraf al-Māzandarānī, Qumm, 1426/2005. I use, here, the Beirut edition published in 1379/1959.

{661} Al-Bursī, *Mashāriq*, pp. 5 and 14 and in the author's poems, edited in the appendix, pp. 240, 246 and 247.

{662} Respectively: *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 117 and *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 307. It should be noted, however, that in the *Fihrist-e nuskhā hā-ye khaṭṭī-ye ketābkhāne-ye markazī-ye dāneshgāh- e Tehrān* (numerous editions; for a list of manuscript catalogs see the end of this chapter), vol. 12, *Mashāriq* manuscript no. 2598, considered (erroneously?) to be an autograph, is dated 815 AH. Cf. al-Shaybī, *al-Fikr al-shī'ī*, p. 258 and notes, who speaks of an autograph manuscript dating to 768/1367, written during the reign of the last sarbedār ruler, 'Alī al- Mu'ayyad.

{663} *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, vol. 3, p. 330; cf. al-Qummī, al-Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Fawā'id al-riḍawiyya*, p. 380.

{664} *Mashāriq*, p. 198 and pp. 213-215.

{*Ibid.* at 14 and 42.

{666} Numerous citations in *al-Miṣbāḥ* and *al-Maqām al-asnā* of the former and in the *Kalimāt maknūna* of the latter.

{667} *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Wasā'il al-shī'a*, vol. 30, pp. 159-160.

{668} *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 1, p. 10 and vol. 42, pp. 300-301.

{669} Al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 7, pp. 33-34; al-Burūjirdī, *Tarā'if*, vol. 2, p. 162.

{670} *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, vol. 3, pp. 33 ff: *al-mawlā al-'ālim...al-murshid al-kāmil...al-quṭb al- wāqif...al-'arīf al-quḍs...* ("the great wise master...the perfect spiritual guide...the solidly established pole...the holy gnostic..."; passage also cited by Lawson, *art.cit.*, note 8, p. 263).

{671} On these sermons of 'Alī, see here, chapter 4.

{672} I have examined this issue from several perspectives and in different publications; see, e.g., M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. *ghālf, ghulāt, ghuluww*; Id, *The Discreet Religion*, index s.v. *ghuluww*; Id, *The Silent Qur'an*, index s.v. *ghuluww*; Id, "The Imams and the Ghulāt," in press in *Shi'i Studies Review*.

{673} Al-Tihirānī, *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 9/2, p. 660; vol. 14, p. 65; vol. 21, p. 141. H. Corbin quotes this author - whom he calls al-J:lasan al-Khaṭīb al-Qāri' al-Mashhadī - and his work, which has remained in manuscript form, several times (EPHE seminars in *Itinéraire d'un enseignement*, années 1968-1969 et 1969-1970 and *En Islam iranien*, vol. 4, p. 212).

{674} *Al-Dharī'a*, vol. 7, p. 233. The same al-Tihirānī points out a *qaṣīda* of a certain Sinjārī in the praise of the *Mashāriq* of al-Bursī (*al-Dahrī'a*, vol. 9/2, p. 472).

{675} *Fihrist-e nusakh-e khaṭṭī-ye ...ketābkhāne-ye mellī*, vol. 9, p. 496; *Fihrist... ketābkhāne-ye āyatollāh Mar'ashī*, vol. 16, p. 159.

{676} Except perhaps a Persian treatise attributed to al-Bursī entitled *Risālat al-Lam'a* or *Lam'a-ye kāshif* (especially on the esoteric secrets of the divine Names and letters); see *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 18, p. 354 and Kahhāla, 'Umar Riḍā, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 153.

{677} In this respect, the hesitations of the great German scholar Carl Brockelmann in his famous *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* are significant. Our author is indeed named there in three different forms: Bursī (*GAL, suppl. 2*, p. 204), Birsī (*GAL, suppl. 3/2*, p. 1266), and Brussawī (*GAL, suppl. 2*, p. 660).

{678} Al-Majlisī had a copy of this work available to him (*Biḥār*, vol. 1, p. 10); see also al-Tihirānī, *al-Dharī'ā*, vol. 2, p. 299 and *GAL, suppl. 2*, p. 204.

{679} On the relationship between this text and the *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, see Kantūrī, *Kashf al-hujub*,

p. 481 and *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 18, p. 362. In the edition I use (Beirut, 1379), the work occupies pages 5-13.

{680} By 'Abd al-Rasūl Zayn al-Dīn, Beirut, 1430/2009. According to Afandī/Efendī, this is one of al-Bursī's last works, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 305; cf. Kantūrī, *Kashf al-hujub*, p. 521. It is unclear why despite the plurality of manuscripts of the work (see *al-Dahrī'a*, vol. 21, p. 33; *Fihrist... Mar'ashī*, vol. 5, p. 163) the edition was made on the basis of a single and very late manuscript.

{681} Respectively by J:Iasan J:Iasanzādeh Amolī, *Waḥdat az dīdgāh-e 'arīf va ḥakīm*, Tehran, 1362 solar/1984, "Appendix," pp. 212-225; and by Muḥammad J:Iusayn Derāyatī, in *Afāq-e nūr* 2 (Pāyīz va zemestān-e 1384 solar [= autumn-winter 2006], pp. 25-34 (the second editor is apparently unaware of the first publication). Neither edition is critical. For references to Bursī's works, see the final bibliography.

{682} *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol.2, pp. 310 and 342 and vol. 12, p. 78.

{683} *Mashāriq*, pp. 225-247; see also al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, p. 446; al-Qummī, al-Shaykh 'Abbās, *al-Kunā wa l-alqāb*, vol. 2, p. 306 (the *takhmīs* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Aḥsā'ī on a poem by al-Bursī); al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 7, pp. 3 ff; Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-lfilla*, vol. 2, pp. 371-379.

{684} See e.g. *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, pp. 305, 307-8; al-J:Iurr al-'Amilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Fihrist... Astān-e Quds*, vol. 11, p. 682.

{685} Most frequent variants: *al-Durr al-thamīn fī dhikr khams mi'a āyat nazalat fī mawlānā amīr al-mu'minīn (bi ittifāq akthar al-mufasssīrīn min ahl al-dīn)* and *al-Durr al-thamīn fī asrār al- anza' al-baḥīn*; see e.g. Afandī/Efendī, *Riyāḍ*, vol. 2, p. 306; al-Tihirānī, *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 8,

p. 64. On *al-anza' al-baḥīn* ("the paunchy bald one") as qualifiers of 'Alī see N. Tā'ī, *Shamā'il- e amīr al-mu'minīn*, Persian trans. by F. Ardalān, Tehran, 1393 solar/2014. pp. 36-37 and 5 ff (an apologetic work but one that relies on a large number of sources, some of them very old).

{686} The work occupies pages 19-219 of the volume and is followed (pp. 224-317) with a reproduction of a chapter from al-Kulaynī's *Uṣūl min al-Kāfī* concerning the mention of 'Alī and other members of Muḥammad's Family as well as that of their *walāya* in the Qur'an ("Bāb fīhi nukat wa nutaf min al-tanzīl fī l-walāya"; Eng. trans. in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Proof of God*, pp. 26 ff). The issue obviously touches on the Shi'ite question of the "original integral Qur'an" and the falsified version of the 'uthmānian Vulgate (see chap. 1 of this volume).

{687} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "The *Tafsīr* of al-J:Iibarī (d. 286/899). Qur'anic Exegesis and Shi'ite Esotericism," *Journal of Scholars* 2009/1 (January-June 2009), pp. 3-23 (reprinted and expanded in *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 3, pp. 11 ff; English transl. in F. Daftary & G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, London, 2014, Part II, chap. 5, pp. 113-134).

{688} On these topics, see now E. Kohlberg & M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Revelation and falsification* and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Quran*, *passim*.

{689} Tradition often attributed to 'Alī but also to the Prophet; see al-J:Iibarī, *Tafsīr*, tradition no. 2, p. 233; Furāt al-Kūfī, *Tafsīr*, pp. 45 ff; al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, pp. 4 ff, nos. 5 ff.

{690} Tradition attributed to Ibn 'Abbās; al-J:Iākīm al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid*, vol. 1, pp. 39 ff.

{691} Tradition going back to Mujaḥid; *ibid*, vol.1, p. 43.

{692} See e.g. al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, kitāb faḍl al-Qur'ān, bāb al-nawādir, vol. 4, pp. 440-441, no. 3570; al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, chap. 21, no. 5, p. 452.

{693} Al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, ed. E. Kohlberg-M.A. Amir Moezzi (see note 36), tradition no. 9, Arabic text, p. 8; for other sources, see commentaries, English text, p. 59.

Ibid. tradition #8 and English text, p. 58.

{695} See the studies cited in note 36; also M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 200-227 ; M.M. Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings and Additions of the Imāmi-Shi'a to the Quran," *Israel*

Oriental Studies 13 (1993), pp. 39-74; here, chapter 1.

{696} On this hadith, its variants and sources, see now the anonymous collective work *Kitāb allāh wa ahl al-bayt fī ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*; also M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shiism*, Leiden, 1999, pp. 93-98.

{697} Ibn Bābūya al-Sadūq, *Amālī* (or *Majālis*), "majlis" 47, no. 9, p. 280.

{698} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Rawḍa min al-Kāfī*, vol.1, p. 181.

{699} M. Ayoub, "The Speaking Qur'ān and the Silent Qur'ān: a Study of the Principles and Development of Imāmī Tafsīr," in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 177-198; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'ān*, *passim*.

{700} Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 10ff; Id, "The Fighter of the *Ta'wīl*. A poem by Mullā Sadrā about 'Alī," *The Discreet Religion*, chap. 9.

{1} It seems that the Qur'an will be considered later as a multi-layered text whose hidden meaning(s) will be revealed by the hermeneutics of the imam; see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *ibid.* and the present chapter, Part 4.

{702} Al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, section 10, chap. 21, pp. 52ff; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "The Imams and the *Ghuāt*," pp. 15ff.

{703} Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 12; al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, vol.19, p. 28. The work seems to be lost today; generally speaking, when an edition of the text in question is not announced, this would be the case.

{704} See above, note 37.

{705} See also above, note 37.

{706} E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work. Ibn Tāwūs and his Library*, Leiden, 1992, p. 355, no. 594.

{707} Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 52; al-Tihrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol.2, p. 65.

{708} Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 180; al-Tihrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol. 19, pp. 28-30.

{E. Kohlberg, *op.cit.* pp. 369-371, no. 623. Of this work only fragments remain in later sources. These fragments are now collected in Ibn al-Juhām, *Ta'wīl mā nazala min al-Qur'ān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa ālih*.

{710} Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 67; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, p. 20; al-Tihrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol. 19, p. 30.

{Kohlberg, *op.cit.* p. 132, no. 83. On al-Mufid's position on the question of falsification, see now M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022) and the Question of the Falsification of the Qur'an," in D. De Smet & M.A. Amir-Moezzi (eds.), *Controversies*, pp. 199- 229 (also appeared in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, nuova serie, vol. 87, fas. 1-4 (2014), pp. 155-176).

{712} Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, p. 78. The doctrinal affiliation of al-J:Iaskānī is not certain. He seems to have been a Sunni ḥanafī with strong Shi'ite sympathies or even more likely a crypto-Shi'ite practicing *taqiyya* (the duty of secrecy); see E. Kohlberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 150-151.

{713} E. Kohlberg, *op.cit.* pp. 330-331, no. 542.

{*Ibid.*, p. 307, no. 488.

{715} Ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī, Tehran, 1406/1986.

{716} Ed. J:I. al-Ustād Walī, Qumm, 1417/1996.

{717} Published in Qumm, 1394/1974-1975.

{718} Ed. M.M. al-Mīlānī, Beirut, 1413/1992.

{719} Al-Tihrānī, *Dharī'a*, vol.1, p. 48.

{*Ibid.* 24, p. 172. The work was published in Tehran, 1320/1902-1903 (not seen). It should be noted that Sunni authors with Shi'i sympathies have also composed this kind of work, but obviously much less often. Examples include the pro-mystic Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) in his *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn* (*Dharī'a*, vol. 19, p. 28; the fragments, reported by other sources, of this work have been edited by M.B. al-Maḥmūdī in

al-Nūr al-mushta'al-muqtabas min kitāb Mā nazal min al-Qur'ān fī amīr al-mu'minīn, Tehran, 1406/1985.); Ibn al-Faḥḥām al-Nīsābūrī (d. 458/1066), author of *al-Ayāt al-nāzila fī ahl al-bayt* (Ibn J:Iajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, Beirut, 1407-8/1987-88, vol. 2, p. 251); or al-J:Iākīm al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī (d. 494/1100-1101)), of Mu'tazilite tendency, in his *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (Cairo, no date).

{721} See, e.g., the monumental work in Persian by the religious scholar M. J:Iusaynī Bahārāncī, *Ayāt al-faḍā'il yā faḍā'il-e 'Alī dar Qur'ān*, Qumm, 1380 solar/2002.

{722} *Al-Durr al-thamīn*, I use ed. 'Ashūr (henceforth *Dth*), pp. 22-23. In my presentation, the Qur'anic text is in italics and *Dth*'s commentaries are in roman and smaller type. Furthermore, I forgo identifying passages parallel to the translated texts of *Dth* in the *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn* and the *Mashāriq al-amān*. They are very numerous and scattered throughout these works, with varying degrees of variation.

{723} *Dth*, pp. 23-24. The reading '*ālamayn* (the two Worlds, i.e., the here below and the hereafter, the visible world - '*ālam al-shahāda* - and the invisible world - '*ālam al-ghayb*) instead of the more usual '*ālamīn* (of the Worlds) better fits, it seems to me, the Muḥammad/'Alī pairing that occupies the center of the tradition and that explains, moreover, the use of the other duals in the text. Moreover, it should be noted that here the chains of transmitters of the traditions are not indicated; however, cross-referencing with other sources clearly shows that in almost all cases these are Shi'i traditions going back to the imams and often reported by numerous compilations of hadith-s. On the pre-existent entities of the Impeccables and the metaphysical worlds before the world, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II ("The Pre-existence of the Imam"), esp.

pp. 73-111; Id, "Worlds and Their Inhabitants. Some Notes on Imami-Shi'i Cosmo- Anthropogony," in Elisa Coda and Cecilia Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 519-529. On the pre-existence enlightenment of Muḥammad and 'Alī, see U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119; Id, "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shi'a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), pp. 41-65.

{724} *Dth*, p. 28. Cf. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 57; see also P. Lory, "Suffering for the Truth...", p. 318. 'Alī is the Way, the Path, and the Truth to which this Path leads, namely the true religion of God. The "Christic" resonances of the statement are to be underlined.

{725} *Dth*, pp. 29-30; see also P. Lory, "Suffering for the Truth...", p. 318. On these points, see also al-Sayyārī, *K. al-Qirā'āt*, no. 33, p. 14 (Arabic text) and p. 69 (English text) for other sources; Furāt, *Tafsīr*, p. 51, no. 10; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 22, no. 17. On the

On the notion of "metamorphosis", i.e. enemies of the prophetic family transformed, either before their death or afterwards, into despicable and evil beasts, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, index *sub maskh*. On the notions of metempsychosis and reincarnation in Islam, see G. Monnot, "La transmigration et l'immortalité", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 14 (1980),

pp. 149-166 (reprinted in Id., *Islam et religions*, Paris, 1986, chap. XII); R. Freitag, *Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Häresie*, Berlin, 1985, pp. 128-159; U. Rubin, "Apes, Pigs and the Islamic Identity," *Israel Oriental Studies* 17 (1997), pp. 89-105; S. Schmidtke, "The Doctrine of the Transmigration of the Soul according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (killed 587/1191) and his Followers," *Studia Iranica* 28.2 (1999), pp. 237-254.

{726} *Dth*, pp. 3 ff. Also al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 26, no. 1; al-J:Iaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 86, no. 106. On the application of the term *kitāb* to the Perfect Man, see al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Ṣāfi fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol.1, pp. 92 ff. In many other passages of *Dth*, 'Alī is identified with the Qur'anic *kitāb*.

{727} Al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 26, no. 1; Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-dīn*, pp. 18 and 340.

{728} Cf. al-Astarābādī, *Ta'wīl al-āyāt al-zāhira*, p. 33, no. 1; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 24, p. 352, no. 69. On the Shi'ite eschatological notion of *raj'a* (return to life of a certain number of people before the Universal Resurrection), see E. Kohlberg, *EI2* and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v.

{729} On the necessity of *love/walāya* in the worshipper's performance of canonical duties and their acceptance by God, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on the Imamite *walāya*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122.4 (2002), pp. 722-741, Part 2: "Question of the Pillars of Islam," pp. 726-728 (= *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 7, pp. 183-186).

{730} On the properly Shi'ite technical meanings of the terms *'ilm/ta'līm* and *īmān/mu'min*, see *Divine Guide and Discrete Religion*, Index, s.v.

{731} On *walāya* and 'Alī, the supreme symbol of *walāya*, as the ultimate objectives of divine revelations, see chap. 1 of this book.

{732} The word *ṣibgha*, used twice in this verse and which I have translated as "anointing" (its literal meaning is rather "dyeing"), is a hapax and the understanding of its meaning has posed a great deal of problems for both Muslim exegetes and modern scholars.

{733} *Dth*, pp. 53-54. On the hadith of Ja'far, where 'Alī is subtly identified with God, see also al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 62, no. 109. The derogatory appellations Zurayq, Ghudar, and the rebels against God Pharaoh and his evil advisor Hāmān, here refer to Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the latter often presented as the manipulator of the former (however, the order of the pejorative appellations referring to the two characters is not always clear). On these and other pejorative names, designating the historical enemies of 'Alī and the Alids/Shi'ites and on the practice of *sabb al-ṣaḥāba*, ("reviling the Companions of the Prophet"), see I. Goldziher, "Spotnamen der ersten Chalifen bei den Schi'iten," reprinted in Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by J. Desomogyi, Hildesheim, 1967-73, vol. 4, pp. 291-305; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 27 ff; A. Arazi,

"*Ilqām al-ḥajar li-man zakkā sabb Abf Bakr wa 'Umar* of al-Suyuti or the Testimony of the Insultor of the Companions," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), pp. 211-287; M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, index s.v. *ṣaḥāba*, "vilification of-"; and especially the excellent monographic study by E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī Shī'ī Views on the *ṣaḥāba*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), pp. 143-175 (= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism*, Variorum, Aldershot, 1991, article no. 9).

{734} See also *Dth*, pp. 56-57, the commentaries on verses 208, 211, 256 and 257 of Sura II.

{735} *Dth*, pp. 59-60: *wa l-murād fī ḥadhiḥ al-sūra 'Alī kitābuh wa ḥijābuh wa smuh al-a'zam al-marmūz al-maknūz wa amruh al-nāfidh wa mathaluh al-a'lā wa naba'uh al-a'zim wa kalimatuh al-kubrā*.

{736} On the Supreme Name of God, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Discrete Religion*, index s.v. *al-ism al-a'zam*, *al-ism al-akbar*; on the Order, see chap. 6 of the present work.

{737} See here, chap. 4; T. Lawson, "*The Dawning Places...*," pp. 26ff.

{738} *Dth*, p. 63; cf. al-J:libarī, *Tafsīr*, p. 247, no. 12; al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 176 ff. On this verse, see P. Ballanfat and M. Yahia, "Ordalia," in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Dictionary of the Qur'an*, pp. 618-620; on the concept, see S. Schmucker M.A., "Mubāhala," *EI2*, vol. 7, p. 278.

{739} *Dth*, pp. 66-68. Cf. al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 109; al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, vol. 30, pp. 240 ff. On the day of Ghadīr or the event of Ghadīr Khumm when, according to the Shi'ites, Muḥammad explicitly designated 'Alī as his successor, see al-Amīnī's 'Abd al-J:Iusayn, *al-Ghadīr*;

L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ghadīr Khumm," *EI2*; M. Dakake, M. & A. Kazemi Moussavi, "Ġadīr ḥomm: i. in Shi'ite Literature and ii: Ġadīr Festival," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10, pp. 246-249;

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Ghadīr Khumm," *EI3*.

{740} *Dth*, p. 74. The phrase "this is how the verse was revealed" (*hākadhā nazalat*) means that this is a different version of the official Qur'an: here indeed the phrase with *respect to the rights of Muḥammad's descendants* (*āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum*) is an addition from the Vulgate; see also al-Sayyārī, *K. al-Qirā'āt*, no. 138, p. 39 (Arabic text), p. 106 (English text, for other sources). The author of *Dth* repeatedly cites this "original Qur'an" (e.g., *sub* Qur'an 2:90, pp. 52-53; Qur'an 4:65, p. 76). See also Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings and Additions," p. 56.

{741} *Dth*, p. 74; in al-Sayyārī, the phrase that ends the sequence, namely *fī walāyat 'Alī*, is part of the verse (*op.cit.*, no. 139, p. 39 of Arabic text; pp. 106-107 of English text for

numerous other sources that report the tradition); Bar-Asher, "Variant Readings and Additions," p. 56. {742} *Dth*, p. 98; see also Ibn Shādhān, *Mi'at manqaba*, p. 96; al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, vol. 2, p. 75; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 108, p. 99.

{743} *Dth*, p. 99. According to the author, the Qur'anic verse, far from speaking of the Muslim community as a whole as the "orthodox" exegesis would have it, is aimed at only a minority within it, namely the followers of the Divine Covenant (*walāya*) which 'Alī represents par excellence.

{744} *Dth*, pp. 102-103.

{745} See on this subject the profound reflections of H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. 1, "Le shi'isme duodécimain", *passim*, and of Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie islamique*, Paris, 2011, Part 3, chapters VI to VIII.

{746} H. Corbin, *Le paradoxe du monothéisme*, Paris, 1981 (posthumous work), *passim*. See also the subtle reflections on the subject by S. Ayada, *L'islam des théophanies. Une religion à l'épreuve de l'art*, Paris, 2010, *passim* and especially chapters 2 to 4 of the first part.

{747} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, "Kitāb al-tawḥīd," vol.1, p. 131, chap. 9, no. 6; Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, chapter 8, no. 6, p. 109.

{748} Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, chap. 8, no. 20, p. 117. It is interesting to note that these traditions are reported within the chapter concerning monotheism, the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*). On the vision of the Imam through the heart see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, the excursus "The Vision through the Heart"; Id, "Visions of Imams in Modern and Contemporary Duodecimal Mysticism (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology VIII)," in E. Chaumont *et al.* (eds.), *Autour du regard. Mélanges islamologiques offerts à Daniel Gimaret*, Louvain-Paris, 2003, pp. 97-124 (= *Religion discrète*, chap. 10).

{749} M.A. Amir-Moezzi & Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme ?*, chap. 1, pp. 27-40 ;

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chapter 3.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Only the man of God is human. Theology and Mystical Anthropology through Early Imamite Exegesis," *Arabica* 45 (1998), pp. 193-214 (= *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 8; English trans. in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *Shī'ism*, Aldershot, 2003, article 2).

{751} This attitude of the Shi'ites towards their opponents is especially crystallized in the notion of *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* ("reviling the Companions"); see above, note 81.

{752} See above the text related to note 42.

{753} I have devoted many studies to the Bouyid turn in Imamism; see most recently "Al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022) and the question of the falsification of the Quran", part one.

{754} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Notes about the Imamite *walāya*."

{755} The most complete overview of these discussions in their earliest phase is offered by J. Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin-New York, 1991-1997 and more recently in the same scholar's new Summa: *Der Eine und das Andere. Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, Berlin-New York, 2011.

{756} My heartfelt thanks to my colleague, Mrs. Ziva Vesel, for allowing me to study her collection of Shi'ite icons in the early 2000s.

{757} This Persian meaning of the term *shamā'il* (more exactly *shamā'el* according to the Persian pronunciation) is unexpected. It is probably a diverted use of the Arabic word which is the feminine plural of *shimāl* which has, among other things, both the meaning of clothing (more particularly coat and turban) as well as good innate quality, noble character (in this sense, our word is also the plural of *shamīla*). It is perhaps for this reason that in Persian the pair *shikl* and *shamā'il* is very often used to denote either physical form and moral qualities, or physical form and the clothes covering it. In this study, the word is considered, as in Persian, to be masculine singular.

{758} It is possible, however, that this kind of object, bearing the portraits of the Shi'ite saints, became particularly popular during or after the reign of the qājār ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (reign: 1848-1896), who put a great deal of effort into the promotion of Shi'ite religious painting. In particular, he was devoted to a genuine devotion to the image of 'Alī. See e.g. A. de Gobineau *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris, 1859, pp. 316 ff; H. Massé, "L'imagerie populaire de l'Iran," *Arts Asiatiques* 7-3 (1960), pp. 163-178.

{759} On the false but persistent myth of the prohibition of human representation in Islam, see the classic study by T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam. A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*. 2nd ed., New York, 1965, pp. 6 ff; also the beautiful pages of A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Islam, the Word and the Image," in F. Boespflug and N. Lossky (eds.), *Nicée II, 787-1987 : douze siècles d'images religieuses. Actes du colloque Nicée II, Collège de France, 2-4 octobre 1986*, Paris, 1987, pp. 89-117. For a broader discussion concerning the medieval period, see M. Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam*, Paris, 2004, and for an analysis covering up to the contemporary period, see B. Héberger and S. Naef (eds.), *La multiplication des images en pays d'islam*, Würzburg, 2003; S. Naef, *Y a-t-il une "question de l'image" en islam ?*, Paris 2004; and now concerning Shi'ism, see F. Suleman (ed.), *People of the Prophet's House. Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam*, London, 2015.

{760} On the question of the veiling and unveiling of figures in Islamic representations, see the pertinent remarks of R. Milstein, "Light, Fire and the Sun in Islamic Painting", in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in honor of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem-Leyde, pp. 533-552.

{761} On the *faqār* pronunciation and not the more conventional *fiqār*, see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jam*, ed. M. al-Saqqā', Cairo 1364-1371/1945-1951, vol. I, p. 156 and vol. III, p. 1026. The word literally means "possessor of spine", probably meaning "double-edged sword". It is probably for this reason that, often in iconography, the sword of 'Alī is curiously drawn with a blade whose end is divided into two! On this sword, brought according to tradition by the angel Gabriel to Muḥammad and passed on by him to 'Alī, see e.g. al-Saffār al-Qummī, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, ed. M. Kūcebāghī, Tabriz n.d. (ca. 1960), 2nd ed, section 4 of the 4th chapter; al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, ed. J. Muṣṭafawī, Tehran n.d., 4 vols, "kitāb al-ḥujja," bāb mā 'ind al-a'imma min silāḥ rasūl allāh, vol. I, pp. 337 ff.

{762} See *Sokhanān-e manẓūm-e Abū Sa'īd Abū l-Khayr*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran, 1334 solar/1956, p. 90, quatrain no. 615. The poet obviously plays with the two meanings of the Arabic word *fath*: victory (alluding to the victorious character of the first imam in his battles) and openness/inspiration (alluding to the latter's role as an initiating guide).

{763} Pieces from the set of objects belonging to Madame Vesel (see below). On the image in general and the effigies of 'Alī in Shi'ism, see R. Paret, "Das islamische Bildverbot und die Schia," in E. von Graf (ed.), *Festschrift Werner Caskel*. Leiden, 1968, pp. 224-232; see also the recent work by I. Flakerund, *Visualising Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism*, London, 2010. For discussions of the two forms of the halo and the underlying Sassanid and Christian influences, see R. Milstein, "Light, Fire and the Sun in Islamic Painting," pp. 537-538; A. Fodor, "A Group of Iraqi Arm Amulets," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5-6 (1987-88), pp. 266-277; Id, "Types of Shi'ite Amulets from Iraq," in F. De Jong (ed.), *Shia Islam*, Utrecht, 1992, pp. 124-134.

{764} M. J. Rogers, "The Genesis of Safawid Religious Painting," *Iran* 8 (1970), pp. 121-141; S. R. Peterson, *Shi'ism and Late Iranian Arts*, PhD dissertation, New York University, 1981; P. Chelkowski, "Narrative Painting and Painting Recitation in Qajar Iran," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989), pp. 98-111; M. V. Fontana, *Iconografia dell'Ahl al-bayt. Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo*, Naples, 1994; P. and M. Centlivres, *Imageries populaires en Islam*, Geneva, 1997; L. S. Diba and M. Ekhtiyar (eds.), *Royal Persian Paintings: the Qajar Epoch, 1785-1925*, London, 1998; 'A. Bolūkbāshī, 'Shamā'il negārī dar ḥawze-ye honar hā-ye 'āme-ye Irān', *Honar: ketāb-e māh*, special issue on 'Alī in Folk Art, 31-32 (2001), pp. 3-7; M. Mohammad-Zadeh, *The Iconography*

Shiite in the Iran of the Qâdjârs: emergence, sources and development. Doctoral thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne) and University of Geneva, 2008. The list is obviously not exhaustive.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Visions d'Imams en mystique duodécimaine moderne et contemporaine (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine VIII)", in E. Chaumont *et al.* (eds.) *Autour du regard : mélanges Gimaret*, Louvain, 2003, pp. 108-109 (now M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La religion discrète*, pp. 263-264).

{766} M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 112-145; Id, "La vision par le cœur dans l'islam shi'ite," *Connaissance des religions*, special no. 57-59 (1999), pp. 146-169 (updated and expanded version of previous study); Id, "Visions d'Imams ..." (see previous note).

{767} On this set and others concerning Shi'ite folk art, graciously donated by Mrs. Ziva Vesel to the Musée des civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MuCEM) in Marseilles, see now L. Kleiber, "Expression populaire et dévotion shi'ite," *La Revue des Musées de France. Revue du Louvre* 4 (October 2006), pp. 64-71.

{768} See the studies reported in notes 10 and 11 above.

{769} M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Du droit à la théologie : les niveaux de réalité dans le shi'isme duodécimain", *Cahiers du Groupe d'Études Spirituelles Comparées (GESC)* 5; *L'Esprit et la Nature*, Actes du colloque de Paris, 11-12 mai 1996, Milan - Paris, 1997, pp. 37-63; D. De Smet, "Beyond the apparent: the notions of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* in Muslim esotericism," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994): 197-220.

{770} See here chapter 4.

{771} See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 112-145; also G. Vajda, "Le problème de la vision de Dieu (*ru'ya*) d'après quelques auteurs šī'ites duodécimaux", in *Le shf'isme imāmīte*. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, mai 1968, Paris, 1970, pp. 31-53; this study, although alluding to the vision through the heart (pp. 44-45), concerns only the first part of this theological problematic, namely the impossibility of the vision of the divine Essence. In short, the distinction between the two ontological levels of God, and thus the two complementary aspects of the problem of vision, is not made. See now also the synthesis of J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 6 vols, Berlin - New York, 1991-1997, vol. 5 (1993), pp. 83 ff; on the practice in Sunni Sufism, see A. Ventura, "La presenza divina nel cuore", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 3 (1985), pp. 123-134; Id, "L'invocazione del cuore," in B. M. Amoretti and L. Rostagno (eds.), *Yād Nāma in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Rome, 1991, pp. 475-495; G. Gobillot and P. Ballanfat, "Le cœur et la vie spirituelle chez les mystiques musulmans," *Connaissance des religions* 57-59 (1999), pp. 170-204.

{772} See here chap. 4.

{773} See, e.g., Ibn Bābūya, *al-Amālī* (= *al-Majālīs*), ed. M.B. Kamare'i, Tehran, reissue 1404/1984, majlis 28, hadith no. 9, p. 138 and majlis 58, hadith no. 1, p. 361 (with no mention of *dhikr 'Alī*); Id., *Kitāb man lā yahduruḥu l-faqīh*, ed. al-Mūsawī al-Kharsān, s.l. 1390/1970, 5th ed. chap. 158, hadith no. 2145. It should be noted that the word *dhikr*, translated here as "remembering," also refers to the famous mystical practice of rhythmically repeating a word or phrase; in this case *dhikr 'Alī* of the hadith means for a Sufi the repetition of the name of 'Alī. Finally, let us point out that it is on the basis of this kind of tradition that a religious authority such as Ayatollah Nakhjavānī justifies the lawfulness of the portraiture of Shi'i saints; Ayatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Nakhjavānī, *al-Du'ā' al- l-fusaynī*, Qumm, 1406/1985, pp. 86 ff (cited by Mohammad-Zadeh, *Shi'i Iconography in Qājār Iran* - above note 9, pp. 100-101).

{774} For sources, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La religion discrète*, pp. 268-270.

{775} *Al-salām 'alā wajh allāh alladhī man āmana bihi amina*. The formula is about 'Alī, called, as in many other places, the Face of God. The formula is found, for example, in the *Ziyāra* of 'Alī (prayers recited during the pilgrimage to the tomb of the first imam in Najaf, Iraq; countless editions), *ziyāra* no. 7.

- {776} The book is cited above in note 6. On this work and its author see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Saffār al-Qummī (d. 290/902-03) and his *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*," *Asian Journal* 280/3-4 (1992), pp. 221-250 (further elaborated in *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4; A. J. Newman: *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism: Hadith as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad*. Richmond, 2000, chapters 5 and 7.
- {777} The word *vejhe* is the Persian pronunciation of the Arabic term *wijha* which literally means "face of a body, an object". It also has the Qur'anic meaning of "the direction in which the object of prayer is located" (Qur'an 2:148: *wa li kulli wijhatun huwa muwallihā*, "To each one a direction to which to turn in prayer," according to the elegant translation of J. Berque, *Le Coran. Essai de traduction*, p. 45). The use of the word in dhahabi practice certainly encompasses both meanings.
- {778} On *walāya*, a central notion in the Shi'ite faith, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *La Religion discrète*, chap. 7.
- {779} Ibn Bābūya, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, ed. M.J:I. Lājevardī, Tehran 1378/1958, chap. 31, hadith no. 19, vol. II, 49. See also Ibn Bābūya, *al-Amālī*, majlis 39, hadith no. 10, pp. 222-223.
- {780} This is a quotation from the famous Qur'anic commentary *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Bahrānī (d. 1107 or 1109/1695-96 or 1697-98), 5 vols, Tehran n.d., *sub* Qur'an 28:88. This exegesis of the Face is found in virtually all Shi'ite *tafsīr-s*; see, for example, M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 116, note 225.
- {781} The author makes a play on words belonging to the root *WJH*: *wajh* (face), *wijha* / *vejhe* (practice of contemplation), *tawajjuh/tavajjoh* (direction, heading towards something, concentration); for other sources on the same subject, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Visions of Imams", pp. 111 ff. (= *Discrete Religion*, pp. 266 ff).
- {782} R. Nicholson ed., Tehran n.d. (ca. 1950), Daftar 2, p. 427.
- {783} ed. J:I. Rowshandel, Tehran 1351 solar/1972, 2nd ed. p. 59.
- {784} On saliva as a factor in the transmission of knowledge and spiritual virtues, see here chapter 3.
- {785} Al-Mufīd, *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, ed. 'A.A. Ghaffārī, Qumm n.d., "Khuṭbat li amīr al-mu'minīn," 235-236. For another version of the same speech and the sources, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 123.
- {786} It is interesting to note that in the technical vocabulary of Shi'ism "faith" (*īmān*) means the esoteric dimension of Islam, in other words the teaching of the imams or simply Shi'ism. The term is distinguished from *islām* which means, again in the technical lexicon, the exoteric dimension of Muḥammad's message; see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, index s.v. Moreover, it should be pointed out that for Rāz Shīrāzī, the imam of light contemplated in the heart by the dhahabi initiate is the 'black light' of the spiritual form of the eighth imam, 'Alī al- Riḍā, the presumed founder of the order; see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 105-106; Id., *The Discrete Religion*, pp. 260-262.
- {787} Also reproduced in Kleiber's article, "Popular Expression and Shi'ite Devotion," illustration #7 (black and white), p. 69.
- {788} On these Names, see D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, Paris, 1988, index, s.v.
- {789} L. S. Diba & M. Ekhtiyar, *Royal Persian Paintings*, plate no. 163. This is a work by Muḥammad Ismā'īl, executed in 1288/1871, for the ruler of Iran, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Bernisches historisches Museum, room no. 73/1913.
- {790} For the former, see M. Modarresī Cahārdehī, *Khāksār va Ahl e ḥaqq*, Tehran, 1368/1989, 23; for the latter, see illustrations nos. 1, 8, and 9 in M. Ekhtiyar, "Exploring *Ahl al-bayt* Imagery in Qajar Iran (1785-1925)," in F. Suleman (ed.), *People of the Prophet's House*, London, 2015, pp. 146-154 (the dimensions shown are, however, somewhat larger than those of the pocket *shamā'il-s*).
- {791} On the subject in general, see F. de Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism: a Survey of Themes and symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art," *Manuscripts of the*

Middle East 4 (1989), pp. 7-29 (with illustrations); I. Mélikoff, "Images et symboles chez les Qezelbāš," in H. Beikbaghban (ed.), *Images et représentations en terre d'Islam*, Proceedings of the international colloquium of the University of Strasbourg: 3 and 4 February 1994, Tehran, 1997, pp. 40-65 (with illustrations); S. Bağci, "From texts to pictures: 'Alī in manuscript painting," in A. Y. Ocak (ed.), *From History to Theology: 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, Ankara, 2005, pp. 229-263 (and illustrations); M. Uğur Derman, "'Alī in Ottoman calligraphy," *ibid*, pp. 291-303 (and illustrations); O. Mir-Kasimov, "Notes on Two J:Iurūfī Texts: the *Jāvdān-Nāma* of Faḍlallāh Astarābādī and one of its commentaries, the *Maḥram-Nāma* of Sayyid Ishāq," *Studia Iranica* 35/2 (2006), pp. 203-235; Id., *Words of Power. Ifurūfī Teachings Between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam. The Original Doctrine of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī*, London, 2015, index s.v. Face (*wajh*, *rū*).

{792} I. Mélikoff, art. cité, p. 45, 51; Id., "La divinisation d'Alī chez les Bektachis-Alevis", in A. Y. Ocak (ed.), *From History to Theology. 'Alī in Islamic Beliefs*, pp. 83-110.

{793} J:Iilmī Dede, *Dīvān*, ed. B. Atalay, Constantinople, 1909, 30, cited by I. Mélikoff, "La divinisation d'Alī," pp. 101-102. In his poem, J:Iilmī constantly moves from 'Alī to God (of whom precisely 'Alī is one of the Names) and then to himself. The identity of the self (which is different from the ego, the selfish self), the imam, and God is illustrated by the Shi'ite adage that philosophical and mystical works constantly mention: he who knows himself, knows his imam who is his Lord; see, for example, J:Iaydar Amolī, *Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Tehran-Paris, 1969, p. 270, pp. 307-309, pp. 315, 464; Id, *Risāla naqd al-nuqūd fī ma'rifat al- wujūd*, in the same volume, p. 675; Mullā Sadrā, *Kitāb al-mashā'ir*, ed. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris, 1964, pp. 186-188; Id, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, ed. Litho, Tehran 1283/1865, pp. 475-476; Abū l-J:Iasan Sharīf Iṣfahānī, *Tafsīr mir'āt al-anwār*, s.l. (Iran) n.d., the introduction, especially pp. 13-

15. For Sufī sources, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Une absence remplie de présences: herméneutiques de l'Occultation chez les Shaykhiyya (Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine VII)", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64/1, pp. 1-18, esp.

pp. 17-18 (= *La Religion discrète*, chap. 14, in particular pp. 352-353).

{794} Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, Kitāb al-tawḥīd, bāb 9, no. 4; Ibn Bābūya, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. al-J:Iusaynī al-Tihirānī, Tehran 1398/1978, bāb 9, p. 110, no. 7. See also the similar statement going back to the theologian Hishām b. al-J:Iakam, a follower of the sixth Imam Ja'far al-Sādiq, reported by al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, cit. no. 12 (the groping vocabulary of the statement should be noted).

{795} On these traditions, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*, pp. 96-97; Id, "Worlds and Their Inhabitants. Some Notes on Imami-Shi'i Cosmo-Anthropogony", in E. Coda & C. Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 526-527.

{796} A. Grabar, "Plotinus and the origins of medieval aesthetics ", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 1 (1945), pp. 20 *sqq.*

{In this respect, see the subtle reflections of P. Hadot, *Plotinus or the Simplicity of the Gaze*, Paris, 1997.

{*Ibid*, p. 87.

{799} Quoted by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Histoire de l'art byzantin et chrétien d'Orient*, Louvain, 1987, p. 109.

{800} The inscriptions, in more than approximate Arabic, indicate at least the place and date of the making of the *shamā'il*: *hādhā al-naqsh (sic) imām (sic) al-awwal 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib bāb waṣī allāh (sic) wa 'Alī allāh* ("this is the image of the first imam, 'Alī son of Abī Tālib, threshold of God's legatee"-sic, perhaps instead of "threshold and legatee"-and 'Alī is God); *fī sana khamsa (sic) wa mi'atayn ba'd al-alf sana 1205 fī baladat Bumba'ī* ([made] in the year 1205/ 1790-1791 in Bombay province). However, the reliability of these indications is not certain.

{801} See for example A. Panāhī Semnānī, *Tarāne va tarāne sarāyī dar īrān*, Tehran, 1376 solar/1996, pp. 39 *ff.*

{802} See Gramlich *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965-1981, I, p. 70 *ff.*, especially pp. 85-88; Ch. Tortel, *Saints or Demons? Les Qalandar-s Jalālī et autres*.

Wandering dervishes in the land of Islam: Southern Russia and India in the 13th-17th centuries. Doctoral thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses, Paris 1999, chap. IV, pp. 191-197.

{803} See M. Mīhandūst, "Pendāre hā va bāvardāshht hā-ye 'āmiyāne," *Honar: ketāb-e māh*, special no. on 'Alī in Folk Art 31-32 (2001), pp. 10-16; N. Karīmīyān Sardashtī, "Pāžūheshī dar bāre-ye ahl-e fotovvat," *ibid.* at 40-45. On the *futuwwa* (Persian: *javānmardī*, the great confraternity movement of craft guilds), see, among others, F. Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam. Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa*, Zurich, 1979 (the author's *Magnum Opus*, which collects and completes his very numerous earlier works on the subject); C. Cahen,

"Popular Movements and Organizations in the Cities of Muslim Asia in the Middle Ages: Militias and Associations of Foutouwwa," *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* 7 (1955), pp. 273-298; Id. *popular movements and urban autonomism in medieval Muslim Asia*, Leiden, 1959;

J. Baldick, "The Iranian Origin of the Futuwwa," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 50 (1990), pp. 345-361; M. Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society. The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa*, Wiesbaden, 1995, *passim*; L. Ridgeon, *Jawānmardī. A Sufi Code of Honour*, Edinburgh, 2011; Id., "'Alī b. Abī Tālib in Medieval Persian Sufi-Futuwwat Treatises," in.

M.A. Amir-Moezzi *et al.* (eds.), *L'esotérisme shi'ite*, pp. 665-686; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "'The descendants of Adam are organs of the same body'. Remarks on non-community solidarity in Islam," in A. Supiot (ed.), *Solidarité. Enquête sur un principe juridique*, Paris, 2015, pp. 183-197.

{804} However, the messianic, or even apocalyptic, dimension will remain very present in a good number of alid revolutionary movements of the first centuries of Islam, movements in armed conflict with the caliphal power and often at odds with the political options of the imams; see, for example, A.A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism. The Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shi'ism*, New York, 1981, introduction; W. F. Tucker, *Mahdis and Millenarians: Shiite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, New York, 2008; S. Amir-Arjomand, "Origins and Development of Apocalypticism and Messianism in Early Islam: 610-750 c.e.," in Id. (ed.) *Sociology of Shi'ite Islam*, Leiden, 2016. On the "quietist" position of the imams of the ḥusayndī lineage leading to Duodecimal Shi'ism, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part III-1.

{805} This statement of 'Alī in commenting on the first verse of Sura 78 "(the Announcement", *al-Naba'*) is found in all the Shi'i Qur'anic exegeses and other categories of sources that discuss this verse.

{806} Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 26, p. 141.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, Ch. Jambet, What is Shi'ism, Part III; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Proof of God*, Epilogue.

{808} See e.g. H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis. Die extreme Schia und die 'Alawiten*, Zurich- Munich, 1982; M.M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion. An Enquiry into its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden, 2002; D. De Smet, *Les Epftres sacrées des Druzes. Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, Leuven, 2007; M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam. The Ghulat Muslims and Their Beliefs*, London, 2017.

{809} Quatrain quoted by O. Mir-Kasimov, the related text in his note 36 where the sources are indicated. My translation, somewhat different from his, is intended to be more literal: *Mawṣūf-i šifāt-i "Qul huwa Allāh" 'Alīst/ Dar 'ālam-e ma'rifat shahanshāh 'Alīst An nuqṭa-ye kul ke juzw az ū peydā shud / Wa- llāh ke ān 'Alīst, bi-llāh 'Alīst*. In the first hemistich, the verse quoted is Qur'an 112:1, from the sura known as the "purity of faith" (*al-ikhhlās*) or the "Divine Oneness" (*al-tawḥīd*). True to Shi'ite theophanic theology, the poet makes it a "description" of 'Alī as a manifested God, a transforming and saving Presence of a personal God and an antidote to a purely abstract monotheism of an absolutely inaccessible God. Faḍlullah may be seeking to remain faithful to a very old and particularly bold Imamite exegetical tradition that whenever the Qur'an uses the pronoun *huwa*, it is an allusion to 'Alī (see al-Sayyārī, *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, ed.

E. Kohlberg and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, in *Revelation and Falsification*, no. 481, pp. 126-127 of text

Arabic, pp. 217-218 of the English commentary). In the second hemistich, 'Alī is qualified by the phrase taken from Iranian royal vocabulary: "King of kings"; in other words, 'Alī is the patron of other "kings" of knowledge, i.e., presumably the other sages and saints, the Friends of God (*awliyā' allāh*). The second verse is a clear allusion to the famous saying attributed to 'Alī, reported by countless late mystical sources especially Shi'ites: 'The whole Qur'an is contained in the Opener (*al-Fātiḥa*, the first surah); the whole Opener in the formula that opens it (the *basmala*): 'In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate'; all of this formula in the letter b that begins it (*bi smi llāh...*); all of the letter b in the dot (*nuqṭa*) that lies below it (in the spelling of the letter bā' in Arabic). And I, I am that Point"; see e.g. Rajab al-Bursī (contemporary of Faḍlallāh), *Mashāriq al-anwār*, ed. 'A. Gh. Ashraf al-Māzandarānī, Tehran, 1426/2005, chap. 3, p. 45; Id. in *Mashāriq al-amān*, ed. 'A. Zayn al-Dīn, Beirut, 1430/2009, p. 48; Sayyid J. Laydar Amolī (another contemporary), *Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār*, ed. H. Corbin-

O. Yaḥyā, Tehran, 1347 solar/1969, index of hadith-s, p. 720 (*anā l-nuqṭa taḥt al-bā'*); al-Nabā'ī al-Bayāḍī (d. 877/1482), *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḡīm ilā mustahaqqī l-taqdīm*, ed. M.B. al-Bihbūdī, Najaf, 1384/1964), vol. 1, p. 222. See also M. Terrier's text in Appendix 2, texts related to notes 72, 7 ff, 91, for philosophical readings of the *ḥadīth al-nuqṭa taḥt al-bā'*.

{810} *Shabī dīdam be khāb-e khosh jamāl-e sāqi-ye kawthar/'Alī ebn-e Abī Tālib amīr al-mu'minīn ḥaydar. Be dastam dād yekī daftar ke dar vey nām-e yazdān būd/sar-e daftar goshūdām shāh-e mardān būd sardafstar*. Quoted in G. Van den Berg, *Minstrel poetry from the Pamir mountains. A study on the songs and poems of the Ismā'īlīs of Tajik Badakhshan*, Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 483-484 (no. G64).

{811} *An shāh-e sarafrāz ke andar shab-e mi'rāj/ bā Aḥmad-e mokhtār yekī būd 'Alī būd. In kufr nabāshad sokhan-e kufr na īnast/tā hast 'Alī bāshad tā būd 'Alī būd*. Quoted *ibid.* at 488-89 (the entire *ghazal*; no. G 70). See also ead, "Literary afterlives: Medieval Persian poets and strategies of legitimation in the oral poetry of the Ismā'īlīs of Tajik Badakhshan," *JSAI* 45, 2018, pp. 369-370 (the entire article pp. 355-380).

{812} A monumental synthesis of these works, since the 19th century but especially since the last decades, augmented by the results of ongoing research is now published in M.A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (eds.), *Le Coran des historiens*. Dye (eds.), *Le Coran des historiens*.

{813} Let us content ourselves with mentioning, among the work of these authors (this will also be the case in the following notes so as not to make the notes too heavy): G. Lüling, *Über den Ur-Qur'an. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophennieder im Qur'an*, Erlangen, 1974 (updated English version: *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation. The Rediscovery of reliable Reconstruction of a comprehensive pre-islamic Christian Hymnal hidden in the Koran under earliest Islamic reinterpretation*, Delhi, 2003); J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford, 1977; Id, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford, 1978; P. Crone & M. Cook, *Hagarism...*

{814} C. Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, Berlin, 2000; A.-L. De Prémare, *Les fondations de l'islam*, Paris, 2002; Id., *Aux origines du Coran*, Paris, 2004; for the numerous and important works of C. Robin and F. Imbert, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi and G. Dye (eds.), *Le Coran des historiens*, vol.1, chap. 1: C. Robin, "L'Arabie Préislamique", bibliography, pp. 150-152; and chapter 17: F. Imbert, "Le Coran des pierres", bibliography, pp. 730-731.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an, passim*, especially chapters 1 and 2; here, chapter 2.

{816} See e.g. A. Palmer, S. Brock and R.G. Hoyland (eds.), *The Seventh Century in the West- Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool, 1993; R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, 1997; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet: the End of Muḥammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia, 2012.

{817} See now, among other studies, M. Kropp (ed.), *Results of Contemporary Research on the Qur'ān: the Question of a Historico-critical Approach*, Beirut, Orient Institute & Würzburg, 2007; A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai & M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, Leiden, 2010; G.S. Reynolds (ed.), *The Qur'ān and its Historical Context*, London, 2008, vols. 1 and 2011, vol. 2; Id, *The Qur'ān and its Biblical Subtext*, London, 2010; C. Robin, "Recension de J. Chabbi, *Le Seigneur des tribus. L'Islam de Mahomet*," in *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 18, 2002, pp. 15-21; and especially now Id., "Pre-Islamic Arabia," in *The Qur'an of Historians*, vol. 1, pp. 51-154.

{818} E.g. G.G. Stroumsa, "Jewish Christianity and Islamic Origins", in B. Sadeghi, A.Q. Ahmed, A. Silverstein and Robert G. Hoyland (eds.), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honour of Patricia Crone*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 72-96; for Guillaume Dye's extensive work on the subject, see his bibliography in G. Dye, "The Qur'anic Corpus: Context and Composition," *The Qur'an of Historians*, vol. 1, chap. 18, bibliography, pp. 831-833. See also D. Bernard, *Les disciples juifs de Jésus du 1er siècle à Mahomet. Recherches sur le mouvement ébionite*, Paris, 2017.

{819} S. Bashear, *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition*, Jerusalem, 2004; F. M. Donner, *Muḥammad and the Believers: at the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge (USA), 2010; S. Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Muḥammad the Paracet and 'Alī the Messiah." See also earlier studies such as P. Casanova, *Muhammad*.

{820} K.-F. Pohlmann, *Militanz und Antimilitanz im Koran. Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur Korangenese und zu den Ursprüngen des militanten Islam*, Münster, 2018; Id, "Commentary on Suras 8 and 9," in *The Koran of Historians*, vol. 2a, pp. 335-375 and 377-417. According to this hypothesis, proposed with great rigor and impressive scholarship, the final version of the Qur'an would be a compromise text to satisfy both groups.

{821} See C. E. Bosworth's introduction to his edition and English translation of al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-nizā' wa l-takhāṣum fīmā bayn Banī Umayya wa Banī Hāshim: Book of contention and strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim (Journal of Semitic Studies. Monograph no. 3.)*, Manchester, 1981, where the English scholar speaks of a kind of literary genre devoted to the subject.

{822} As we have seen, these early followers were called believers, *mu'minūn*. Is it for this reason that 'Alī is called in Shi'ism and exclusively *amīr al-mu'minīn*, Commander or Prince of the believers? Even other Imams are not allowed to bear this title (M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Proof of God*, pp. 264-265). Moreover, the term *amīr* literally means "the holder of *amr*," a polysemous term (order, affair, power...) that often refers in the Qur'an to the End of the World and/or the Last Judgment, which corresponds to the messianic status of 'Alī but also to Muḥammad as the prophet heralding the end of the world (*nabī al-malḥama*). A question then arises: if Muḥammad's followers called themselves *mu'min*, why is it never Muḥammad himself who is called *amīr al-mu'minīn*? Let us add that the term *mu'min* will later take on the technical meaning in Shi'ism of "believer in the teachings of the imams," in other words, the Shi'ite faithful. Is it to say at the same time that only the Shi'ites remained faithful to the original Message of Muḥammad, as was the case with the very first non-militant followers of the latter?

{On this name of God, see D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, index s.n. and especially pp. 206-207.

{824} On 'Alī as the only legitimate successor to Muḥammad from historical, anthropological, and religious perspectives, see W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, (England), 1997; here chap. 3.

{M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an, passim*, especially chapters 1 and 2.

{826} J. Van Reeth, "Ville céleste, ville sainte, ville idéale dans la tradition musulmane", *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, special issue "Décrire, nommer ou rêver les lieux en Orient. Geography and toponymy between reality and fiction. Jean-Marie Kruchten in memoriam", 24 (2011), pp. 121-131, especially p. 125; Id, *"Le Coran silencieux et le Coran parlant. Nouvelles perspectives sur les origines*

of Islam," *RHR* 230.3 (July-September 2013), pp. 385-402, esp. pp. 393-394; I. Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Ifira. Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext*, Leiden, 2013; Ph. J. Wood, "J:īra and her saints," *Analecta Bollandiana* 132 (2014), pp. 5-20.

{On the presence of Gnostic-type doctrines in a number of ancient Shi'a currents, see e.g. L. Massignon, "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam"; Id, H. Corbin, "Der gnostische Kult der Fatima im schiitischen Islam"; H. Corbin, "De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne"; Id, "L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne"; U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad"; W. al-Qāḍī, "The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya"; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliyya. Eine Studie zur islamischen Gnosis*; Id, *Die islamische Gnosis*; Id, "Das 'Buch der Schatten'. Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der *ghulāt* und die Ursprünge des Nuṣairierts"; M.M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion*; D. De Smet, "Beyond the apparent: the notions of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* in Muslim esotericism;

W. Tucker, *Mahdīs and Millenarians: Shiite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, chap. 4 and Epilogue; Id. et al, *Shi'ite Esotericism*, Parts I and II; M. Asatryan, *Controversies in Formative Shi'i Islam*.

{828} On "Alī the Persian," see *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (written a century and a half after 'Alī's death), English trans. of *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, Oxford, 1883, by C. Mango and R. Scott, Oxford, 1997, p. 98. On the importance of Nawrūz in Shi'ism, see J. Walbridge, "A Persian Gulf in the Sea of Lights: the Chapter on Naw-Rūz in the *Bihār al-Anwār*," *Iran* 35, 1997, pp. 83-92. On these convergences, see also M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Shahrbānū, Lady of the Land of Iran and Mother of the Imams: between pre-Islamic Iran and Imamite Shi'ism," *JSAI* 27 (2002), Tribute Volume to Shaul Shaked, pp. 497-549 (= *The Discrete Religion*, chap. 2).

{829} The subject is treated in S. Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet, passim*; Id, *The Apocalypse of Empire. Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Philadelphia, 2018, see index; J. Van Reeth, "The Hegira and the End of the World," *Oriens Christianus* 100, 2017, pp. 188-226, esp.

pp. 21 ff.

{This is the very meaning expressed by the word "caliph", *khalīfa* meaning the "successor", the lieutenant of the prophet. For the semantic evolution of this concept in early Islam, see P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, 1986.

{831} The authority of the caliphs, both in the religious and political spheres, could be purely nominal, relegated to scholars and doctors of the law on the one hand, and to powerful clans with significant military power on the other. This was notably the case of the Abbasid caliphs under the Bouyid domination (4th/10th centuries), then Seljuk (5th/11th - 6th/12th centuries).

{832} On Ibn Qasī, his thought and movement, see V. Lagardière, "La tariqa et la révolte des Murīdūn en 539 H / 1144 en Andalus," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 35 (1983), pp. 157-170; and M. Ebstein, "Was Ibn Qasī a Sūfī?", *Studia Islamica* 110 (2015), pp. 196-232.

{833} This period will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

{834} For the image of 'Alī as it appears through the ancient sources attributed to him, see R. Shah-Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imam 'Ali*, London, 2006.

{835} *Futuwwa*, from *fatā*, pl. *fityān*, "young man" in Arabic, is a complex phenomenon that changes in character depending on historical and geographical context. *Futuwwa* can refer to a paramilitary group, a chivalric ethical code associated or not with Sufism, or to professional associations whose functioning is aligned with that of Sufi brotherhoods. See Cl. Cahen and Fr. Taeschner, "Futuwwa," *EI2*, and L. Ridgeon, "Futuwwa (in Sūfism)," *EI3*. For a more detailed study of the *futuwwa* and similar groups in Islamic socio-political history, see Cl. Cahen, "Popular Movements and Urban Autonomism in Medieval Muslim Asia."

Arabica 5/3 (1958), pp. 225-250; 6/1 (1959), pp. 25-56; 6/3 (1959), pp. 233-265 (especially part three). {836} *Lā fatā illā 'Alī, lā sayf illā Dhū'l-faḡār*. For the first part of this sentence, see Muḥammad Ja'far Mahjub, 'Chivalry and Early Persian Sufism', L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1999, pp. 549-582, p. 554. For the full text, attributed either to the Prophet Muḥammad or to a supernatural voice at the battle of Uhud (3/624), see C. Heger, "Yā muḥammad - kein "oh Muḥammad", und wer ist 'Alī?", *Schlaglichter: die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte*, M. Groß and K.-H. Ohlig (eds.), Berlin, 2005, pp. 278-292, p. 286. For references to Shi'ite sources, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "The Fighter of the *Ta'wīl*": a poem by Mollā Sadrā about 'Alī (Aspects of Duodecimal Imamology IX)," *Asian Journal* 292.1-2 (2004), pp. 331-359, p. 334 n. 12.

{837} Again, the reason for this is not entirely clear. Not all the early Sufi *silsilas* could be traced back to 'Alī. For examples, see R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden, 1976, vol. 2, p. 171 ff.; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 261-263. See also Sh. Pāzūkī, "Taṣawwuf-i 'alawī: guftārī dar bāb-i intisāb-i salāsil-i ṣūfiyya ba ḥaḍrat-i 'Alī," *Faṣḥnāma-yi andīsha-yi dīnī dānishgāh-i Shīrāz* 2/1-2 (2001): 59-74. It is possible that the generalization of the image of 'Alī as the leader of initiatory knowledge in Islam is partly due to the influence of *futuwwa* on Sufism. It is true that the Naqshbandiyya, an extremely powerful and politically active Sufi order, is a notable exception to this rule, with their primary chain of initiation tracing back to the Prophet through Abū Bakr and not through 'Alī. However, two other Naqshbandi chains of initiation pass through 'Alī as do those of other Sufi orders. For Naqshbandi chains of initiation, see, for example, I. Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition*, London and New York, 2007, p. 23. Even though the division of the channels of transmission of initiatory knowledge between Abū Bakr and 'Alī diminishes the centrality of 'Alī, he and the other members of the prophetic family (*ahl al-bayt*) still occupy an important place in the founding texts of Naqshbandi doctrine. For example, the *Faṣḥ al-khiṭāb* of Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419) contains several sections devoted to 'Alī, the prophetic family, and the twelve Imāms. See K. M. Pārsā, *Faṣḥ al-khiṭāb*, Jalīl Misgarnizhād (ed.), Tehran 1381/[2002-2003]. Some passages in the Letters (*Maktūbāt*) of Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624), founder of the Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandiyya, establish a symmetrical relationship between Abū Bakr and 'Alī: they represent two different types of divine attraction; or two different types of contemplative practice, one leading to knowledge ('Alī), the other to love (Abū Bakr). See A. F. Buehler, *Revealed Grace: The Juristic Sufism of Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624)*, Louisville, KY, 2011, pp. 138 and 154.

{838} For the factors that determined the transformation of Sufism into a social and political force, the political power, and for examples of narratives of legitimation of political power by Sufi shaykhs, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period*, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 143-155.

{839} For references, see L. Ridgeon, "'Alī ibn Abī Tālib in Medieval Persian Sufi-Futuwwat Treatises," in *Shi'ite Esotericism*, pp. 665-685, pp. 667-668.

{840} These organizations were also referred to by terms like '*ayyārūn*, *aḥdāth* etc. See Cl. Cahen, "Popular Movements.

{841} For al-Nāṣir and his project of the universal *futuwwa*, see A. Hartmann, "al-Nāṣir Li-Dīn Allāh," *EI2*, and his *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225)*. *Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten Abbāsidenzeit*, Berlin and New York 1975; and E. Ohlander, *Sufism in an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardī and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods*, Leiden and Boston, 2008, pp. 271 ff.

{842} A. Hartmann, "al-Nāṣir. The idea that 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was the founder and sole source of the *futuwwa*, and that al-Nāṣir is his heir charged with maintaining the original principles of this institution, is expressed in the decree promulgated by the caliphal chancery. The text of this decree is preserved in the work of 'Alī b. Anḡab Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Sā'ī (d. 674/1276), historian

Baghdadian contemporary of al-Nāṣir. See his *al-Jāmi' al-mukhtaṣar*, Muṣṭafā Jawād (ed.), Baghdad 1353/1934, pp. 221-225. The text of this decree was reprinted with a German translation by P. Kahle, "Ein Futuwwa-Erlass des Kalifen en-Nāṣir aus dem Jahre 604 (1207)," *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim*, Ernst F. Weidner (ed.), Berlin 1933, pp. 52-58. For the genealogical reform of al-Nāṣir, see A. Hartmann, "al-Nāṣir," and his *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, p. 102, with reference to the *Tuḥfat al-waṣāya* of another contemporary of al-Nāṣir, Aḥmad b. Ilyās al-Naqqāsh Khartabirtī.

{843} For a general overview of the importance of the figure of 'Alī in Sufism and *futuwwa*, see L. Lewisohn, "Ali ibn Abi Talib's Ethics of Mercy in the Mirror of the Persian Sufi Tradition," M. Ali Lakhani (ed.), *The Sacred Foundations of Justice in Islam: The Teachings of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Vancouver, 2006, pp. 109-145.

{844} Al-Suhrawardī expressed this ecumenical view, which he apparently shared with the Caliph, by inviting the believers to love all the Companions and all the members of the Prophetic family, without privileging one over the other. Thus, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Fāṭima, J:lasan and J:Iusayn were to be respected without discussing their relative virtues. See al-Suhrawardī, *A'lām al-hudā wa 'aqīdat arbāb al-tuqā*, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sayrawān (ed.), Damascus 1996, p. 83, cited by E. Ohlander, *Sufism*, p. 269. Al-Nāṣir maintained relations with moderate Shi'ite circles in Baghdad and with the leaders of the 'Alid networks. He had Shi'ite advisors and ministers and contributed to the restoration of Shi'ite holy places. It was also during his reign that the rapprochement with the Nizarite Ismailis of Alamūt took place. Hartmann suggests that the propaganda of al-Nāṣir's religious project, the so-called "well-guided call" (*da'wa hādiyya*), may have been inspired by similar Ismaili practices. All this drew accusations on al-Nāṣir from Sunni historians who saw in him a pro-Shi'ite leaning. See A. Hartmann, "al-Nāṣir," and his article "The Governmental Design of the Caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh," *Orientalia Suecana* 22 (1973), pp. 52-61.

{845} On the principle of unconditional obedience to the shaykh in Sufism see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, pp. 117 ff.

{846} On the connection between the Timurids and the Naqshbandis, which also led to the increase in political power of the latter, see H. Algar, "Naqshbandiyya" and "Aḥrār," *EI2*.

{847} The legend linking Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, to the dervish Edebalı, in which the dervish interprets Osman's dream predicting that his descendants will rule the entire world, and Osman marries the dervish's daughter, is found in the *Tavārīkh-i Al-i 'Othmān* by 'Ashiqpāshāzāda, a famous Ottoman historian of the 9th/15th century. See, for example, C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, New York, 2002, p. 124.

{848} On the domination of the legal trend in the Duodecimal Shi'ism after the major occultation of the 12th Imam in 329/940, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Introduction, pp. 15-47 and Appendix, pp. 319-335; also Id. and Ch. Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le shi'isme ?*, pp. 181-239.

{849} On the Bahrain School, see Ali al-Oraibi, "Shī'ī Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century," Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal 1992, esp. pp. 172-217; and his "Rationalism in the School of Bahrain: A Historical Perspective," *Shī'ite Heritage*, L. Clarke (ed.), Binghamton, NY 2001, pp. 331-343. On J:Iaydar Amulī, see H. Corbin, *In Iranian Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 198ff.

{850} On the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Nizārīte Ismailis, see N. Tusi, *La convocation d'Alamut: Rawdat al-taslim*, trans. fr. Ch. Jambet with an important introduction and notes by the translator, Lagrasse, 1996; the English translation of the same work by Jalal Badakhchani, under the title *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought*, London, 2005; and J. Badakhchani, *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi'i Islam: An Early Ismaili Treatise on the Doctrine of Qiyāmat. A new Persian edition and English translation of the Haft bāb by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Kātib*, London, 2017. On the possible connection between the Ismaili doctrine of Resurrection and

post-Mongol mystico-messianic movements, see O. Mir-Kasimov, "The Nizārī Ismaili Theory of the Resurrection (*Qiyāma*) and Post-Mongol Iranian Messianism.

{851} These orders were respectively founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubra (d. 617/1220) and Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī (d. 834/1430-1431). On the "Shi'ite" elements among the Kubrawis, see Marijan Molé, "The Kubrawiya between Sunnism and Shi'ism in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries of the Hegira," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 29 (1961), pp. 61-142. Although Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī was not, in all likelihood, a Shi'ite himself, the Ni'matullāhiyya became a Shi'ite Sufī order in its historical evolution, and is currently the most popular Sufī order in Iran. See Hamid Algar, "Ni'mat-Allāhiyya," *EI2*.

{852} This is mainly literature devoted to the virtues (*faḍā'il*, *manāqib*) of the members of the prophetic family, including 'Alī and the twelve Imāms. For references to authors and works, see.

M. Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Sā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2012, p. 74 and note 146; and Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Tārīkh-i tashayyu' dar Irān az āghāz tā tulū-i dawlat-i ṣafavī*, Tehran 1388/[2009-2010], pp. 840-850.

{853} Kazuo Morimoto studied a case of a 9th/15th century Sunni scholar belonging to the Hasanid branch of the Prophetic family who argued that, in the field of Sunni jurisprudence, scholars belonging to the Prophetic family are superior to scholars who are not related to that family. See K. Morimoto, "The Prophet's Family as the Perennial Source of Saintly Scholars: al-Samhūdī on 'ilm and nasab," in C. Mayeur-Jaouen and A. Papas (eds.), *Family Portraits with Saints: Hagiography, Sanctity, and Family in the Muslim World*, Berlin 2014, pp. 106-124.

{854} For the veneration of 'Alī and the prophetic family in Sunni occultist circles in the 7th/13th century, see M.A. Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy and the End of Time in the 13th Century Eastern Mediterranean," these for Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, MO, 2008; for the later period (8th/14th-9th/15th century), see M. Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest," especially pp. 69-77.

{855} See Matthew Melvin-Koushki's dissertation and numerous articles; and Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters*, Cambridge 2016. Sunni occultist circles, represented by prominent thinkers such as Sā'in al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 836/1432), 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bastāmī (d. 858/1454), Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī (d. 908/1502) were apparently closer to the rational sciences than to mysticism, not least because the latter did not necessarily presuppose a metaphysical link to the source of divine knowledge, fundamental to any form of mysticism. In the classification of the sciences, the occult sciences are found in the category of the natural sciences or in that of the mathematical sciences. See M. Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Matematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 5 (2017): 127-199. Of course, this is not to say that the occult sciences were not also integrated into mystical doctrines.

{856} This genealogy is also found in other historical sources of the time. See John

E. Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, Michel M. Mazzaoui, and Vera B. Moreen (eds.), Salt Lake City, 1990, pp. 85-125, at 88. For another Alid genealogy of the Timurids (passing through Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya), see K. Morimoto, "An Enigmatic Genealogical Chart of the Timurids: A Testimony to the Dynasty's Claim to Yasavi-'Alid Legitimacy?," *Oriens* 44 (2016), pp. 145-178.

{857} The works of J:Iāfīz Abrū (d. 833/1430) are the primary sources concerning the Sarbadārs. For a detailed discussion of the sources, see Ya'qūb Ażand, *Qiyām-i Shī'ī-yi Sarbadārān*, Tehran 1363 h.s./1985, pp. 41-71. See also J. Aubin, "La fin de l'état Sarbadār du Khorassan," *Journal Asiatique* 263 (1974), pp. 95-118; Id, "Aux origines d'un mouvement populaire medieval: Le cheykhisme du Bayhaq et du Nichāpour," *Studia Iranica* 5/2, 1976, pp. 213- 24; J. Masson Smith, *The History of the Sarbadār Dynasty*, The Hague and Paris, 1970; D. Aigle,

"Sarbedārs," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*; Shahzad Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism: The Life and Thought of Muḥammad Nūrbakṣ (d. 1464)," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1997, pp. 12-34.

{858} The only document from the founders of the dervish movement that we know of is a letter that J:Iasan Jūrī wrote to Muḥammad Bek (d. 772/1370-1371 or 774/1372-1373), leader of the Jānī (or Jā'ūnī) Qurbān tribe. The text of this letter is published by Ya'qūb Ażand, *Qiyām* pp. 86-89. It adds little to our knowledge of its author's doctrine, and is mostly concerned with the life and travels of J:Iasan Jūrī and his relations with Muḥammad Bek. The descriptions of the dervish doctrine offered by J. Masson Smith (*The History*, pp. 55-89) and Ya'qūb Ażand (*Qiyām* pp. 76-77 and 89-92) involve questionable extrapolations and sometimes misinterpretation of historical data. Smith's conclusions, especially those based on the interpretation of numismatic data, have been criticized by other scholars (see H. Morton, "The History of the Sarbadars in the light of new numismatic evidence," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 16 (1976), pp. 255-258; S. Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism," pp. 28-34).

{859} Indications of the messianic tendencies of the Dervishes or Sarbadār can be summarized in two sources of information. The first concerns the call made by J:Iasan Jūrī to his followers after the death of his predecessor, Shaykh Khalīfa, recommending them to prepare arms and be ready for action when the advent of the "time of manifestation" (*vaqt-i zuhūr*) is signaled to them (Ażand, *Qiyām*, p. 78, after the *Jughrāfiyā* of J:Iāfīz Abrū). This passage, however, does not specify the apocalyptic meaning of the "time of manifestation," nor does it explicitly mention any messianic figures. The second describes a ritual, adopted by the last Sarbadār chief, of preparing a horse daily for the expected Savior (*ṣāhib al-zamān*) (S. Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism," p. 28, after Mīr Khwānd, *Tārīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā*). This ritual was apparently not an invention of the Sarbadār and was also practiced by Shi'ite communities elsewhere, notably in J:Iilla. See S. Bashir, *ibid*, p. 28 n. 48.

{860} O. Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power: Ifurūfī Teachings between Shi'ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam*, London, 2015, p. 349.

{861} *Al-Qur'ān al-nātiq*, opposed to the "silent Qur'an" (*al-Qur'ān al-sāmit*). On these expressions, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Silent Qur'an*, pp. 103ff.

{O. Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, pp. 347-348 and 376-377. Do we observe here an emergence of the messianic function that was attributed to 'Alī in ancient times? For the messianic dimension attributed to 'Alī in early Islam and for the 'Alī/Jesus parallel, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Muḥammad the Paraclete and 'Alī the Messiah: New Remarks on the Origins of Islam and Shi'i Imamology," *Shi'i Esotericism*, pp. 19-54 (here chap. 2). However, in Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī's *Jāvidān-nāma*, it is Jesus, not 'Alī, who is the main messianic figure, although the Jesus/'Alī parallel is also present there. We find further indications of this connection between the figure of 'Alī and messianism in the doctrines of the mystical and messianic thinkers of the post-Mongolian era who will be mentioned later, such as Muḥammad Nūrbakḥsh or Muḥammad Ibn Falāḥ (see below).

{863} In one of these dreams, 'Alī responds to Faḍl Allāh's greeting by calling him "my brother" (*akhī*). See O. Mir-Kasimov, "Faḍlullāh Astarābādī's 'Dream Diary': an edition and annotated translation," *Studia Iranica* 38 (2009), pp. 249-304, paragraph 120 (Persian text p. 277, translation pp. 295-296).

{864} There is some confusion between the poetry attributed to Faḍl Allāh and that attributed to his famous disciple, 'Imād al-Dīn Naṣīmī (d. 820/1417-1418), so that several poems appearing in Faḍl Allāh's *divān* (under the nom de plume "Naṣīmī") may be found also in Naṣīmī's *dīvān*. On this issue, see S. Kiyā, "Agahīhā-yi tāza az ḥurūfiyān," *Majalla-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i dānishgāh-i Tih-rān*, no. 2/2 (1333/1954), pp. 39-65. However, regardless of their actual authorship, these are poems composed either by Faḍl Allāh himself or by his followers.

It is true that the explicit assertion that 'Alī is the place of God's manifestation expressed in these quatrains contrasts somewhat with the subdued language of Faḍl Allāh's main work, the *Jāvidān-nāma-yi kabīr*. However, in his Testament (*Waṣīyyat-nāma*), Faḍl Allāh compares himself to al-J:usayn, one of the sons of 'Alī killed by Umayyad forces at Karbalā: "I am the J:usayn of this time, and the uninitiated are my Yazīd and Shimr/ My whole existence is the 'Ashūrā (day of J:usayn's assassination), and Shirwān is my Karbalā" (*man l'fusayn-i waqt o nā-ahlān Yazīd o Shimr-i man/ rūzgāram jumla 'Ashūrā o Shirwān[am?] Karbalā*) (Faḍlallāh Astarābādī, *Waṣīyyat-nāma*, E. Granville Browne, "Further notes on the literature of the J:Iurūfīs and their connection with the Bektāshī order of dervishes," *JRAS* (1907), pp. 533-581, p. 541). Explicit mention of 'Alī and the Imāms of the Duodecimal lineage also appears in the works of Faḍl Allāh's direct disciples. See Sayyid Ishāq Astarābādī, *Maḥram-nāma*, in Cl. Huart, *Persian Texts Relating to the Hourouffs Sect*, Leiden and London, 1909, p. 21 of the Persian text.

{865} *Dīvān-i fārsī-yi Faḍl Allāh Na'imī Tabrīzī va 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrvānī*, ed. Rustam Aliev, Tehran, n.d., p. 28: *Mawṣūf-i ṣifāt-i "Qul huwa Allāh" 'Alīst / Dar 'ālam-e ma'rīfat shahanshāh 'Alīst / An nuqṭa-ye kull ke juzw az ū peydā shud / Wa-llāh ke ān 'Alīst, bi-llāh 'Alīst*. This quatrain also appears in the Persian *dīvān* of Nasīmī. See Kathleen R.F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimi, Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi*, The Hague and Paris, 1972, p. 244.

{866} *Dīvān-i fārsī-yi Faḍl Allāh Na'imī Tabrīzī va 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī Shīrvānī*, p. 28: *Dar 'ayn-i 'Alī sirr-i ilāhī peydāst / Dar lām-i 'Alī "huwa al-'Alī al-'Alāst" / Dar yā-yi 'Alī ṣūrat-i ḥayy al-qayyūm / Bar-khwān o be-bīn ke ism-i a'zam ānjāst [al-'lāst?]*

{867} The "mother" saints (*ummiyūn*) according to the *Jāvidān-nāma*. On this concept, see O. Mir-Kasimov, *Words of Power*, p. 273 ff., and Glossary, "Mother," p. 451.

{868} Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, *Risālat al-hudā*, Shahzad Bashīr (ed.), "The *Risālat al-hudā* of Muḥammad Nūrbakṣ (d. 869/1464): Critical Edition with Introduction," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 75 (2001), fasc. 1-4, pp. 87-137, 118-119.

{*Ibid.* at 122.

{870} *Kalām al-mahdī*, MS Majlis 10222, fol. 15b.

{871} *Al-lisān al-mu'abbir 'an Allāh ta'ālā*. *Ibid*, fol. 17a-b.

{872} *Ibid*.

{873} *Al-sirr al-dā'ir fī'l-samā' wa'l-arḍ*. *Ibid*. fol. 19a.

{874} *'Alī abū'l-l'fasan wa'l-l'fusayn zawj Fāṭimat al-ṭuhr ibnat al-rasūl huwa Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn*, *Ibid*. fol. 19b. The rest of this text seems to suggest that 'Alī is the place of manifestation of God in the same way that various historical figures were manifestations of the archangel Gabriel. This is corroborated by another passage in the *Kalām al-mahdī* cited by M. Mazzaoui,

"Musha'sha'iyān: A Fifteenth Century Shi'i Movement in Khūzistān and Southern Iraq," *Folia Orientalia* 22 (1981-1984): 139-162, p. 156.

{875} 'Alī Ridā Dhakāwatī Qarāguzlū, "Nahḍat-i Musha'sha'ī wa gudhārī bar Kalām al-Mahdī," in *Ma'ārīf* 37 (1375/[1996-1997]), pp. 59-67, p. 61.

{876} *Kalām al-mahdī*, fol. 28a, "[God] conceals this secret [that of the 12th Imām, Muḥammad b. al-J:iasan al-'Askarī, the expected Mahdī], and manifests this *sayyid* [Muḥammad b. Falāḥ] to serve as his representative" (*yukhfā hadhā al-sirr wa-yuḥzira hadhā al-sayyid bi-ḥasbi al-niyāba*). For a discussion of Ibn Falāḥ's claims based on the *Kalām al-mahdī*, see also 'Alī Ridā Dhakāwatī Qarāguzlū, "Nahḍat-i Musha'sha'ī," pp. 64-65.

{877} 'Alī Ridā Dhakāwatī Qarāguzlū, "Nahḍat-i Musha'sha'ī," pp. 64-65.

{878} *Kalām al-mahdī*, fol. 19b. Salmān Pāk, a convert of Persian origin, a famous Companion of the Prophet and associated with the Prophetic family by the latter. According to Shi'i tradition, he supported the cause of 'Alī after the Prophet's death.

{879} Alevīs constitute a significant part of the population of contemporary Turkey (15-20%). They are also present in the Balkans, as well as in Western countries. See M. Dressler, "Alevīs," *EI*3.

{880} For references and a detailed bibliography, see M. Dressler, "Alevīs.

{881} The expression *dīn 'Alī* is very old; it is considered by M. A. Amir-Moezzi to refer to the origin of the Shi'ite faith. See M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Considerations on the Expression *dīn 'Alī*: At the Origins of the Shi'ite Faith," *ZDMG* 150 (2000), pp. 29-68; reprinted in Id., *The Discrete Religion*, pp. 19-47 (here chap. 3). The Alevīs are among those religious groups who are summarily referred to in Iran as the 'Alī ilāhī (those who deify 'Alī), probably in reference to the belief, rooted in early Shi'ism, that the cosmic Imām, personified by 'Alī and the Imāms of his progeny, was considered the locus of manifestation of the names and attributes of God. On the idea of the cosmic Imām in early Shi'ism, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 73-154.

{882} See, for example, *Buyruk: İmam Cafer-i Sadık Buyruğu*, ed. Fuat Bozkurt, İstanbul, 2013,

pp. 15-21. At the same time, the essential identity of Muḥammad and 'Alī as the one pre-existential light from God is also stressed in the Alevi tradition. For this tradition in early Shi'i sources, see U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and light: Aspects of the concept Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 62-119; and M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, pp. 73-112. For the Alevi tradition, where this preexisting relationship between Muḥammad and 'Alī serves as a prototype for another important Alevi ritual, *musahiplik*, see *Buyruk*, pp. 235-238.

{883} I. Z. Eyuboğlu, *Alevi-Bektaşî edebiyatı*, İstanbul, 1991, pp. 106-107: "Gözlerin kör olsun ey kanlı Yezid \ Bu meydanda ne var Aliden gayri \ Oniki İmamın kapısının açan \ İmamlar değildir Aliden gayri ... \ ... Cümle evliyalardan üstünden geçen \ Var mıdır hiçbir er Aliden gayri".

{884} On the Bektashis, see J. Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937; and A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Bektachiyya: Studies on the Mystical Order of Bektachi and the Groups under Hajji Bektach*, İstanbul, 1995.

{885} J. Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, p. 36, pp. 132-145.

{886} M. Dressler, "Alevīs.

{887} On the relationship between the J:Iurūfīs and the Bektashis, see J. Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order*,

pp. 58-62 and 148-158.

{888} This iconography is, at least in part, inspired by the thought of Faḍl Allāh, according to which the human body and face are the locus of manifestation par excellence of the divine Word and the set of creative letters that constitute it. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that some images depict the words "Faḍl Allāh" (which is the name of the founder of the J:Iurūfī movement and means "grace of God") inscribed on the human face. See here chap. 9, fig. 4, p. 302.

{889} See A. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire*, London, 2009, p. 14 and references note 2 pp. 150-151.

{890} For the Safavids' claim to 'Alīde descent, and for a lucid discussion of the sources and studies concerning this issue, see K. Morimoto, "The Earliest 'Alid Genealogy for the Safavids: New Evidence for the Pre-dynastic Claim to Sayyid Status," *Iranian Studies* 43/4 (2010): 447-469.

{891} V. Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I," *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942), pp. 1006a-1053a, no. 7, P. 1030a: '*Alī baḥr-i ḥaqīqat dūr yaqīn bīl / l'fayāt-i jāvidān-i mu'tabar dūr*'; English translation p. 1042a.

{892} "The Poetry," no. 194, p. 1036a: '*Alī'nī ḥaqq bīlmiyanlar kāfir-i muṭlaq olūr / Dīnī yokh imānī yokh ol nā-musulmān dūr*'; English translation p. 1047a.

{893} V. Minorsky's interpretation made plausible by the last line of this poem. "The Poetry," no. 18, p. 1043a. It is also possible to read this phrase as *dīn-Shāh*, 'the King of the religion [of 'Alī]'. I thank Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi for pointing out the possibility of this reading.

{894} Pen name of Shāh Ismā'īl.

{895} "The Poetry," no. 18, p. 1032a: *Allāh Allāh deyin ghāzīlar dīn-i shāh manam / Qārshū galūn sajda qīlūn ghāzīlar dīn-i shāh manam... Khaṭā 'ī'am... Murtaḍa 'Alī dhāt'lūyam ghāzīlar dīn-i shāh*

manam.

{896} This is the interpretation that V. Minorsky gives to the term *muwālī* (or *mawālī*) in this verse, "The Poetry," no. 195, p. 1047a. I have not been able to consult a complete copy of the *Dīwān* to confirm or deny this translation.

{897} *Mawālī madhhabam shāhūn yolunda/ "Musulmanam" diyāne rahbaram man*, "The Poetry," p. 1037a. On the poetry attributed to Shāh Ismā'īl said Khaṭa'ī, see also Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "In his own voice: what Hatayī tells us about Şah İsmail's religious views," *Shi'ite Esotericism*, pp. 601-611.

{898} The 'Alid genealogy of the Safavids has been mentioned above. That of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, founder of the J:Iurūfī movement, is found in the works of these followers, such as *Risāla* of Mīr Fādīlī (ms. Istanbul, Ali Emiri Farsça 1039, fol. 8b, 30b), and *Ṣalāt-nāma* of Ishqurt Dada (ms. Istanbul, Ali Emiri Farsça 1043, fol. 51a). See Abdūlbāki Gölpınarlı, *Hurufflik metinleri kataloğu*, Ankara 1989, p. 4. According to some sources, the father of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, the namesake of the Nūrbakhshī movement, was a descendant of 'Alī. See Bashir, "Between Mysticism and Messianism," p. 88, with reference to the *Majālis al-mu'minīn* of Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610). The same source contains the 'Alide genealogy of Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ, founder of the Musha'sha' movement. See M. Mazzaoui, "Musha'sha'iyyān," p. 143. It is noteworthy that all these genealogies pass through Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799).

{899} See M. García-Arenal, "La conjonction du ṣūfisme et sharīfisme au Maroc: le Mahdī comme sauveur," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 55-56 (1990), pp. 233-256, at 234. For a study on the attribution of the title "Fāṭimī" in the Maghreb, see M. Fierro, "On *al-Fāṭimī* and *al-Fāṭimiyyūn*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 20 (1996), pp. 130-160.

{900} See M. García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West*, Leiden and Boston, 2006, p. 50.

{*Ibid.* at 49.

{*Ibid.*, p. 245.

{903} On Ibn Qasī and his thought, see M. Epstein, "Was Ibn Qasī a Sūfī?", *Studia Islamica* 110 (2015), pp. 196-232. Ibn Qasī's main work is the *Kitāb khal' al-na'layn wa iqtibās al-nūr min mawḍi' al-qadamayn* ("The Book of Removing the Two Sandals and Acquiring the Light of the Footprints of the Two Feet"). The text of the *Kitāb khal' al-na'layn* was published by Muḥammad al-Amrānī, Asifī, 1997, and is also reproduced in David Raymond Goodrich's doctoral dissertation, "A Sūfī Revolt in Portugal: Ibn Qasī and his *Kitāb Khal' al-na'layn*," Columbia University, 1978, pp. 60-272.

{904} Michael Epstein, "Was Ibn Qasī a Sūfī?", pp. 223-224. According to the author, although Ibn Qasī was undeniably Sunni, certain aspects of his thought are certainly influenced by Shi'ite and specifically Ismaili doctrines.

{905} On him, see I. Goldziher, *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades*, Algiers, 1903; M. Fierro, "Le mahdi Ibn Tumart et al-Andalus: l'élaboration de la légitimité almohade", *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 91-94 (2001), pp. 107-124; M. García-Arenal, *Messianism*, pp. 157-192

{906} The *A'azz mā yuṭlab* attributed to Ibn Tūmart contains a brief description of six distinguishing marks of the Mahdī, one of which is being of the descent of Fāṭima (*min dhurriyya Fāṭima*), wife of 'Alī. See Ibn Tūmart, *A'azz mā yuṭlab*, 'Ammār Tālibī (ed.), s.l. 2007, p. 254. If we accept the authenticity of this text, and since Ibn Tūmart was recognized as being Mahdī himself, he must therefore have fulfilled this condition of descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima. This claim appears to be confirmed by the letter Ibn Tūmart wrote to the Almoravid emir 'Alī ibn Yūsuf, where he describes himself, among other things, as "al-J:Iasanī al-Fāṭimī." See M. García-Arenal, *Messianism*, p. 182. An Alide genealogy is also attributed to Ibn Tūmart by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-ayān*, cited by I. Goldziher, *The Book*, p. 25 of the Arabic text; while Ibn Khaldūn in his *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (*ibid.*, pp. 53-54) gives a different, purely Berber genealogy. For other sources concerning the 'Alide genealogy

and specifically Ibn Tūmart's J:Iasanid and its connection to the Idrisid lineage, see M. Fierro, "The Genealogies of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the First Almohad Caliph," *The Almohad Revolution: Politics and Religion in the Islamic West During the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries*, Farnham (Surrey), 2012, pp. 9-10 and note 24.

{907} M. Fierro, "Genealogies.

{908} See M. García-Arenal, *Messianism*, pp. 218-219, 234ff.

{909} See *Les prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, trans. W. Mac Guckin de Slane, Paris, 1936, third section, "Sur le Fatémide (qui doit paraître vers la fin du monde)", especially p. 190 ff.

{See M. García-Arenal, *Messianism*, pp. 217 ff.

{*Ibid.*, p. 233.

{912} *Ibid.* For the difference between Shi'ite and Sunni interpretations of this prophetic saying, see M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Ghadīr Khumm," *EI3*.

{913} See M. García-Arenal, *Messianism*, p. 239.

{914} See Ead, "*Mahdī, murābiṭ, sharīf*: the rise of the Sa'dian dynasty," *Studia Islamica*

71 (1990), pp. 77-114.

{915} Kamāl al-Dīn Mītham al-Bahrānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mi'at kalima*, ed. s.n., Qumm, 1427/2006-7, p. 2.

{916} *Nahj al-balāgha*, ed. J:I. al-A'lamī, Beirut, 1413/1993. See Laura Veccia Vaglieri, "Sul Nahj al-Balāgh'ah e sul suo compilatore al-Sharīf al-Radī," *AIUON*, 8 (1958), pp. 3-105.

{917} Al-Maybudī, Qāḍī Mīr J:Iusayn, *Sharḥ-e Dīwān-e mansūb beh amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, ed. J:I. Raḥmānī and I. Ashkeshīrīn, Tehran, 1390 h.s./2011, introduction, pp. 45-46. Of the early *Diwāns* attributed to 'Alī, composed in the ^{fourth/tenth} century, none have come down to us.

{918} On this genre and these works, see M. Terrier, "Histoire de l'histoire de la sagesse en islam. Résumé des conférences," in *Annuaire EPHE, Sciences Religieuses*, t. 124 (2015-2016), 2017, pp. 363-372; *Ibid.*, vol. 125 (2016-2017), 2018, pp. 395-404; *Ibid.*, vol. 126 (2017-2018), 2019, pp. 365-374.

{919} See M. Arkoun, *L'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle. Miskawayh, philosopher and historian*, Paris, 1970, 2nd ed. 1982.

{920} Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, ed. A. Badawī, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1377 h.s./1998-99, p. 110.

{921} J:Iunayn b. Ishāq, *Adāb al-falāsifa*, ed. A. Badawī, Kuwait, 1406/1985, p. 134.

{922} Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, p. 110.

{923} al-Bahrānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mi'at kalima*, p. 75.

{924} J:Iunayn b. Ishāq, *Adāb al-falāsifa*, p. 133.

{925} Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, p. 111.

{926} *Mukhtaṣar Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (6th/XIIth century), quoted in 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa l-niḥal*, ed. M. Badrān, 2 vols., Cairo, II, p. 106; Shahrastānī, *The Book of Religions and Sects*, vol. II, trans. J. Jolivet and G. Monnot, Leuven, 1993, p. 242.

{927} Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, p. 111.

{*Ibid.* p. 112.

{929} Epicurus, *Letter to Menecus*, § 131, in Id, *Lettres, maximes, sentences*, trans. J.-F. Balaudé, Paris, 1994, p. 195.

{930} Ibn Miskawayh, *al-lfikma al-khālida*, p. 125.

{Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, 21c-23b, in Id, *CEuvres complètes*, ed. Brisson, Paris, 2011, pp. 70-72 (transl. L. Brisson).

{On this thinker: see M. Terrier, *Histoire de la sagesse et philosophie shi'ite*. The Lover of Hearts by *Quṭb al-Dīn Aṣkevarī*, Paris, 2016.

{933} Source of this maxim of Theophrastus in Arabic: Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa l-niḥal*, II, p. 157; *Livre des religions et des sectes*, II, p. 336. See on this subject D. Gutas, "The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus in the Arabic Tradition", in W. W. Fortenbaugh *et alii* (ed.), *Theophrastus*

of Eresus: *On His Life and Work*, New Brunswick/Oxford, 1985, pp. 63-102, reprinted in Id., *Greek Philosophers in the Arabic Tradition*, Aldershot, Variorum, 2000, art. VII, see pp. 90-91.

{934} On this typically Shi'ite designation, which we shall find again later, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*.

{935} Quṭb al-Dīn Ashkevarī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb, al-maqāla al-ūlā* (I), ed. I. al-Dībājī and A. Sidqī, Tehran, 1378/1999, pp. 318-319. In *Nahj al-balāgha, al-ḥikam*, § 339, p. 702: "There are two sciences ('ilmān) ..."

{936} Mullā Sadrā, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, ed. M. Khājavi, 4 vols, Tehran, 1367 h.s./1988-89, II, p. 418.

{937} Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsin al-kilām* (Los Bocados de oro), ed. 'A. R. Badawī, Madrid, 1958, p. 2. The second maxim is found in a different version in *Nahj al-balāgha*, §80, p. 642, see *infra*. In *Mi'at kalima*: "Wisdom is the goal of the believer"; see al-Baḥrānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mi'at kalima*, pp. 80-81.

{938} On the meanings of the expression *amīr al-mu'minīn*, reserved by the Shi'ites for 'Alī alone, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Proof of God*, p. 157 and pp. 264-265.

{939} *Nahj al-balāgha, al-ḥikam*, §§79-80, p. 642.

{940} *Ibid.*, *al-ḥikam*, §267, p. 687. Ashkevarī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, p. 104; M. Terrier, *History of Shi'ite Wisdom and Philosophy*, pp. 189-190.

{941} In the "Hundred Words": "Do not examine him who says but examine what he says"; see al-Baḥrānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mi'at kalima*, pp. 68-69. The source of the version discussed here is unknown.

{942} Abū J:Iāmid al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl (Error and Deliverance)*, ed. F. Jabr, Beirut, 1969, p. 25. This sentence is also quoted by Shams al-Dīn Shahrāzūrī (d. between 687/1288 and 704/1305), an *ishraqī* philosopher to whom we shall return, in his *Rasā'il al-shajara al-ilāhiyya fī 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya*, ed. N. J:Iabībī, 3 vols, Tehran, 1383 h.s./2004-05, III, p. 7. A somewhat different version can be found in Mullā Sadrā, *Mafātih al-ghayb*, ed. N. J:Iabībī, 2 vols, Tehran, 1386 h.s./2007-08, I, p. 511.

{943} Averroes, *Discours décisif*, trans. M. Geoffroy, Paris, 1996, § 26, p. 125.

{944} Ibn Rushd, *al-Kashf 'an manāḥij al-adilla fī 'aqā'id al-milla*, ed. M. 'A. al-Jābirī, Beirut, 1998, p. 99, in a slightly different version: "Speak to men of what they understand..." (*bi-mā yaḥkamūn* instead of *bi-mā ya'rīfūn*).

{945} Ashkevarī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, I, pp. 385 and 388; M. Terrier, *History of Shi'i Wisdom and Philosophy*, pp. 701 and 704. The first account comes from Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi- akhbār al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 356.

{946} Kamāl al-Dīn Mītham al-Baḥrānī, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 5 vols, Tehran, 1378 h.s./1999- 2000, I, pp. 79-81.

{*Ibid.* at 80-81.

{948} Plato, *The Republic*, book IV, in Id., *CEuvres complètes*, p. 1580-1611; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 13 and II, 5, in Id., *op. cit.* J. Tricot, Paris, 1990, pp. 80-86 and 102-105.

{949} On him, see Henry Corbin, *En islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, 4 vols. Paris, 1971-1972, III, pp. 149-213; Khanjar 'Alī J:Iamiyya, *al-'Irfān al-shī'ī. Dirāsa fī l-ḥayāt al-rūḥiyya wal-fikriyya li-lfaydar al-Amulī*, Beirut, 1425/2004; M. Terrier, "Amulī, Sayyid J:Iaydar," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, Dordrecht, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_585-1. On this current of rapprochement, see M. Terrier, "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars of Early Modern and Modern Times: Topics and Arguments," in D. Hermann and M. Terrier (eds), *Shi'i Islam and Sufism: Classical Views and Modern Perspectives*, London, 2020, pp. 27-63.

{950} Sayyid J:Iaydar Amulī, *Risāla Raḥ' al-khilāf wa l-munāza'a*, ed. J:I. Kalbāsī Ashtarī, Tehran, 1396 h.s./2017, pp. 63-65.

{951} Baḥrānī, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, I, pp. 82-89; Amulī, *Raḥ' al-khilāf*, pp. 62-63 and 112. The latter elsewhere lends to 'Alī a supra-rational science and a superhuman nature: see *infra*, part

II.

{952} *Nahj al-balāgha*, khuṭba 1, pp. 35-36.

{953} Mullā Sadrā, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, I, pp. 414 and 522.

{954} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, ed. 'A. 'Alizādeh, Qumm, 1390 h.s./2011, pp. 31-32. On this thinker, see M. Terrier, "Anthropogony and eschatology in the work of Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī: Shi'ite esotericism between tradition and syncretism," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *L'ésotérisme shi'ite*, pp. 743-780. On Mullā Sadrā's ontology, see Ch. Jambet, *L'acte d'être. La philosophie de la révélation chez Mollā Sadrā*, Paris, 2002.

{955} Baḥrānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mi'at kalima*, pp. 57-58.

{956} Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Risāla ithbāt al-wājib al-jadīda*, in *Sab'a rasā'il*, ed. S. A. Tuyiserkānī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2002, p. 159. On this philosopher, see M. Terrier, "al-Dawānī, Jalāl al-Dīn," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2019, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_589-1.

{957} Abū J:āmid al-Ghazālī, *Risāla fī l-'ilm al-ladunī*, in *Majmū'a rasā'il al-imām al-Ghazālī*, 7 parts, Beirut, 2011, III, pp. 57-74, see p. 70. Ashkevarī cites this as evidence of al-Ghazālī's shī'ism in *Maḥbūb al-qulūb, al-maqāla al-thāniya* (II), ed. I. al-Dībājī and A. Sidqī, Tehran, 1382 h.s./2003, p. 454.

{958} Mullā Sadrā, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, I, p. 240.

{959} *Ibid*, I, pp. 102 and 399; Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. Maktab al-buḥūth wa l-dirāsāt, 8 vols, Beirut, 1331-2/2010, V, p. 223. Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 19, gives "without seeing God before it, after it, and with it."

{960} Ashkevarī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, II, pp. 497-498; M. Terrier, "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars," pp. 35-40.

{961} Sayyid J:laydar Amulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār* in Id., *The Shi'ite Philosophy*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Tehran, 1347 h.s./1968, pp. 28-29 and p. 170; Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 47.

{962} Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, *Sharḥ lfikmat al-ishrāq*, ed. H. Qiyā'ī, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001, pp. 401-402.

{963} Mīr Dāmād, *Jadhawāt wa mawāqīt*, ed. 'A. Owjabī, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001, pp. 119-121.

{964} Mīr Dāmād, *al-Rawāshih al-samāwiyya* [commentary on al-Kulaynī's *Kitāb al-Kāfī*], ed. Gh. Qaysariyya-hā and N. al-Jalīlī, s.l., 1422/2001, p. 23, emphasizes the anteriority of the science of the imams over philosophy in Islam.

{965} Shaykh Bahā'ī, *Kashkūl*, ed. 'A. al-Namrī, 2 vols, Beirut, 1418/1998, II, pp. 5-6; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 110 vols, Beirut, 1403/1983, LVIII, p. 85.

{966} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, pp. 92-93; al-Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-riḍawiyya*, in *al-Arba'īniyāt li-kashf anwār al-quḍsiyyāt*, ed. N. J:labībī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2002- 3, pp. 93-95 and 100-101.

{967} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 94.

{968} Tradition already present in Amulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, pp. 363-364; Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 904/1499), *Mujlī mir'āt al-munjī fī l-kalām wa-l-ḥikmatayn wa-l-taṣawwuf*, ed. R. Yaḥyapūr Fārmad, 5 vols, Qumm-Beirut, 1434/2013, V, p. 1682. On the function of this tradition in the strategy of bringing Shi'ism and Sufism together, see M. Terrier, "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars," pp. 53-54.

{969} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 94.

{970} al-Dawānī, *Sharḥ risāla al-Zawrā'*, in *Sab'a rasā'il*, p. 202.

{971} The account is reported by his former disciple Ashkevarī as well as by al-Majlisī: Mīr Dāmād, *Kitāb al-Qabasāt*, ed. M. Moḥaqeq, Tehran, 1977-2016, introduction, pp. 35-37; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XCI, pp. 370-371. On this text, see H. Corbin, *En islam iranien*, vol. IV, pp. 36-39; M. Terrier, "Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631), philosophe et mujtahid. Spiritual authority and legal authority in Safavid Shi'ite Iran," *Studia Islamica* 113 (2018): 121-165, see pp. 155-157.

- {972} Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, *Kitāb ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, in Id., *CEuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, tome II, ed. H. Corbin, Paris/Tehran, 1952, 2nd ed. 2001, p. 11; Shihāboddīn Yaḥya Sohravardī, *Book of Oriental Wisdom*, trans. H. Corbin, Paris, 2003, p. 89. The translation is our own.
- {973} Suhrawardī, *K. ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, p. 12; *Eastern Wisdom*, p. 91.
- {974} Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176a, in Id., *CEuvres complètes*, p. 1933 (trad.fr. M. Narcy); on this theme, see P. Hadot, *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie antique ?*, Paris, 1995, pp. 341-346; C. Jambet, " " S'assimiler à Dieu dans la mesure du possible" (*Théétète* 176b) : un impératif platonicien dans son interprétation en philosophie islamique ", *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, t. CXI, no 4, Paris, 2017. The identification of the Shi'ite Imam and the Pole is also supported by Sayyid J:laydar Amulī, who does not seem to be influenced by Suhrawardī; see *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 223.
- {975} The Arabic *fayḍ*, "effusion" or "emanation," translates the notion of *próodos* in the Neoplatonists Plotinus and Proclus.
- {976} Shahrazūrī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, p. 24; Suhrawardī, *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 248-249. The tradition of 'Alī, again a word addressed to Kumayl b. Ziyād, is reported from the *Nahj al-balāgha*, *al-ḥikam*, §147, p. 661, with modifications; see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Only the Man of God is Human. Theology and Mystical Anthropology through Early Imamite Exegesis," in Id., *Discrete Religion*, pp. 209-228, citation pp. 227-228.
- {977} On this thinker, see W. Madelung, "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'i's Synthesis of Kalām, Philosophy and Sufism," in Id., *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London: Variorum reprints, 1985), art. no. 13; S. Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts. Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'i (um 838/1434-35 - nach 906/1501)*, Leiden, 2000; M. Terrier, "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'i," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_588-1; Id., "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars."
- {978} Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, III, pp. 1102-1103. Another echo of Suhrawardī, *K. ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, pp. 11-12; *Eastern Wisdom*, pp. 90-91.
- {979} Ibn Sīnā, *Ilāhiyyāt al-shifā'*, ed. G. C. Anawati and S. Zayed, Beirut, 1960, p. 365.
- {980} Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, IV, pp. 1344-1345.
- {*Ibid.* at 1520.
- {982} H. Corbin, *En islam iranien*, t. I; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin*.
- {983} Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. 'A. 'Affī, Beirut, 1423/2002, pp. 62-64; Id., *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, 8 vols, Beirut, Dār al-fikr, 1431-2/2010, I, pp. 447-448.
- {984} Sayyid J:laydar Amulī, *Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ fī sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, ed. M. Bidārfār, 3 vols, Qumm, 1394 h.s./2015-16, I, pp. 271-341, reprinted and summarized notably by Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, pp. 189-190. See H. Corbin, *En islam iranien*, III, pp. 197-200.
- {985} Amulī, *Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*, III, pp. 1794 and 1802-1803, Index s.v. *awwalu mā khalaqa Allāh..., kuntu anā wa 'Alī..., kuntu nabiyyan wa Adam..., kuntu waliyyan wa Adam...*. See also, among many other possible examples, Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, V, pp. 1915 and 1920, Index s.v. idem; al-J:lāfiḥ Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fī ḥaqā'iq asrār amīr al-mu'minīn* éd. 'A. Ashraf al-Māzandarānī, Qumm, 1384 h.s./2005-06, pp. 501 and 508, Index s.v. idem; Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, pp. 189-190. On the pre-existence of 'Alī and the imams, see also M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, Part II, pp. 73-112.
- {986} See M. Terrier, *Histoire de la sagesse et philosophie shi'ite*, pp. 91-95, 111-115, p. 249, pp. 277-278, 726-727.
- {987} Maybudī, *Sharḥ-e Dīwān*, pp. 456 and 458. Among countless occurrences among Shi'ite philosophers: Shaykh Bahā'ī (Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Amilī), *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīthan*, Qumm, 1431/2009-2010, p. 205, verses 1 and 3; Mullā Sadrā, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, IV, p. 334; Ashkevarī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, I, pp. 229-230; Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 134.

- {988} Mīr Dāmād, *Sharḥ ḥadīth tamthīl al-imām 'Alī bi-sūrat al-tawḥīd*, in *Muṣannafāt Mīr Dāmād*, vol. 1, ed. A. Nūrānī, Tehran, 1381 h.s./2003, p. 563; Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XXXIX, p. 270. The translation of the Koran is that of J. Berque, Paris, 1995.
- {989} Mīr Dāmād, *Sharḥ ḥadīth tamthīl al-imām 'Alī bi-sūrat al-tawḥīd*, pp. 563-564.
- {See on this subject M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Coran silencieux*.
- {991} Ibn Sīnā, *Ilāhiyyāt al-Shifā'*, p. 425.
- {992} Mīr Dāmād, *Jadhawāt wa mawāqīt*, pp. 20-21. Quoted in Arabic in the text: Ibn Sīnā, *Ilāhiyyāt al-Shifā'*, p. 455.
- {993} Quoted in particular by Amulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, pp. 411 and 563; Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, p. 31; Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, IV, pp. 1340-41 and p. 1504; here: Epilogue, n. 6.
- {994} Amulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, pp. 563-564.
- {995} Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, IV, pp. 1338-1339.
- {996} Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt al-lawḥiyya wa l-'arshiyya*, in *CEuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, tome I, ed. H. Corbin, Paris/Tehran, 1952, pp. 73-74.
- {997} Salmān al-Fārisī (d. ca. 35/655-6), Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 32/652-3), and Kumayl b. Ziyād, faithful companions of 'Alī, are also held to be the transmitters of his spiritual teachings to Sufis. See M. Terrier, "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars," pp. 35-44.
- {998} This proposition, however, is absent from the known versions of the "preaching of glory" (*khuṭba al-iftikhār*). On this and similar preaches, see *infra*, nn. 87-90.
- {999} The mystics Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/946), Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 298/911), Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, (d. 200/815), are held to be direct or indirect disciples of the imams; see M. Terrier, "The Defence of Sufism among Twelver Shi'i Scholars," pp. 35-44.
- {1000} Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Mujlī*, IV, pp. 1340-1342.
- {M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine I. Remarks on the divinity of the Imam", in Id. in *La Religion discrète*, pp. 89-108; here in chap. 4.
- {1002} Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, pp. 309-321. On this thinker, see M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "Al-Durr al-thamīn attributed to Raḡab al-Bursī," *The Museon* 130 (1-2), 2017, pp. 207-240; here chap. 8; M. Terrier, "Bursī, al-J: Iāfīz Rajab al-," in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2018, online: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-1151-5_586-1.
- {1003} Amulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, pp. 205-206. These words of ecstasy, in which the mystic identifies himself with God, are translated "theopathic locutions" by Louis Massignon (*Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, Le Cerf, 1999 (reed.)), and "inspired paradoxes" by Henry Corbin (introduction to Rūzbehān Baqlī Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ-e shāḥiyyāt*, ed. H. Corbin, Paris - Teheran, 1966, pp. 1-46, see pp. 10-19).
- {1004} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, pp. 197-201.
- {1005} Mīr Dāmād, *Jadhawāt wa mawāqīt*, pp. 189-190. For the first two traditions cited, see Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, I, p. 97; and for the third, *Ibid*, XXXV, p. 34.
- {1006} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, p. 140. The first part of the statement is borrowed from a Sufi and Sunni commentator on Ibn 'Arabī: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ*, ed. W. Chittick, Tehran, Tehran, 1380 h.s./2001-2, pp. 96-97. For the *ḥadīth* attributed to 'Alī, see *supra* n. 62.
- {1007} Pierre Lory and M. Terrier, "al-Insān al-kāmil: l'Homme parfait dans la culture arabe classique," in H. Touati (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mediterranean Humanism*, Brill, 2017, online: <http://encyclopedie-humanisme.com/?insan-kamil-248>.
- {1008} Mīr Dāmād, *Nibrās al-ḍiyā' wa tiṣwā' al-siwā' fī sharḥ bāb al-badā' wa ithbāt jadwā al-du'ā'*, ed. J.I. N. Eṣfahānī, Tehran, 1374 h.s./1995 p. 31; Mullā Sadrā, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, p. 466. The work cited here is not the Persian *Mi'rāj-nāmeḥ* attributed to Avicenna; it is probably an apocryphal one.
- {1009} Mīr Dāmād, *Ibid*, p. 31.

{See M. Terrier, "Noms divins et hommes divins dans la gnose shi'ite imamite (^{VIIIe/XIVe} et ^{XIe/XVIIe} siècles)", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 150/IV, 2018, pp. 335-356.

{1011} Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, pp. 296-297.

Ibid, p. 301.

{1013} Mullā Sadrā, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, III, p. 253; on the esoteric conception of the imam in Mullā Sadrā, see Ch. Jambet, *Le gouvernement divin. Islam and the Political Conception of the World*, 2016, p. 105 and pp. 249-250.

{1014} Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummī, *Al-Talā'i' wa l-bawāriq*, in *al-Arba'īniyāt*, p. 281. See translation and commentary in Ch. Jambet, "L'Homme parfait. Métaphysique de l'âme et eschatologie selon Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummī," *Annuaire EPHE, Sciences religieuses*, t. 125 (2016-2017), pp. 411-423, cf. p. 417. On the placement of 'Alī in the presence of Muḥammad during the *mi'rāj* in the Imamite traditions, see.

M. A. Amir-Moezzi, "The Imam in the Sky. Ascension and Initiation," in Id. in *La Religion discrète*, pp. 135-150, see pp. 136-140.

{1015} Fayḍ Kāshānī, *Kalimāt maknūna*, pp. 182-183.

Ibid, p. 184.

{1017} The study of the extensions of these ideas about 'Alī among Iranian Shi'ite philosophers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or among thinkers of the Shaykhī school, deserves a separate investigation.



LA PORTE DU SAVOIR

CNRS Éditions

Find all CNRS Éditions books on our website
www.cnrseditions.fr